

The Complete Works of
VELLEIUS PATERCULUS

(c. 19 BC–c. AD 31)



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Compendium of Roman History (1852 translation)

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Marcus Velleius Paterculus

Introduction to Velleius Paterculus by Frederick W. Shipley

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Complete Works

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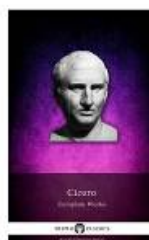
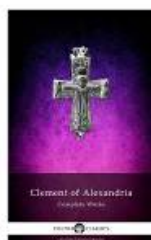
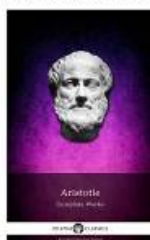
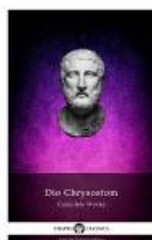
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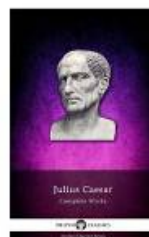
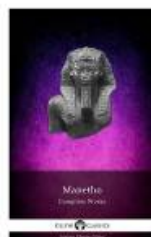
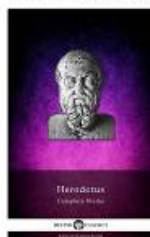
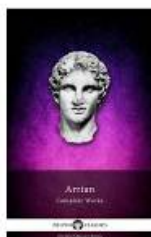
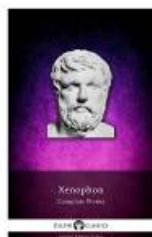
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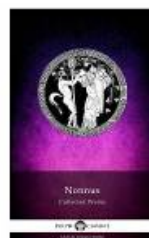
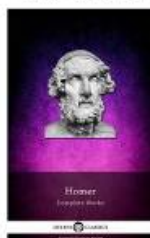
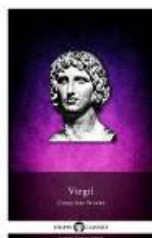
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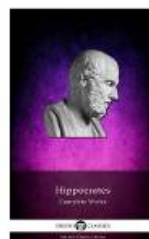
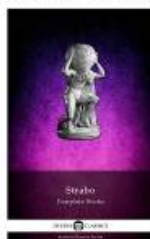
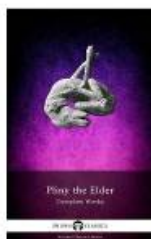
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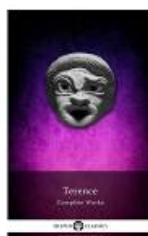
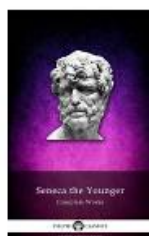
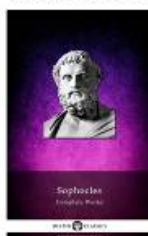
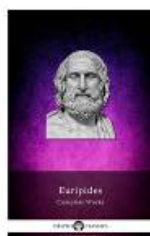
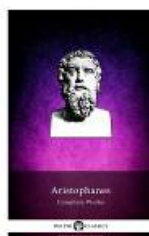
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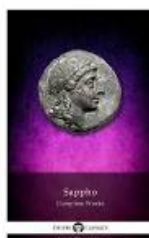
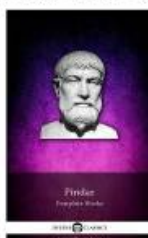
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The Translations



Roman remains at Aeclanum, an ancient town of Samnium, southern Italy, on the Via Appia, near modern day Mirabella Eclano — little information survives regarding the life of Paterculus, who may have been born in c. 19 BC in Aeclanum, then a major centre of Hirpinia, into a distinguished Campanian family.



View of the surviving baths at Aeclanum

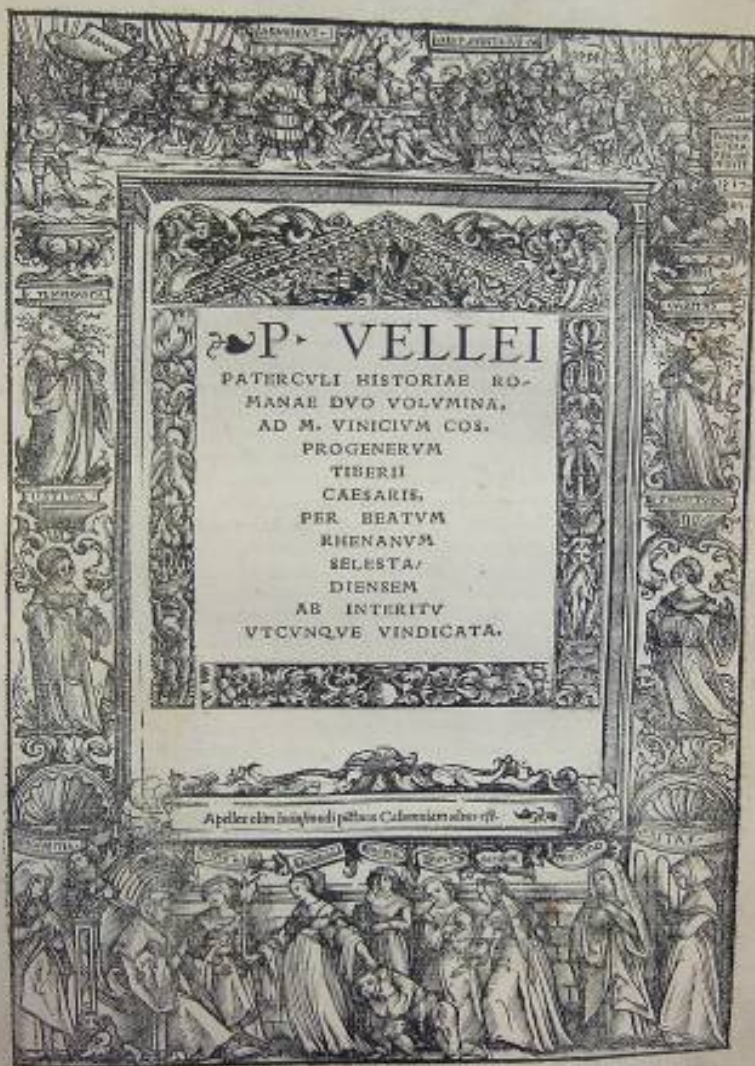
Compendium of Roman History (1852 translation)



Translated by John Selby Watson

The Roman historian Velleius Paterculus lived during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, serving as a military tribune in Thrace, Macedonia, Greece and Asia Minor, and later as a cavalry officer and legatus in Germany and Pannonia. Paterculus was quaestor in AD 7 and praetor in 15. Written in a highly rhetorical style, his *Compendium of Roman History* is a summary of Roman history from the mythical fall of Troy to AD 29. As Paterculus approached his own times, he becomes much fuller in his treatment of history, especially dealing with the years between the death of Julius Caesar in 44 BC and Augustus in 14.

Consisting of two books dedicated to M. Vinicius, the history covers the period from the dispersion of the Greeks after the siege of Troy down to the death of Livia (AD 29). The first book concerns events up until the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC, with several sections now lost, including the original beginning. The second book is treated in much greater detail. Although Paterculus does not display real historical insight, he is generally trustworthy in his statements of individual facts, serving as a courtly annalist, rather than an actual historian. When dealing with Julius Caesar, Augustus and particularly his patron Tiberius, Paterculus lavishes high praise, even flattery. Nonetheless, his portrait of Tiberius is a useful corrective to the sensationalist attacks of Tacitus, as is his treatment of Livia. The repetitions, redundancies and slovenliness of expression may be partly due to the haste with which the text was written, as repeatedly mentioned by the author. Notable characteristics of Silver Age literature abound in the text, with examples including inflated rhetoric, the straining after effect by means of hyperbole, antithesis and epigram. Paterculus' chief authorities were Cato's *Origines*, the *Annales* of Quintus Hortensius, Pompeius Trogus, Cornelius Nepos and the work of Livy.



Early sixteenth century publication, edited by Beatus Rhenanus



Bust of Tiberius, Romisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne — Tiberius (42 BC-37 AD) was the second Roman emperor, reigning from 14 AD to 37 AD, succeeding Augustus. Tiberius was Paternus' patron and the historian flatters him greatly in his 'Compendium of Roman History'.

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Augustus of Prima Porta, first century — the first Roman emperor is a key figure of Paterculus' 'Compendium of Roman History'.



A bust of Augustus, wearing the Civic Crown. Glyptothek, Munich

BOOK I.

I. Cities founded by the Greeks on their return from Troy; acts of Orestes; arrival of Tyrrhenus in Italy — II. Return of the Heraclidæ; death of Codrus; founding of Megara, Gades, and Utica. — III. Of the Achæans, Pelasgi, Thessalians, and the settlement of Corinth — IV. Chalcis, Magnesia, Cumæ, Naples, and many other cities, founded — V. Age and character of Homer — VI. Of the Assyrian empire, Lycurgus, and the origin of Carthage — VII. Of Hesiod, and the building of Capua and Nola — VIII. The Olympic games; the founding of Rome — IX. The second Macedonian war — X. Of Antiochus the Great, and Æmilius Paulus — XI. Pseudo-Philippus; Metellus Macedonicus — XII. Destruction of Corinth and Carthage — XIII. Death of Cato; characters of Mummius and Scipio Africanus — XIV-XV. Establishment of Roman colonies — XVI-XVII. Considerations why many eminent men, in the several arts, arise at the same time — XVIII. Commencement of similar observations on cities.

I

* * * * [Epeus,] being parted¹ by a storm from Nestor his commander, built Metapontum². Teucer, not being received at home by his father Telamon, for his pusillanimity in not avenging the injustice shown to his brother³, sailed to Cyprus, where he built Salamis, a city named after his own birthplace. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, took possession of Epirus, and Phidippus⁴ of Ephyra in Thesprotia. As to Agamemnon, the king of kings, he was driven by a tempest on the island of Crete, where he founded three cities, Mycenæ, Tegea, and Pergamus, of which two had named from his own country, and the third from the recollection of his recent victory. Soon after, being entrapped by the treachery of his cousin⁵ Ægisthus, who bore a hereditary hatred towards him, and by the malice of his wife, he was murdered. Ægisthus held the throne for seven years; when Orestes, in concert with his sister Electra, a woman of masculine courage, and sharer in all his designs, slew both Ægisthus and his own mother. That his deed was approved by the gods, was apparent from the length of his life and the prosperity of his reign; for he lived ninety years and reigned seventy. He also revenged himself on Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, with similar spirit; for Pyrrhus having supplanted him by marrying Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, who had been betrothed to Orestes, Orestes slew him at Delphi.

During this period, the brothers Lydus and Tyrrhenus, who reigned in Lydia, were compelled, by the unproductiveness of their corn-fields, to cast lots which of the two, taking half of the people with him, should quit their country. The lot fell upon Tyrrhenus⁶, who, sailing into Italy, gave, from his

own name, an illustrious and enduring appellation to the country, its inhabitants, and the adjacent sea. After the death of Orestes, his sons, Penthilus and Tisamenus, reigned three years.

II

At this time, about eighty years after Troy was taken, and a hundred and twenty after the translation of Hercules to the gods, the family of Pelops, which, after expelling the Heraclidæ, had held, during the whole of this period, the sovereignty of the Peloponnesus, was in turn expelled by them. The leaders in recovering the dominion were Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, of whom Hercules was great-grandfather.

About the same period, Athens ceased to be ruled by kings, its last monarch being Codrus, the son of Melanthus, a man deserving of particular notice; for when the Spartans were severely pressing the Athenians in war, and Apollo had given an oracle that that side would be victorious whose leader should be killed by the enemy, Codrus, having laid aside his royal apparel, put on the attire of a shepherd, and went into the midst of the enemy's camp, where, intentionally provoking a quarrel, he was slain without being known⁷. From his death, eternal glory accrued to Codrus, and victory to the Athenians. Who can help admiring a man that sought for death with the same stratagems with which, by those of meaner spirit, life is wont to be sought? His son Medon was the first archon at Athens; from whom his descendants were called by the Athenians Medontidæ; and these, as well as the following archons, down to the time of Charops, held their office during life. The Peloponnesians, on retiring from the Athenian territory, founded Megara, a city equally distant from Corinth and Athens.

At this time, also, a fleet of the Tyrians, then very powerful at sea, founded the city of Gades, on the remotest coast of Spain, at the extremity of one part of the world, and on an island surrounded by the Ocean, divided from the continent only by a very narrow strait. By the same people, also, a few years afterwards, Utica, in Africa, was built. The children of Orestes, being expelled by the Heraclidæ, and harassed by various misfortunes, as well as by hardships at sea, found a settlement, in the fifteenth year after their expulsion, opposite the island of Lesbos.

III

During this period Greece was shaken by violent commotions. The Achæans, driven from Laconia, settled in those tracts which they now occupy. The Pelasgi removed to Athens; and a young man of warlike spirit, by name Thessalus, and by birth a Thesprotian, took forcible possession, with the aid of a numerous body of his countrymen, of that region which is now, from his name, called Thessaly, but which was before termed the country of the Myrmidons. Hence there is reason to wonder at those authors, who, in their accounts of the Trojan period, speak of that country by the name of Thessaly; a fault which not only other writers commit, but writers of tragedy more frequently than any; though in them, least of all, is such licence to be excused, for they express nothing in their own character of poets, but narrate everything under the persons of those who lived at the time. But if any one shall maintain that they were called Thessalians from Thessalus, the son of Hercules⁸, he will have to give a reason why the people did not assume this name till the time of the latter Thessalus. A little before this, Aletes, sixth in descent from Hercules, and son of Hippotes, rebuilt⁹ Corinth on the Isthmus, which was previously called Ephyre, and which forms the principal barrier of the Peloponnesus. Nor is there any reason for us to wonder that it was called Corinth by Homer; for, in his character of poet, he calls both this city, and some of the Ionian colonies, built long after the taking of Troy, by the same names which they bore in his own times.

IV

The Athenians settled colonies at Chalcis and Eretria in Eubœa; the Lacedæmonians established another at Magnesia in Asia. Not long afterwards, the people of Chalcis, who were sprung, as I have just said, from the Athenians, founded Cumæ in Italy, under the leadership of Hippocles and Megasthenes. The course of their fleet was directed, as some say, by the flight of a dove that preceded it, or, as others state, by the sound of brazen instruments during the night, such as is commonly made at the rites of Ceres. Some natives of this city, a long time after, built Neapolis; and the exemplary fidelity of both these cities to the Romans, renders them eminently worthy of their high reputation, and of the delightful situations which they enjoy. But the

institutions of their original country have been more diligently preserved by the Neapolitans; for the neighbourhood of the Osci altered the manners of the people of Cumæ. The present extent of the walls of these cities shows the greatness of their power in former days.

At a subsequent period, a vast number of Grecian youth, seeking, from a redundancy of population, for new settlements, poured into Asia. The Ionians, sailing from Athens under the conduct of Ion, took possession of the finest part of the sea-coast, now called Ionia, and built the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon, Priene, Lebedus, Myus, Erythra, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa. They also seized on many of the island in the Ægean and Icarian seas, as Samos, Chios, Andros, Tenos, Paros, Delos, and others of less note. Soon after, the Æolians also, setting out from Greece, and wandering about for a long time, found at length settlements not less valuable, and founded some famous cities, as Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, and Mitylene, with others in the island of Lesbos.

V

It was at this time that the illustrious genius of Homer shone forth; a genius great beyond example; for by the grandeur of his subjects, and the splendour of his verse, he has gained an exclusive right¹⁰ to the name of poet. What is most remarkable with respect to him, is, that neither was there any one before him whom he could imitate, nor has any one since been found who could imitate him. Nor can we point to any other author, except Homer and Antilochus, who arrived at the highest excellence in the kind of writing of which he was the inventor. He lived longer after the Trojan war, which he took for his subject, than some suppose; for he flourished about nine hundred and fifty years ago, and was born within a thousand. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that he frequently uses the expression οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσι, *such as men now are*; for by this the difference in mankind, as well as in age, is signified. Whoever believes that he was born blind, must be himself deprived of all his senses.

VI

In the subsequent period, about eight hundred and seventy years ago, the empire of Asia was transferred from the Assyrians, who had held it a thousand

and seventy years, to the Medes. For Arbaces, a Mede, dethroned and put to death their monarch Sardanapalus, a man immersed in luxurious gratifications, and courting extravagant pleasures to his own destruction; and who was the thirty-third in succession from Ninus and Semiramis, the founders of Babylon, a succession so regular that the son had in every instance inherited the throne of his father.

In this age, too, Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, a man of royal birth, was the author of a most severe and just body of laws, and of a system of education most suitable¹¹ to the character of his countrymen; and Sparta, as long as she adhered to it, was eminently prosperous.

During the same period, sixty-five years before the foundation of Rome, the city of Carthage was built by Elissa of Tyre, whom some suppose to be the same as Dido. About the same time, Caranus, a man of regal extraction, being the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, took his departure from Argos, and seized on the kingdom of Macedonia. The great Alexander, being the seventeenth in succession from Caranus, might justly boast of his lineages, as being on his mother's side from Achilles, and on his father's from Hercules¹².

VII

Coeval with these events, and separated by about a hundred and twenty years from Homer, lived Hesiod, a man of exquisite taste, remarkable for the gentle sweetness of his numbers, and a great lover of ease and retirement. As he was nearest in time to his illustrious predecessor, he was also nearest in the reputation of his writings. He avoided resembling Homer in one respect, for he has mentioned both his country and his parents; but the former in the bitterest terms of reproach, on account of a fine which it had imposed upon him.

While I am treating of foreign matters, a point in our own history occurs to me, which has given rise to many mistakes, and about which there is the greatest discrepancy in the opinions of writers. Some authors say that, during this period, about eight hundred and thirty years ago, Capua and Nola were founded by the Tuscans; and to their opinion I readily assent. But how greatly does Marcus Cato differ from them, who states that "Capua was first founded by the Tuscans, and Nola some time afterwards; but that Capua had stood, before it was taken by the Romans, about two hundred and sixty years." If this

be the case, and as only two hundred and forty years have elapsed since the taking of Capua, it can be but five hundred years since it was built. For my own part, speaking with deference to the accuracy of Cato, I can scarcely believe that so great a city rose, flourished, fell, and sprung up again, in so short a space of time.

VIII

The Olympic games, the most celebrated of all spectacles of entertainment, and best adapted for invigorating the mind and the body, had their commencement soon afterwards, the founder of them being Iphitus of Elis, who instituted these contests, as well as a market, eight hundred and four years before you, Marcus Vinicius, entered upon your consulship. By some, however, Atreus is said to have commenced this solemnity, when he exhibited, in this same place, funeral games in honour of his father Pelops, about twelve hundred and fifty years ago, on which occasion Hercules was victor in every kind of contest.

It was at this time that the archons at Athens ceased to be elected for life, Alcmaeon being the last that was so appointed, and were chosen only for ten years; an arrangement which lasted for seventy years, when the administration was committed to annual magistrates. Of those who held office for ten years, the first was Charops, and the last was Eryxias; of those who retained it but one year, the first was Creon.

In the sixth Olympiad, twenty-two years from the commencement of the first, Romulus, the son of Mars, having avenged the wrong done to his grandfather, founded the city of Rome on the Palatine hill, on the day of the feast of Pales¹³; from which time, to that of your consulate, is a period of seven hundred and eighty-three years. This event took place four hundred and thirty-seven years after the taking of Troy. The work was effected by Romulus, with the assistance of the Latin legions of his grandfather; for I can readily believe those who give this account, since, without such assistance, and with merely a defenceless band of shepherds, he could hardly have established a new city, while the Vejentines, the other Etruscans, and the Sabines, were so close upon him, how much soever he strengthened it by opening an asylum being the two groves. He had a hundred chosen men, called Fathers, as a public council. Such origin had the term Patricians¹⁴. The

IX

* * * proved a more powerful enemy¹⁵ than the Romans had apprehended; for he maintained a struggle, during two years, with such variation of fortune, that he had generally the advantage, and drew a great part of Greece into alliance with him. Even the Rhodians, who had previously been most faithful to the Romans, began, with wavering allegiance, to watch the turns of fortune, and appeared rather inclined to the side of the king. Eumenes, too, in this war, was undecided in his views, and acted consistently neither with his brother's¹⁶ proceedings at first, nor with his own general conduct. At length the senate and people of Rome elected to the consulship Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who had previously triumphed both as prætor and consul; a man deserving of the highest honour which merit can be conceived to attain. He was the son of that Paulus who commenced with such reluctance the battle of Cannæ, so fatal to the commonwealth, and who met death in it with so much fortitude. He routed Perses, in a great battle, near a city named Pydna in Macedonia, and drove him from his camp; and at last, after destroying his troops, forced him to flee from his dominions. The king, after quitting Macedonia, took refuge in the island of Samothrace, and committed himself, as a suppliant, to the sanctuary of the temple. Cnæus Octavius, the prætor, who had the command of the fleet, followed him thither, and prevailed on him, rather by persuasion than by force, to trust himself to the honour of the Romans. Æmilius Paulus, in consequence, led this most eminent and celebrated prince in triumph.

In this year, too, were two other famous triumphs; that of Octavius, the naval commander, and that of Anicius, who drove before his chariot Gentius the king of the Illyrians. How constantly envy attends eminent fortune, and how closely it pursues the highest characters, may be understood from the follow circumstance, that while no one objected to the triumphs of Anicius and Octavius, there were some who endeavoured to hinder that of Paulus, though it far exceeded the others, as well in the greatness of Perses as a monarch, as in the magnificent display of war-trophies, and the quantity of money carried in it; as it brought into the treasury two hundred thousand sestertia¹⁷, being beyond comparison more splendid than any triumph that preceded it.

During the same time, while Antiochus Epiphanes, who built the Temple of Jupiter at Athens, and who was then king of Syria, was besieging Ptolemy the young king of Egypt, in Alexandria, Marcus Popilius Lænas was sent as ambassador to him, to require him to desist from the siege. Popilius delivered his message, and the king replying that *he would consider of the matter*, he drew a circle round him with a rod upon the sand, desiring him to give a decisive answer before he passed that boundary. Roman firmness overcame the king's hesitation, and the consul was obeyed.

Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who obtained the great victory over Perses, had four sons; of whom he had allowed the two eldest to be adopted, one by Publius Scipio, the son of Africanus, who retained nothing of his father's greatness but the splendour of his name and the force of his eloquence, and the other by Fabius Maximus; the two younger, at the time when he gained the victory, he had still at home, as being yet under age. Previously to the day of his triumph, when, according to ancient usage, he was making a statement of his services to an assembly without the city, he intreated the immortal gods, that if any of them looked enviously on his actions and fortune, they would vent their displeasure on himself rather than on the Commonwealth. This expression, as if uttered by an oracle, robbed him of a great part of his offspring; for of the two sons whom he had in his house, he lost one a few days before his triumph, and the other in fewer days after it.

About this time occurred the censorship of Fulvius Flaccus and Posthumius Albinus, which was exercised with great severity; for Cnæus Fulvius, the brother of Fulvius the censor, and partner with him in property¹⁸, was expelled from the senate by those very censors.

XI

Subsequently to the conquest and capture of Perses, who died four years afterwards in private custody¹⁹ at Alba, a man who, from his false representations concerning his birth, was called Pseudo-Philippus, (for he said that his name was Philip, and that he was of the royal blood, though he was, in reality, of the meanest extraction,) seized the government of Macedonia by force of arms, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. But he soon paid the

penalty of his rashness; for the prætor Quintus Metellus, who, from his merit in war, had received the surname of Macedonicus, gained a noble victory over both the imposter and his nation, and subdued at the same time, in a great battle, the Achæans²⁰ who had recommenced hostilities. This is the Metellus Macedonicus who erected the porticos round the two temples without an inscription, now encircled by the porticos of Octavia, and who brought from Macedonia the group of equestrian statues that face the front of the temples, and form at present the chief ornament of the place. Of this group the following origin is related. Alexander the Great, it is said, desired Lysippus, an eminent artist in such performances, to make statues of such horsemen of his own troop as had fallen at the river Granicus, representing their likenesses in the figures, and placing one of Alexander himself among them. It was this Metellus, too, who first built at Rome a temple of marble²¹, among the edifices just mentioned, and who was consequently the introducer of what is to be called either magnificence or luxury. It would be difficult to find, indeed, a man of any nation, age, or rank, whose felicity can be compared with that of Metellus; for besides his splendid triumph, his distinguished honours, his acknowledged pre-eminence in the state, his long extent of life, and his zealous yet harmless contests with opponents for the good of his country, he was the father of four sons, whom he saw arrive at manhood, and whom he left surviving, and in enjoyment of the highest honours. These four sons supported his bier before the Rostra, one of them having been consul and censor, another consul, the third being consul at the time, and the fourth a candidate for the honour, which he afterwards obtained. Such an end may rather be called a happy retirement from life, than death.

XII

The whole of Achaia, of which a great part had been reduced by the conduct and arms of Metellus, was now, as we have said, strongly inclined to hostilities, being instigated chiefly by the Corinthians, who were guilty even of great insults to the Romans; and to conduct the war against them the consul Mummius was chosen. About the same time, too, rather because the Romans wished to believe whatever was said against the Carthaginians, than because anything was said against them worthy of belief, the senate resolved on the destruction of Carthage. Accordingly Publius Scipio Æmilianus, a man who

emulated alike the virtues of his grandfather Publius Africanus and his father Lucius Paulus; who, in every qualification for war or peace, was the most eminent of his age as well in natural ability as in acquired knowledge; who, through the whole of his life, neither did, nor said, nor thought anything but what was praiseworthy; and who, as I have observed, had been adopted by Scipio the son of Africanus, was elected consul, though at the time he was only candidate for an ædileship. He had been previously honoured in Spain with a mural, and in Africa with an obsidional crown; in Spain, also, in consequence of a challenge, he had, though but of moderate bodily strength, slain an antagonist of extraordinary stature; and he now pressed on the war against Carthage, which had been conducted for two years by the preceding consuls, with additional vigour. This city, which, rather from jealousy of its power than from any recent offence, was an object of hatred to Rome, he utterly destroyed, and made it as much a monument of his own military prowess as it had previously been of his grandfather's clemency.

Carthage was demolished a hundred and seventy-seven years ago, in the consulship of Cnæus Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius, after having stood six hundred and seventy-two years. Such was the end of Carthage, the rival of the empire of Rome, with which our forefathers commenced war in the consulate of Claudius and Fulvius, two hundred and ninety-six years before you, Marcus Vinicius, entered upon your consulship. Thus for a hundred and twenty years there subsisted between these two nations either war, or preparations for war, or unsettled peace. Nor did Rome, though the whole world were subdued, trust the she should be safe while there was left even the name of Carthage unremoved. So apt is hatred, arising from contentions, to continue longer than the fear of danger, and not to be laid aside even when the opposite party is vanquished; nor does the object of enmity cease to be detested until it has ceased to exist.

XIII

Three years before Carthage was demolished, Marcus Cato, who had been a constant advocate for its destruction, died, in the consulship of Lucius Censorinus and Marcus Manlius. In the very year in which Carthage fell, Lucius Mummius utterly destroyed Corinth, nine hundred and fifty-two years after it had been built by Aletes the son of Hippotes. Each of the generals was

honoured with a name from the people whom he conquered, the one being styled Africanus, the other Achaicus. No *new man*²², before Mummius, had ever assumed a surname derived from military merit. Of these two commanders, the dispositions, as well as the pursuits, were entirely different. Scipio was so elegant a cultivator and admirer of liberal studies, and of every kind of learning, that he had constantly with him, at home and in the field, two men of eminent talents, Polybius and Panætius; for no man balanced the fatigues of business with the enjoyments of leisure more judiciously than Scipio, as he was constantly studying the arts either of war or of peace, and constantly exercising either his body in toil or his mind in learning. Mummius, on the contrary, was so extremely ignorant, that when, on the taking of Corinth, he was hiring persons to carry pictures and statues, finished by the hands of the greatest masters, into Italy, he ordered notice to be given to the contractors, that, *if they lost any of them, they must find new ones*. Yet I think you, Vinicius, must be of opinion, that it would have been more for the advantage of our countrymen that their minds should have remained still ignorant of Corinthian elegancies, than that their knowledge of them should have reached its present height; and that the ancient ignorance would have been more conducive to the public honour than our modern skill.

XIV

As a view of any historical subject, when contracted into one continuous narrative, is retained more easily in the eye and the memory than when left dispersed in different periods, I have determined to introduce between the former and latter part of this volume, a summary of particulars on a not unimportant subject, and to specify, in this part of my work, what colonies, since the capture of Rome by the Gauls, have been established by order of the senate, and at what times; for of the military settlements the occasions and founders are sufficiently known from their names. With this detail I shall unite, I think without impropriety, an account of the enlargement of the state, and the extension of the Roman name, by the communication of its privileges.

Seven years after the Gauls took the city, the colony of Sutrium was settled; the year after, that of Setia; and, after an interval of nine years, that of Nepe. Two-and-thirty years afterwards, the Aricians received the civic franchise. Three hundred and sixty-two years ago, in the consulship of

Spurius Posthumius and Veturius Calvinus, the freedom of the city, but without the right of voting, was given to the Campanians and part of the Samnites; and the same year a colony was settled at Cales. Three years afterwards, the people of Fundi and Formiæ were admitted as citizens, in the very year that Alexandria was founded. In the following consulship, when Spurius Posthumius and Philo Publilius were censors, the civic franchise was granted to Acerra. Three years afterwards, that of Luceria; in four years more, that of Suessa Aurunca, and two years later, those of Saticula and Interamna. Then followed ten years in which nothing of the kind occurred; at the end of which time were established the colonies of Sora and Alba, and two years afterwards that of Carseoli. In the consulate of Quintus Fabius for the fifth time, and that of Decius Mus for the fourth time, the year in which Pyrrhus began to reign, colonies were sent to Sinuessa and Minturnæ, and four years afterwards to Venusia. After an interval of two years, in the consulate of Marcus Curius and Rufinus Cornelius, the rights of citizenship, but without that of voting, were given to the Sabines; an event which took place about three hundred and twenty years ago. About three hundred years ago, in the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, colonies were sent to Cosa and Pæstum, and five years afterwards, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius Cæcus, to Ariminum and Beneventum; and the right of voting was then granted to the Sabines. At the commencement of the first Punic war, Firmum and Castrum were occupied with colonies, and the following year Æsernia; in seventeen years afterwards Æsulum and Alsium; two years later, Fregenæ; in the next year, when Torquatus and Sempronius were consuls, Brundisium; three years after, in the year when the games of Flora commenced, Spoletium. Two years later, Valentia was colonised, and, about the time of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, Cremona and Placentia.

XV

Neither while Hannibal remained in Italy, nor for several years immediately succeeding his departure, had the Romans any opportunities of founding colonies; for, while the war lasted, they were obliged to press soldiers, instead of discharging them, and, when it was ended, their strength required to be recruited rather than dispersed. However, in the consulship of Manlius Volso

and Fabius Nobilior, about two hundred and seventeen years ago, the colony of Bononia was settled, and five years afterwards, those of Pisaurum and Potentia; in three years more, Aquileia and Gravisca; four years later, Luca. During the same period, though some express a doubt of it, colonies were sent to Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum. One hundred and eighty-seven years ago, a colony was sent to Auximum in the Picenian territory; this took place three years before Cassius the censor began to build the theatre looking from the Lupercal²³ towards Mount Palatine, when the great austerity of manners, and the consul Scipio, prevented him²⁴ from completing it; an occurrence which I number among the most honourable testimonies to the public character in those days. In the consulship of Cassius Longinus and Sextius Calvinus, (who defeated the Salyes²⁵ at the springs which were from him named *Aquæ Sextiæ*,) about one hundred and fifty-seven years ago, the colony of Fabrateria was settled, and the year after those of Scylacium, Minervium, Tarentum, and Neptunia, as well as Carthage in Africa²⁶, which was, I have said, the first colony planted beyond the bounds of Italy. Concerning Dertona there is no certainty; but Narbo Martius in Gaul was settled in the consulship of Porcius and Marcius, about a hundred and fifty-three years ago. Twenty-three years after was founded Eporedia among the Bagienni²⁷, when Marius was consul, for the sixth time, with Valerius Flaccus. Any colony settled since that time, except the military colonies, I am unable to recollect.

XVI

Though this little portion of my work has exceeded the limits intended, and though I am sensible that in so hasty a composition, which, like a wheel or rapid torrent²⁸, allows me nowhere to make a stand, I ought rather to omit some things that may seem necessary than to introduce any that are superfluous, I yet cannot refrain from noticing a point on which I have often reflected, and on which I could never arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. For who can sufficiently wonder, that the most eminent geniuses in every art have agreed in one common character, and have fallen within one period of time; and that, as different kinds of animals, shut up in a fold or other inclosure, continue each distinct from those around it, and form themselves into separate bodies, so minds, capable of any great achievements, have formed distinct

assemblages about the same time and with similar effect? One age, and that not extending through many years, gave lustre to tragedy by the works of those great authors, men animated by a divine spirit, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. One age produced the Ancient Comedy, under Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis. As for the New Comedy, Menander, with Philemon and Diphilus, his equals in age rather than ability, not only invented it within a few years, but left works in it beyond imitation. The distinguished philosophers, too, deriving their knowledge from the lips of Socrates, in how short a time did they all, whom I have a little before enumerated²⁹, flourish after the death of Plato and Aristotle! And in oratory what splendour was there before Isocrates, or after the death of his hearers and their immediate disciples? So crowded were they into a short space of time, that all who were worthy of being remembered must have been known to each other.

XVII

Nor has this peculiarity occurred more among the Greeks than among the Romans. Roman tragedy, unless we go back to the rudest and most barbarous efforts, which deserve no praise but as attempts at invention, subsists wholly in the writings of Accius and his contemporaries. The agreeable sportiveness of Latin humour displayed itself, about the same time, in Cæcilius, Terence, and Afranius³⁰. As for the historians, a period of less than eighty years (even if we include Livy in the age of the earlier writers) produced them all, with the exception of Cato and some old and obscure annalists. Nor did the assemblage of poets extend further in time, either upwards or downwards. With respect to oratory, forensic pleading, and the perfect beauty of prose eloquence, they burst forth complete (to say nothing of Cato, and to speak with due respect for Publius Crassus, Scipio, Lælius, the Gracchi, Fannius, and Servius Galba) under Cicero, who was the coryphæus in his art; as of all other orators we receive pleasure from few, and admire none, except such as lived in his time, or immediately succeeded it³¹. That the same has been the case with regard to grammarians, statuaries, painters, and sculptors³², whoever investigates the records of ages will easily convince himself, and will see that the most eminent performances in every art are confined within very narrow limits of time.

Of this concurrence of similar geniuses in the same period, of their

corresponding devotion to like pursuits, and their equality of progress, I often inquire for the causes, but find none that I can regard as satisfactory. Some, however, I discover that are probable; among which are the following. Emulation nourishes genius; and at one time envy, at another admiration, kindles a spirit of imitation. Any art, too, which is pursued with extreme zeal, will soon reach the height of excellence; and to stand still on the summit is difficult; as, in the natural course of things, what cannot advance, recedes. And as we are at first excited with ardour to overtake those whom we think our superiors, so, when we once despair of surpassing or equalling them, our zeal flags with our hope, ceases to pursue what it cannot attain, and, relinquishing that object as already pre-occupied, turns to something new. Declining any pursuit in which we cannot arrive at eminence, we endeavour to find one that will allow scope for our exertions; and the consequence is, that such changes, if frequent and unsteady, prove the greatest obstacle to perfection.

XVIII

Our wonder may well be transferred from ages to cities. One city in Attica was distinguished in eloquence for a greater number of years, and for more achievements in it, than all the rest of Greece; so that, though the natives of that country were dispersed through its different states, we might suppose its genius to have been confined entirely within the walls of Athens. Nor do I more wonder that this should have been the case, than that not a single orator of Argos, Thebes, or Lacedæmon, was thought worthy of notice during his life, or of remembrance after his death. In such studies, these, as well as many other cities, were wholly unproductive, except that the single muse of Pindar conferred some degree of lustre on Thebes. Alcman³³ the Lacedæmonians falsely claim. * * * *

ENDNOTES.

- ¹ I. [Epeus,] being parted, &c.] The name is wanting in the text at the commencement of this fragment. But it appears from Justin, xx., 2, as well as from Aristotle, *De Miraculis*, that it was Epeus, the builder of the Trojan horse, (*doli fabricator Epeus*, Virg. *Æn.*, ii., 264,) who founded Metapontum.
- ² Metapontum] On the coast of Lucania, in the south of Italy.
- ³ His brother] Ajax, who was refused the arms of Achilles.
- ⁴ Phidippus] An inferior leader in the Trojan war, from the isles of Calydnæ, on the coast of Caria. Hom. *Il.*, ii., 678.
- ⁵ His cousin] *Patruelis*. He was son of Thyestes, brother of Atreus, Agamemnon's father.
- ⁶ Tyrrhenus] He gave name, it is said, to Tyrrhenia, Tuscia, or Etruria, in Italy. The story of his departure from Lydia is taken from Herod., i., 94.
- ⁷ Without being known] *Imprudenter*. "He was slain by the enemy, not being aware that he was the king." *Lipsius*.
- ⁸ III. Thessalus, the son of Hercules] Father of Phidippus above mentioned. Homer, *loc. cit.*
- ⁹ Rebuilt] *Condidit*. "Ex integro restituit." *Vossius*.
- ¹⁰ V. An exclusive right, &c.] *Solus appellari poeta meruit*. "Non summus modo; splendidum judicium." *Krause*.
- ¹¹ VI. System of education most suitable] *Disciplinæ convenientissimæ [vir]*. I have omitted *vir*, which, as Ruhnken says, "nullo pacto tolerari potest." Heinsius would alter it to *virtuti*; Ruhnken to *viribus*; and some other critics, as Krause signifies, having proposed *viris*.
- ¹² At the end of this chapter is inserted, in all the editions, a passage from *Æmilius* (or rather, as Krause thinks, *Manilius*) *Sura*. Some person, in old times, seems to have written it in the margin of his manuscript, whence it crept into the text. I have omitted it.
- ¹³ VIII. Feast of Pales] April 21st.
- ¹⁴ Patricians] *Patricii*, from *patres*. Comp. *Flor.*, i., 1.
- ¹⁵ IX. Proved a more powerful enemy] Here is a great *hiatus*, all the history of Rome being lost from the foundation of the city to the year U.C. 582. The commencement of the chapter stands thus: *quam timuerit hostis, expetit*. Lipsius, for *expetit*, would substitute *extitit*, and thinks that the author had

written something to this effect: *Populo Romano gravior, quam timuerat, hostis extitit, nempe Perses*. See Florus, ii., 12.

¹⁶ His brother's] Attalus.

¹⁷ Two hundred thousand sesteria] 1,776,041*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

¹⁸ X. Partner with him in property] *Consors*. “*Consortes* are properly coheirs, inheriting a property in common, which they suffer to remain, at least for a time, undivided.” *Burman*.

¹⁹ XI. Private custody] *Liberâ custodiâ*. See Sall., Cat., c. 47.

²⁰ The Achæans] *Achæos*. That is, the Greeks. The Romans called Greece, as their province, Achaia. See Florus, ii., 7.

²¹ A temple of marble] *Ædem ex marmore*. Burman would take *ædem* for *ædes*, understanding a private house for Metellus himself; but this, as Krause says, is not only *invitâ Latinitate*, but *invitâ historiâ*; for marble was not used in the erection of private houses till a much later period.

²² XIII. *New man*] See Sall., Cat., c. 23.

²³ XV. From the Lupercal] *A Lupercali*. “The Lupercal was a grotto sacred to Pan, near the Palatine mount.” *Krause*.

²⁴ When the great austerity of manners — prevented him, &c.] There are various readings of this passage, but all producing much the same sense. Krause reads, *Cui* (Cassio) *id demoliendo — restitère*; that is, “the austerity of manners, and Scipio the consul, opposed Cassius by pulling it (the theatre) down.”

²⁵ Salyes] A people of Gallia Narbonensis.

²⁶ Carthage in Africa] A colony was established on the site of the old city by the Gracchi, and called *Colonia Carthago*.

²⁷ Bagienni] Otherwise called Vagienni, a people of Liguria, near the source of the Po.

²⁸ XVI. Torrent] *Gurgitis*. The words *ac verticis*, which follow this, and which Ruhnken and Krause think a mere gloss, I have omitted.

²⁹ Whom I have a little before enumerated] *Quos paulo ante enumeravimus*. In some part of the book which is now lost.

³⁰ Cæcilius, Terence, and Afranius] Why does he omit Plautus? “I must suppose either that the name of Plautus has dropped out of the text, or, what seems more probable, that Paterculus entertained the same

opinion of Plautus as Horace expresses, *De Arte Poeticâ*, 270, and therefore intentionally omitted him.”
Krause.

³¹ Except such as lived in his time, or immediately succeeded it] *Neminem — nisi aut ab illo visum, aut qui illum viderit*. This is translated according to the interpretation of Krause. Those who were *visi ab illo* were his contemporaries, (some of them, perhaps, a little his seniors,) with whom he lived, as it were, face to face; those *qui illum viderunt* were the men of the succeeding generation, who were just old enough to have had a sight of him. Thus Ovid says of Virgil, *Virgilium tantum vidi*.

³² Statuaries — sculptors] *Plastis — sculptoribus*. *Plastes*, one that makes figures of any soft matter, as clay; *sculptor*, or *sculptor*, one who works with harder material, as stone or wood.

³³ XVIII. Alcman] He was a native of Lydia, and brought to Lacedæmon when very young, as a slave.

BOOK II.

I. Declension of Roman virtue after the destruction of Carthage; wars with Viriathus and Numantia — II-III. Acts and death of Tiberius Gracchus — IV. Aristonicus defeated; Numantia overthrown; character and death of Publius Scipio — V. Acts of Aulus Brutus in Spain — VI. Proceedings and death of Caius Gracchus — VII. Cruelty of Opimius — VIII. Narbo Martius founded; Cato condemned for extortion; triumphs of the Metelli and Minutius — IX. Eminent Roman orators and writers — X. Severity of the censors; family of the Domitii — XI-XII. The Jugurthine war; the acts of Marius — XIII-XIV. Ill-fortune and death of Drusus — XV-XVI. The colony of Carthage; the Italian war — XVII. The civic franchise granted to the Italians; character of Sylla — XVIII. War with Mithridates commenced; acts of Sulpicius — XIX. Civil war between Marius and Sylla — XX. The consul Pompeius murdered by the soldiers; proceedings of Cinna — XXI. Cinna succeeds in recalling Marius — XXII. Marius's proscription — XXIII. Marius's death; success of Sylla against Mithridates — XXIV. Deaths of Fimbria, Lucilius, and Cinna — XXV-XXVI. Further proceedings of Sylla — XXVII. Fate of Pontius Telesinus, and of the younger Marius — XXVIII. Sylla's dictatorship and proscription — XXIX. Character of Pompey, afterwards called the Great — XXX. Death of Sertorius; triumphs of Metellus and Pompey; war with Spartacus — XXXI-XXXII. Pompey suppresses the pirates — XXXIII. Pompey receives the command of the Mithridatic war; acts of Lucullus — XXXIV. Conquest of Crete; conspiracy of Catiline — XXXV. Character of Cato; deaths of Catiline and the other conspirators — XXXVI. Augustus Cæsar born; learned men of that age — XXXVII. Tigranes surrenders to Pompey — XXXVIII-XXXIX. Names of Roman provinces, and by whom conquered — XL. Pompey conquers Mithridates, and triumphs — XLI-XLIII. Descent, character, and actions of Julius Cæsar — XLIV. First Triumvirate; consulship of Cæsar — XLV. Of Clodius, Cicero, and Cato — XLVI. Cæsar's acts in Gaul; Crassus killed in Parthia — XLVII. Further proceedings of Cæsar; Clodius slain by Milo — XLVIII-LII. Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey — LIII. Death of Pompey — LIV-LV. Cæsar's actions in Egypt, Africa, and Spain — LVI-LVII. Cæsar's triumphs and death — LVIII. Proceedings of Brutus and Cicero — LIX. Opening of Cæsar's will; family and character of Augustus — LX-LXI. Dissensions and war between Cæsar and Antony — LXII. Provinces decreed to Brutus and Cassius by the senate; Cæsar slighted — LXIII. Antony joins the army of Lepidus — LXIV. Death of Decimus Brutus; banishment of Cicero — LXV. The second Triumvirate — LXVI. Another proscription; death of Cicero — LXVII. Conduct of the Romans at the time of the proscription — LXVIII. Of Cælius and Milo; of the clemency of Cæsar — LXIX. Of Dolabella, Vatinius, and the Pædian law — LXX. Proceedings of Brutus and Cassius; they are slain in the battle of Philippi — LXXI-LXXII. Consequences of the battle — LXXIII. Of Sextus Pompeius — LXXIV-LXXV. Of Antony, Cæsar, and Livia — LXXVI. Of Caius Velleius and Fulvia; peace between Cæsar and Antony — LXXVII. Peace with Sextus Pompeius — LXXVIII. Antony marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister; Labienus overthrown — LXXIX. War resumed with Sextus Pompeius; Cæsar marries Livia — LXXX. Degradation of Lepidus — LXXXI. Cæsar suppresses a mutiny in the army — LXXXII. Antony invades Parthia — LXXXIII. Of Plancus — LXXXIV-LXXXVI. Battle of Actium, and what immediately followed it — LXXXVII. Death of Antony — LXXXVIII. Conspiracy, death, and character of Lepidus — LXXXIX. Cæsar's triumphs and plans of government — XC. Reduction of Spain and Dalmatia — XCI. Roman ensigns recovered from the Parthians — XCII. Of Sentius Saturninus — XCIII. Of Marcellus and Agrippa — XCIV-XCVII. Expeditions of Tiberius and Drusus; death of Drusus — XCVIII. The Thracian war — XCIX. Tiberius retires to Rhodes — C. Hostilities resumed in Parthia and Germany; excesses of Julia — CI-CII. Caius Cæsar in Parthia; his death — CIII-CIV. Tiberius and Agrippa adopted by Augustus — CV-CIX. Acts of Tiberius in Germany — CX. Insurrection in Dalmatia — CXI-CXV. Proceedings of Tiberius against the Dalmatians and Pannonians; both are subdued — CXVI. Of some who were

distinguished in this war — CXVII. Loss of the legions in Germany under Varus — CXVIII-CXIX. Of Arminius; death of Varus — CXX-CXXII. Tiberius conducts the German war; his triumphs — CXXIII.

Death of Augustus — CXXIV. Tiberius succeeds him — CXXV. Mutiny in Germany and Illyricum suppressed — CXXVI. Government of Tiberius — CXXVII-CXXVIII. Of Sejanus — CXXIX-CXXX.

Observations on Tiberius — CXXXI. Prayer for the prosperity of Rome.

I

The former Scipio had opened for the Romans the way to power; the latter¹ opened that to luxury. For when their dread of Carthage was at an end, and their rival in empire was removed, the nation, deserting the cause of virtue, went over, not gradually, but with precipitation, to that of vice; the old rules of conduct were renounced, and new introduced; and the people turned themselves from activity to slumber, from arms to pleasure, from business to idleness. Then it was that Scipio built porticos on the Capitol; that Metellus erected those before mentioned²; and that Cnæus Octavius raised that pre-eminently delightful one in the Circus; and private luxury soon followed public magnificence.

There soon succeeded a lamentable and disgraceful war in Spain, conducted by Viriathus, a captain of banditti; which, though it proceeded with various changes of fortune, was oftener adverse than favourable to the Romans. And Viriathus, rather through the treachery than valour of Servilius Cæpio, being killed, a still more violent war with Numantia burst forth. This city never had under arms more than ten thousand of its inhabitants, yet, whether from the obstinacy of their spirit, the inexperience of our generals, or the caprice of fortune, it compelled both Pompeius, a man of great reputation, (the first of the name who held the consulship,) to sign a treaty of peace on most dishonourable terms, and the consul Mancinus Hostilius to make another not less mean and disgraceful. Interest secured Pompey from punishment; but the modesty of Mancinus, by shrinking from no penalty³, led to his being surrendered by heralds to the enemy, stripped of his robes, and with his hands tied behind his back. But the Numantines, acting like the people of Caudium in former times, refused to receive him, saying that a public violation of faith was not to be expiated by the blood of an individual.

II

This surrender of Mancinus excited violent dissensions in the state. For

Tiberius Gracchus, (son of a most illustrious and eminent citizen, and grandson, on his mother's side, of Publius Africanus,) who had been quæstor at the time, and by whose encouragement that treaty had been concluded, was both grievously offended at the annulling of it, and entertained apprehensions for himself of a similar sentence or punishment; from which causes, though in his other conduct a man of the strictest integrity, endowed with the highest abilities, and pure and upright in his intentions, in short, adorned with every virtue of which man when perfected both by nature and cultivation is susceptible, he, on being appointed tribune of the people in the consulate of Publius Mutius Scævola and Lucius Calpurnius, a hundred and sixty-two years ago, deserted the worthy party, and by promising the rights of citizens to all the inhabitants of Italy, and proposing at the same time agrarian laws, threw all things, while all men were eager to secure a footing in the state⁴, into the utmost confusion, and brought the Commonwealth into imminent danger, of which it was for some time doubtful what would be the event. Octavius, one of his colleagues, who stood up in defence of the public good, he compelled to resign his office, and procured the election of himself, his father-in-law Appius, who had been consul, and his brother Gracchus, then very young, as commissioners to distribute lands, and settle colonies.

III

On this, Publius Scipio Nasica, grandson of him who had been pronounced by the senate the best man in the state, son of him who in his censorship had built the porticos to the Capitol, and great grandson of Cnæus Scipio, a man of very illustrious character, uncle of Publius Africanus; this Scipio, I say, though not invested with any military or public office, and though he was cousin to Tiberius Gracchus, yet, preferring his country to family connexion, and considering whatever injured the public as hurtful to each individual, (for which merits he was afterwards, in his absence, created chief pontiff; the first instance of the kind,) wrapped the lappet of his gown round his left arm, and mounted to the upper part of the Capitol; where, standing on the summit of the steps, he called on all that desired the safety of the Commonwealth to follow him. Immediately the chief of the nobility, the senate, the greater and better part of the equestrian body, and such plebeians as were unallured by the pernicious views of the Gracchi, rushed together against Gracchus, who, with

some bands of his partisans, was standing in the court, haranguing a concourse of people from almost every part of Italy. Betaking himself to flight, he was struck, as he was running down the descent from the Capitol, with a piece of a broken bench, and thus prematurely closed a life which he might have passed with the greatest honour. This was the commencement of civil bloodshed, and of impunity to the sword, in Rome. Henceforward right was oppressed by strength; the more powerful were the more highly esteemed; disputes between citizens, which were formerly settled on amicable terms, were decided by the sword; and wars were undertaken, not for honourable reasons, but from prospects of gain. Nor can this excite our wonder; for examples do not stop where they begin; but, if allowed to spread through a channel ever so narrow, make way for themselves to any extent; and, when men have once deviated from the right path, they are hurried headlong into wrong; and no one thinks that dishonourable to himself which is gainful to another.

IV

During the course of these transactions in Italy, Aristonicus, who, on the death of king Attalus, by whom Asia had been bequeathed to the people of Rome, (as Bithynia was afterwards bequeathed to them by Nicomedes,) pretending to be sprung from the royal family, had seized the government by force of arms, was conquered, and led in triumph by Marcus Perperna, and afterwards put to death by Manius Aquilius, for having, at the commencement of hostilities, killed the proconsul Crassus Mucianus, a man eminent for his knowledge of the law, as he was on his journey out of the country.

After so many defeats experienced at Numantia, Publius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, being elected a second time consul, and sent into Spain, supported in that country the character for conduct and success that he had acquired in Africa, and within a year and three months after his arrival levelled Numantia, after surrounding and shaking it with batteries, to the ground. Nor did any man of any nation, before his time, consecrate his name to perpetual remembrance by a more remarkable destruction of cities; for, by the overthrow of Carthage and Numantia, he freed us from the dread of the one, and from the dishonour that we suffered from the other. It was this Scipio, who, being asked by Carbo, a tribune, what

he thought of the killing of Tiberius Gracchus, replied, that if he had any thought of usurping the government, he was justly slain; and, when the whole assembly cried out against him, he exclaimed, “After having so often heard, without fear, the shouts of armed enemies, how can I be alarmed at the cries of such as you, to whom Italy is but a stepmother⁵?”

Returning, from a short absence, into the city, in the consulate of Manius Aquilius and Caius Sempronius, a hundred and fifty-eight years ago, after his two consulships and two triumphs, and after having removed two objects of terror to his country, he was found one morning dead in his bed, and marks of strangulation were observed on his neck. Yet concerning the death of great a man no inquiry was made; and the body of him by whose services Rome had raised her head above the world, was carried to its burial-place with the head veiled⁶. Whether he died a natural death, as most people think, or came to his end, as some have asserted, by treachery, he certainly passed a life of such honour that it is eclipsed by none before his time except that of his grandfather. He died at about fifty-four years of age. If any one questions this, let him look back to Scipio’s first consulship, to which he was elected at the age of thirty-six, and doubt no more.

V

Before the destruction of Numantia, the military efforts of Decimus Brutus in Spain had been remarkable; so that, having made his way through all the nations of that country, subdued vast multitudes of men, and a great number of cities, and visited places of which the names had scarcely been heard, he merited the surname of Gallæcus. A few years before him, military obedience, under Quintus Macedonicus, was enforced in that country with such severity that, while he was besieging a city named Contrebia, he ordered five legionary cohorts, which had been repulsed in an attack on a very steep place, to mount it again immediately. Though all the soldiers made their wills in preparation for action, as if going to certain destruction, the obstinate general was not deterred from his purpose, and saw his men return with victory, whom he had sent out in expectation of death. So great was the effect of shame blended with fear, and of hope springing from despair. He gained much credit for courage and strictness; but Fabius Æmilianus showed in Spain the most noble example of discipline.

After an interval of ten years, the same rage which had animated Tiberius Gracchus, seized his brother Caius, who, resembling him in all his virtues as well as in his want of judgment, was in abilities and eloquence far his superior; and who, though he might, without the least anxiety of mind, have become the very first man in the state, yet, prompted by a desire either of revenging his brother's death, or of preparing a way for himself to regal power, he entered on a tribuneship of similar character to that of his brother, forming projects, however, much more extensive and influential. He designed to extend the civic franchise to all the Italians, as far almost as the Alps; to divide the lands, and to prohibit every citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres; a restriction which had once been enjoined by the Licinian law. He likewise wished to lay new taxes on imported goods, to fill the provinces with new colonies, to transfer the privilege of being judges⁷ from the senators to the knights, and to distribute corn to the populace; in short, he was resolved to leave nothing quiet and undisturbed, nothing in the condition in which he found it. He even procured himself to be re-elected tribune. But the consul Lucius Opimius, who in his prætorship had demolished Fregellæ, attacked him with an armed force, and put him to death, and together with him Fulvius Flaccus, a man who had been consul, and had triumphed, but was equally inclined to noxious measures; and whom Gaius Gracchus had nominated a commissioner in the room of his brother Tiberius, and associated with himself to be a sharer in his king-like power. One particular in Opimius's conduct is mentioned deserving of reprobation, namely, that he offered a reward for the head, not merely of Gracchus, but of any turbulent Roman citizen, promising its weight in gold. Flaccus, while he was collecting a party in arms on the Aventine, with intent to make resistance, was killed, together with his elder son; Gracchus, attempting to escape, and being nearly overtaken by a party sent by Opimius, held out his neck to Euporus his slave, who slew himself with the same fortitude with which he relieved his master. Pomponius, a Roman knight, showed on that day a singular degree of attachment to Gracchus; for, like Cocles, he withstood his enemies on the bridge, and then run himself through with his sword. The body of Caius Gracchus, with great barbarity on the part of the victors, was thrown into the Tiber, as had previously been the case with that of Tiberius.

Such was the latter part of the lives, and such the deaths, of the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, the grandsons of Publius Scipio Africanus, men who made a bad use of the best talents, and who died while their mother, the daughter of Africanus, was still alive. Had these men fixed their desires on any degree of eminence compatible with civil liberty, (whatever it was that they sought to gain by their turbulent proceedings,) the public would have granted it without an effort on their part. To the severity before mentioned, was added an act of unparalleled barbarity. A youth of uncommon beauty, in the eighteenth year of his age, son of Fulvius Flaccus, but innocent of his father's offences, being sent to negotiate terms of accommodation, was ordered to be put to death by Opimius. A Tuscan soothsayer, his friend, seeing the lad weep as he was dragged to prison, said to him, "Why do you not rather act thus?" And immediately dashing his head against a stone pillar at the prison-door, beat out his brains, and expired.

Examinations of the friends and clients of the Gracchi were soon after held, and with great severity. Hence, when Opimius, who, in other matters was upright and respected, was afterwards condemned on a trial before the people, no commiseration was shown him by his countrymen, through their recollection of his former want of feeling. The same general odium afterwards deservedly crushed, under trials before the people, Rutilius and Popillius, who, being consuls at the time, had acted cruelly towards the friends of Tiberius Gracchus. Amongst affairs of such importance I shall mention one of which the knowledge is of little consequence. This is the Opimius, from whom, when he was consul, the celebrated Opimian wine was named. That there is none of it at present may be inferred from the distance of time, for between his consulate and yours, Marcus Vinicius, a hundred and fifty-one years have elapsed. The conduct of Opimius met the less approbation, because his object was revenge from personal enmity; and his severity seemed to have been inflicted to satisfy, not public justice, but private hatred.

[Soon after, in the consulate of Marcius and Porcius, the colony of Narbo Marcius was settled⁸.] Let the strictness of judicial proceedings in those times

be here recorded. Caius Cato, who had been consul, and who was grandson of Marcus Cato, and son of the sister of Africanus, was convicted of extortion committed in Macedonia, and fined eighteen sestertia⁹; for judges then considered the inclination of the man to dishonesty rather than the magnitude of the offence, and estimated deeds, in general, by intention, regarding rather what had been done than to how great an extent. About the same time, the two Metelli, brothers, triumphed on one day. Another instance of distinction not less honourable, and hitherto unparalleled, was, that the two sons of Fulvius Flaccus, him who had taken Capua, were joined together in the consulship. One of them indeed had been adopted, and received into the family of Manlius Acidinus. As to the two Metelli, who were censors together, they were cousins-german, not brothers; the circumstance of two full brothers being united in office fell to the lot of none but the Scipios¹⁰. At this time the Cimbri and Teutones came across the Rhine, and soon made themselves notorious by the calamities that they brought on us and on themselves. At the same time, there was celebrated a brilliant triumph of Minucius, him who built the porticos now so much admired, over the Scordisci.

IX

During this period flourished those eminent orators Scipio Æmilianus, Lælius, Servius Galba, the two Gracchi, Caius Fannius, Papirius Carbo, and, above all, Lucius Crassus and Marcus Antonius. Nor must we omit Metellus Numidicus, or Scaurus. These, in time as well as genius, were followed by Caius Cæsar Strabo and Publius Sulpicius. As to Quintus Mucius, he was more noted for his knowledge of the law than for eloquence. During the same age appeared the bright genius of Afranius in comedy, and those of Pacuvius and Attius in tragedy; geniuses who rise into competition with the spirit of the Greeks. Then were displayed, too, the powers of Ennius¹¹, who claims for his works an honourable place with theirs; for, though they wrote with more correctness, he seems to have had the greater share of energy. A distinguished name was likewise acquired by Lucilius, who in the Numantine war had served in the cavalry under Publius Africanus. At the same time Jugurtha and Marius, then both young, learned in the same camp under Africanus that skill which they were afterwards to practise in opposite camps. Sisenna the historian was then young, but some years after, at a more advanced age,

published his history of the civil wars, and those of Sylla. Cœlius was prior to Sisenna: coeval with him were Rutilius, Claudius Quadrigarius, and Valerius Antias. We must not, however, forget that Pomponius lived in this age, a writer admired for his thoughts, though rude in language, and chiefly deserving notice for the novelty of what he invented¹².

X

Let us here record a severe act of the censors Cassius Longinus and Cæpio, who, a hundred and fifty-five years ago, summoned before them an augur, Æmilius Lepidus, because he rented a house at six sester tia¹³. At present, if any person lived at so low a rent, he would scarcely be acknowledged as a senator: so soon do people proceed from the reasonable to the unreasonable, from the unreasonable to the vicious, from the vicious to the extravagant. During this period a remarkable victory was gained by Domitius over the Arverni, and another by Fabius over the Allobroges. Fabius, who was grandson of Paulus, acquired from his success the surname of Allobrogicus. Here we may observe a peculiar kind of happiness attending the Domitian family, which was highly distinguished, though confined to a small number. Before the present Cnæus Domitius, a youth of most remarkable goodness of disposition, there were seven of that family, the only sons of their respective parents, who all arrived at a consulship and priesthood, and almost all at the honours of a triumph.

XI

The Jugurthine war was then conducted by Quintus Metellus, a commander inferior to no one of the age. Under him acted, as lieutenant-general, Caius Marius, whom we mentioned above, a man of mean birth, coarse and rough in his manners, but of strict temperance¹⁴, who, in proportion as he was excellent in war, was fatal to peace. He was immoderately eager for glory, his ambition was insatiable, his passions ungovernable, so that he was never at rest. By disseminating, through farmers of the revenue, and others who traded in Africa, insinuations against Metellus, as being dilatory in his operations, and purposely protracting the war to the third year, as well as invectives against the natural pride of the nobles, and their ambition to continue in posts of power, he succeeded, after obtaining leave of absence to come to Rome, in

procuring his election to the consulship, and getting the management of the war, now nearly terminated by Metellus, who had twice routed Jugurtha in the field, intrusted to himself. Nevertheless, the triumph of Metellus was exceedingly magnificent, and the surname of Numidicus, which he had well earned by his merits in the field, was conferred upon him. As we previously noticed the splendid fortune of the Domitian family, we may here mention that of the Cæcilian, for within about twelve years of this time there were above twelve Metelli either consuls or censors, or who enjoyed triumphs. Hence it would appear that the fortune of families, like that of cities and empires, flourishes, fades, and decays.

XII

Caius Marius, at this early time, had Lucius Sylla connected with him in quality of quæstor, as if from some precaution of the fates¹⁵, and having sent him ambassador to king Bocchus, received, through his means, king Jugurtha as a prisoner; an event which took place a hundred and thirty-eight years ago. Being elected consul a second time, and returning to Rome, he led Jugurtha in triumph on the first of January, the day on which his second consulship commenced. As the overwhelming force of the German tribes, the Cimbri and Teutones mentioned above, had vanquished and put to flight in Gaul the consuls Cæpio and Manlius, as well as Carbo and Silanus previously, and had dispersed their armies, and killed Aurelius Scaurus the consul, as well as other leaders of great reputation, the Roman people deemed that no commander was better qualified than Marius to repel such formidable enemies. Thenceforward consulships multiplied on him. His third was spent in preparations for the war, and in the same year Cnæus Domitius, a tribune of the people, got a law passed, that the people should appoint priests, who were formerly elected by the sacerdotal body. In his fourth he engaged the Teutones, at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, beyond the Alps, and in two successive days slew a hundred and fifty thousand of them, and utterly reduced their nation. In his fifth, he himself, and the proconsul Quintus Lutatius Catulus, met the Cimbri on what are called the Raudian plains, on this side of the Alps, and put an end to the war by a most successful battle, killing or taking above a hundred thousand men. By these victories Marius seems to have deserved that his country should not regret his birth; and to have made amends by his services for the evils that he brought

upon it. The sixth was conferred on him as a reward for his merits. Yet must not this consulship be defrauded of its due share of praise, for, during the course of it, the consul repressed, with an armed force, the excesses of Servilius, Glaucia, and Saturninus Apuleius, who, maintaining themselves in office, were inflicting deep wounds on the constitution, and dispersing the assemblies of the people with violence and bloodshed; and he at last put those pestilent disturbers to death in the Curia Hostilia¹⁶.

XIII

At the end of a few succeeding years, Marcus Livius Drusus entered on the office of tribune; a man of the noblest birth, the greatest eloquence, and the strictest purity of life; but who, in all his undertakings, was more distinguished by ability and good intention than by success. He formed a design of restoring to the senate its ancient dignity, and of transferring from the knights to that body the right of being judges; because when the knights, by the Sempronian laws, were invested with that authority, they had treated with cruel severity many of the most illustrious and most innocent citizens; and in particular had brought to trial for extortion Publius Rutilius, a man distinguished for virtue not only above his own, but above any age, and, to the exceeding great grief of the public, had condemned him to pay a penalty. But in those very efforts which he made in favour of the senate, he found the senate itself opposed to him. For they did not perceive that whatever he brought forward in favour of the plebeians was intended to allure and attract the multitude, in order that, being gratified in smaller matters, they might consent to others of greater importance. Such, indeed, was the fate of Drusus, that the senate favoured the injurious proceedings of his colleagues more than his own excellent designs, rejecting with scorn the honour offered by him, while they submitted patiently to the wrong done them by the others; looking, in short, with envy on his very exalted reputation, and with indulgence on the mean characters of his opponents.

XIV

When such well-intended plans were badly received, the purpose of Drusus was changed, and he resolved to extend the civic franchise to all Italy. As he was taking measures for this purpose, on coming home one day from the

forum, surrounded by the immense, disorderly crowd that constantly attended him, he was stabbed in the court-yard of his own house with a knife, which was left sticking in his side, and within a few hours expired. While he was drawing almost his last breath, he uttered an expression, as he looked on the crowd standing round and lamenting over him, very consonant to his inward feelings. "My relations and friends," said he, "will the Commonwealth ever again have a citizen like me?" Thus ended the life of this illustrious man. One incident which marks the goodness of his disposition must not be omitted. When he was building a house on the Palatine Mount, on the spot where that stands which formerly was Cicero's, afterwards Censorinus's, and now belongs to Statilius Sisenna, and the architect offered to construct it in such a manner, than it would be proof against all overlookers, no one being able even to cast a glance into it, "Rather," replied he, "if you have such skill, construct my house in such a manner, that whatever I do may be seen by all."

XV

[Among the most pernicious measures introduced by the laws of Gracchus, I reckon the planting of colonies out of Italy. Such a proceeding our ancestors had so carefully avoided, (because they saw Carthage so much more powerful than its mother city Tyre; Marseilles than Phocæa; Syracuse than Corinth; Cyzicus and Byzantium than Miletus,) that they even called home Roman citizens from the provinces to be registered by the censors in Italy. The first colony planted beyond the limits of Italy was Carthage¹⁷.] The death of Drusus hastened the breaking out of the Italian war, which had been gathering to a head during a considerable time before; for in the consulate of Lucius Cæsar and Publius Rutilius, a hundred and twenty years from the present, all Italy took arms against the Romans. This unfortunate insurrection had its origin among the people of Asculum, (who killed Servius a prætor, and Fonteius a lieutenant-general,) and from them it soon spread to the Marsians, and diffused itself through every quarter of the country. As the subsequent sufferings of those people were very severe, so were their demands extremely just; for they claimed the privileges of a country, whose power they supported by their arms; every year, and for every war, they furnished a double number of men, both horse and foot, and yet were not admitted to the privileges of the state, which, by their services, had arrived at that very eminence from which it

looked down with disdain on men of the same nation and blood, as aliens and foreigners. This war carried off above three hundred thousand of the flower of Italy. The Roman generals most distinguished in it were, Cnæus Pompey, father of Cnæus Pompey the Great; Caius Marius before mentioned; Lucius Sylla, who was prætor in the preceding year; and Quintus Metellus, son of Numidicus, who deservedly obtained the surname of Pius: for when his father was banished by Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, because he alone refused to swear obedience to his laws, the son, by his dutiful exertions, and with the sanction of the senate, and the approbation of the Roman people, procured his recal. So that Numidicus was not more honoured by his triumphs and distinctions than by the cause of his exile, the exile itself, and his return from it.

XVI

The most remarkable leaders of the Italians were Silo Popædus, Herius Asinius, Insteius Cato, Caius Pontidius, Telesinus Pontius, Marius Egnatius, and Papius Mutilus. Nor shall I, through mistaken modesty, withhold any part of the praise due to my own family, while I relate only the truth; for much honour ought to be paid to the memory of Minatius Magius of Æculanum, my ancestor in the fourth degree. He was grandson of Decius Magius, (a man of high distinction and trust among the Campanians,) and displayed in this war such a faithful attachment to the Romans, that, when a legion which he himself had raised among the Hirpinians, he, in conjunction with Titus Didius, took Herculaneum, and with Lucius Sylla besieged Pompeii, and gained possession of Compsa. His virtues have been celebrated by several writers, but by Hortensius, in his Annals, more fully and clearly than by any other. The Roman people amply recompensed his fidelity, by voting him a citizen with peculiar distinction, and electing his two sons prætors, at a time when only six were elected. So variable and alarming was the fortune of the Italian war, that in the course of two successive years two Roman consuls, first Rutilius and afterwards Porcius Cato, were slain by the enemy, and the armies of the Roman people discomfited in several places, so that a general assumption of the military dress¹⁸ took place, and was long continued. The enemy chose for their seat of government the city of Corfinium, which they renamed Italicum. The strength of the Romans was afterwards recruited,

though slowly, by admitting into citizenship such as either had not taken arms, or had laid them down early, while the exertions of Pompey, Sylla, and Marius, revived the energy of the government when it was debilitated and ready to sink.

XVII

An end being now nearly put, except where the remains of hostility continued at Nola, to the Italian war, (the result of which was that the Romans, themselves exhausted, consented to grant the privilege of citizenship to certain state that were vanquished and reduced, rather than to the whole when flourishing in unimpaired strength,) Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Cornelius Sylla entered upon their consulship. Sylla was a man, who, before he had subdued his competitors, could not be sufficiently commended, nor afterwards too severely censured. He was of a noble family, being the sixth in descent from Cornelius Rufinus, one of the most celebrated leaders in the war with Pyrrhus; but as the lustre of the family had been for some time obscured, he conducted himself, through a great part of his life, in such a manner, that he seemed to have no thought of standing for the consulship. However, after his prætorship, having acquired great reputation in the Italian war, (such as he had before gained when lieutenant-general under Marius in Gaul, where he defeated some of the enemy's most eminent commanders,) he assumed courage from success, and becoming a candidate for the consulship, was elected by the almost universal suffrage of his countrymen. When he attained this honour, he was in the forty-ninth year of his age.

XVIII

About this time Mithridates king of Pontus, a prince who must neither be passed without notice, nor be slightly mentioned; a man most active in war, pre-eminent in courage, distinguished sometimes by success and always by spirit; in council a general, in action a soldier, and in hatred to the Romans another Hannibal, took forcible possession of Asia, and put to death all the Roman citizens that were in it, whom, by sending letters to the different states, filled with promises of great rewards, he procured to be slain on the same day and hour. At this crisis no people equalled the Rhodians, either in resolute exertions against Mithridates, or in firm attachment to the Romans; and a

lustre was thrown on their fidelity by the perfidy of the Mitylenæans, who gave up in chains to Mithridates, Manius Aquillius and several others; and yet to these very Mitylenæans liberty was afterwards granted by Pompey, merely to gratify Theophanes¹⁹. Mithridates, now becoming formidable, seemed to threaten even Italy, when the province of Asia fell to the lot of Sylla. After leaving Rome, he stayed some time in the neighbourhood of Nola; (for that city, as if repenting of the fidelity to us, which it had sacredly maintained during the Punic war, continued in arms with persevering obstinacy, and was then besieged by a Roman army;) during which interval, Publius Sulpicius, a tribune of the people, an eloquent and active man, distinguished for wealth, interest, the number of his friends, and the vigour of his understanding and character, (who, though he had formerly, with the best apparent intentions, obtained from the people the highest office in the state, yet afterwards, as if he repented of his virtues, and as if his good resolutions were profitless, grew suddenly vicious and violent, and attached himself to Marius, who, at the end of his seventieth year, was still coveting every command and every province,) this man, I say, now proposed a law to the people, by which Sylla's commission was annulled, and the conduct of the Mithridatic war decreed to Marius; to which he added other laws of pernicious and fatal tendency, such as could not be endured in a free state. He even, by means of some emissaries of his faction, put to death a son of the consul Quintus Pompeius, who was also son-in-law of Sylla.

XIX

On this, Sylla, having collected a body of troops, and returned to the city, took possession of it by force of arms, and expelled twelve promoters of these new and pernicious measures, among whom were Marius, his son, and Publius Sulpicius; at the same time procuring a law to be passed declaring them exiles. As for Sulpicius, some horsemen overtaking him in the Laurentine marshes, put him to death; and his head, being elevated and displayed on the Rostrum, was an omen, as it were, of the approaching proscription. Marius, after his sixth consulship and his seventieth year, being found naked, and covered with mud, with only his eyes and nose above the surface, among the reeds at the margin of the lake of Marica, where he had concealed himself to escape the pursuit of Sylla's horsemen, was taken out, and, with a cord about

his neck, dragged to the prison of Minturnæ, by order of one of the two colonial magistrates. A public servant, by nation a German, who happened to have been taken prisoner by Marius in the Cimbrian war, was sent with a sword to despatch him; but no sooner did he recognise Marius, than, with a loud outcry, showing how much he was shocked at the fall of so great a man, he threw away the weapon, and hurried out of the prison. His countrymen, thus taught by a barbarian²⁰ to commiserate the man who was recently at their head, supplied him with clothes and provision for a voyage, and put him on board a ship. Having overtaken his son near the island of Ænaria, he steered his course to Africa, where, in a hut among the ruins of Carthage, he lived in a state of indigence. Here, while Marius reviewed Carthage, and Carthage contemplated him, they might afford consolation to each other.

XX

In this year the hands of the soldiers were first stained with the blood of a Roman consul. Quintus Pompeius, Sylla's colleague, was slain by the troops of Cnæus Pompey the proconsul, in a mutiny which their leader had himself excited. * * * *

Cinna showed no more moderation than Marius and Sulpicius; for although the citizenship of Rome had been granted to Italy, on the understanding that the new members should be included in eight new tribes, (lest otherwise their power and numbers might detract from the dignity of the original citizens, and the receivers of the kindness be more powerful than their benefactors,) he now promised that he would distribute them through all the tribes. With this object in view, he had drawn together into the city a vast multitude from all parts of Italy. But he was driven out of Rome by the power of his colleague and of the nobles; and, while he was on his way to Campania, the consulship was taken from him by a vote of the senate, and Lucius Cornelius Merula, flamen of Jupiter, was appointed in his place; an illegal proceeding, better suited to the demerits of the man, than for a precedent. Cinna, after first bribing the tribunes and centurions, and then gaining over the soldiers by promises of largesses, was received as leader by the army at Nola, and when all the troops had sworn obedience to him, he, retaining the ensigns of consul, turned their arms against his country; depending chiefly, however, on the vast number of the new citizens, of whom he had enlisted above three hundred cohorts, and

filled up the complement of thirty legions. His party stood in need of men of character and influence; and, to add to these, he recalled from exile Caius Marius, his son, and the others who had been banished with them.

XXI

While Cinna was making war on his country, Cnæus Pompeius, father of Pompey the Great, (who had done eminent service to the state in the Marsian war, especially in the Picenian territory, and had taken Asculum, near which city, while the troops were dispersed in various other parts, seventy-five Roman citizens, in one day, maintained a conflict with more than sixty thousand Italians,) had become, from being disappointed of another consulship, so equivocal in his conduct, and so apparently undecided for either party, that he seemed to do nothing but with a view to his own advantage, and to be watching for opportunities of turning himself and his army to one side or the other, wherever the greater prospect of power for himself should appear. But at last he came to a collision with Cinna, in a long and fierce battle, of which, begun and ended as it was under the very walls and view of the city of Rome, it can hardly be expressed how grievous was the result both to the combatants and the spectators²¹. Soon after, while a pestilence was ravaging both armies, as if they were not sufficiently exhausted by the sword, Cnæus Pompeius died; but the joy felt at his death was in a great measure counterbalanced by sorrow for the loss of so many citizens, cut off by the sword or by sickness. The Roman people vented on his corpse the resentment which they owed to him when alive. Whether there were two or three families of the Pompeii, Quintus Pompeius was the first consul of that name, with Cnæus Servilius, about a hundred and sixty-seven years ago. Cinna and Marius, after several encounters, not without considerable bloodshed on both sides, made themselves masters of the city; but Cinna entered it first, and proposed a law for the recal of Marius.

XXII

Soon after, Caius Marius made his entry into the city, an entry fatal to his countrymen. Nothing could have surpassed his victorious irruption in cruelty, had not that of Sylla speedily followed. Nor was the licentious barbarity of the sword inflicted only on the middling ranks; but men of the highest stations,

and most eminent characters, were destroyed under various kinds of sufferings; among these the consul Octavius, a man of the mildest disposition, was slain by order of Cinna. Merula, who, on the approach of Cinna, had resigned the consulship, having opened his veins, and sprinkled his blood on the altars, implored the same gods, whom, as priest of Jupiter, he had often intreated to preserve the Commonwealth, to pour curses on Cinna and his party, and then resigned a life, which had greatly served the state. Marcus Antonius, a man as eminent in civil dignity as in eloquence, was, by order of Marius and Cinna, stabbed by the swords of the soldiers; whom he long caused to hesitate by the power of his eloquence. Quintus Catulus, celebrated for his other merits, as well as for the fame acquired in the Cimbrian war, which was common to him and Marius, when search was made for him by executioners, shut himself up in a place lately plastered with mortar²², had fire brought it to raise a strong smell, and then, by inhaling the noxious vapour, and holding in his breath, he found a death agreeable to his wishes, though not to the intentions of his enemies. Everything was falling headlong into ruin, but no person was yet found who dared to make a donation of the property of a Roman citizen, or to ask for it. Afterwards this additional evil was introduced, that avarice supplied motives for cruelty; magnitude of guilt was estimated by magnitude of wealth; whoever was rich, was criminal, and became a reward, as it were, for his own destruction²³; nor was anything considered dishonourable that was gainful.

XXIII

Cinna now entered on his second consulship, and Marius on his seventh, to the utter disgrace of the former six. In the early part of it he fell sick and died, leaving a character for having been implacable in war towards his enemies, and in peace toward his countrymen, and utterly impatient of quiet. In his room was elected Valerius Flaccus, the author of a most dishonourable law, by which he obliged all creditors to accept a fourth part of what was due to them; for which proceeding deserved punishment overtook him within two years after. While Cinna tyrannised in Italy, the greater part of the nobility fled into Achaia to Sylla, and thence afterwards into Asia. Sylla meanwhile engaged the generals of Mithridates, near Athens, in Bœotia, and Macedonia, with such success that he recovered Athens, and, after expending a vast deal

of labour in reducing the numerous fortifications of the Piræus, slew above two hundred thousand of the enemy, and took at least as many prisoners. If any person imputes the guilt of rebellion to the Athenians, at the time when their city was besieged by Sylla, he is certainly ignorant both of the truth and of history. For so invariable was the fidelity of the Athenians to the Romans, that at all times, and in every transaction, whatever was performed with perfect good faith, the Romans used to say was done with “Attic faith.” But that people, overpowered by the force of Mithridates, were in a most miserable condition, held in possession by their enemies, besieged by their friends, and, while their inclinations were outside the walls, compelled by necessity to keep their persons within. Sylla, then passing over to Asia, found Mithridates submissive, and ready to agree to any terms whatever. He obliged him, after paying a fine in money, and delivering up half of his ships, to withdraw from Asia and all the other provinces of which he had taken possession by force of arms; he recovered the prisoners, punished the deserters and other traitors, and ordered the king to confine himself within his father’s territory, that is, Pontus.

XXIV

Caius Flavius Fimbria (who, being general of the cavalry before Sylla came into Asia, had put to death Valerius Flaccus, a man that had been consul, and, having assumed the command of the army, and been saluted with the title of Imperator, had got the better of Mithridates in a vigorous engagement) slew himself on Sylla’s arrival. He was a young man, who executed with bravery what he planned with utter disregard of honesty. In the same year Publius Lænas, a tribune of the people, threw from the Tarpeian rock Sextus Lucilius, who had been tribune the year before; and as his colleagues, whom he had fixed a day to bring to trial, fled in alarm to Sylla, he procured a sentence of banishment²⁴ against them.

Sylla, having now arranged affairs beyond sea, and having, as chief of all the Romans, received ambassadors from the Parthians, (some of whom, being magi, foretold from marks on his body that his life and memory would be glorious,) sailed home to Italy, landing at Brundisium not more than thirty thousand men to oppose two hundred thousand of his enemies. I can scarcely consider any part of Sylla’s conduct more honourable than this; that while the

party of Marius and Cinna held Italy in subjection, during three years, and while he never dissembled his intention of turning his arms against them, he yet did not relinquish the affairs which he had in hand, judging it right to humble an enemy, before he took vengeance on a countryman; nor was it till fear from abroad was removed, and till he had subdued foreign foes, that he proceeded to suppress opposition at home. Before the arrival of Lucius Sylla, however, Cinna was slain in a mutiny of his troops. Such a man deserved to die rather by the sentence of a conqueror, than by the rage of the soldiery. But he was a character, of whom it may truly be said, that he dared what no good man would dare, and accomplished what could be effected by none but the bravest; that he was precipitate in forming his designs, but executed them like a man. Carbo, electing no colleague in his room, continued sole consul for all the rest of the year.

XXV

It might be supposed that Sylla had come into Italy, not to take vengeance for the war raised against him, but merely to establish peace; so quietly did he lead his army through Calabria and Apulia into Campania, taking the greatest care for the safety of the fruits, lands, inhabitants, and towns; and endeavouring to put an end to the war on just and equitable terms. But peace could never be acceptable to those whose desires were unprincipled and without control. In the mean time Sylla's army increased daily; for all the best and most judicious flocked to his standard. Then, by a happy concurrence of events, he suppressed the consuls Scipio and Norbanus near Capua; Norbanus was conquered in battle; Scipio, deserted by his troops and delivered into Sylla's hands, was dismissed without injury. So different was Sylla as an adversary and a conqueror, that, while he was still gaining a victory, he was merciful to excess²⁵, but after it was secured, more cruel than any on record. Thus he dismissed the disarmed consul, as we have said, and released, in like manner, Quintus Sertorius, (soon to prove the firebrand of so great a war,) and many others whom he had taken; in order, we might suppose, that a proof might be seen of the existence of two distinct and opposite minds in the same person. After his victory, on the spot where, in his descent from Mount Tifata, he had encountered Caius Norbanus, he gave solemn thanks to Diana, the deity to whom that tract is sacred, and dedicated to the goddess the waters so

celebrated for their salubrity and for curing diseases, with all the adjacent land. An inscription on a pillar at the door of her temple, and a brazen tablet within it, preserve to the present day the memory of this grateful religious ceremony.

XXVI

The next consuls were Carbo, a third time, and Caius Marius, son of him who had been seven times consul; the latter was then twenty-six years old, and was a man of his father's spirit, though not of his father's length of life²⁶. He made many courageous efforts, nor did he, as consul, fall in any way below his name. But being defeated by Sylla in a pitched battle at Sacriportus, he retreated with his troops to Præneste, a place which was well defended by nature, and in which he had placed a strong garrison.

That nothing might be wanting to the public calamities, men rivalled each other in crimes, in a state where the rivalry had always been in virtues; and he thought himself the best man who proved himself the worst. Thus Damasippus, then prætor, during the contest at Sacriportus, murdered in the Curia Hostilia, as abettors of Sylla's party, Domitius, Mucius Scævola, who was chief pontiff, and highly celebrated for his knowledge both of divine and human law, Caius Carbo, who had been prætor, and was brother of the consul, and Antistius, who had been ædile. Let not Calpurnia, daughter of Bestia, and wife of Antistius, lose the renown of a very glorious act. When her husband was put to death, as we have said, she stabbed herself with a sword. What an accession of glory and fame to her family²⁷! * *

XXVII

At this time, Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite general, a man of great spirit and activity in the field, and a thorough enemy to all the Roman name, having assembled about forty thousand young men of the greatest bravery, and the most determined obstinacy in continuing the war, maintained, in the consulship of Carbo and Marius, on the first of November, a hundred and eleven years ago, such a struggle with Sylla at the Colline gate, as brought both him and the republic into the utmost peril; nor was the state in more imminent danger when it beheld the camp of Hannibal within three miles of the city, than on that day when Telesinus, hurrying through the ranks of his

army, exclaimed that the last day of Rome was come, and exhorted them in a loud voice to pull down and destroy the city, adding, that those wolves, the devourers of Italian liberty, would never cease from ravaging, until the woods, in which they took refuge, were hewn down. At length, after the first hour of the night, the Roman troops took breath, and those of the enemy retired. Next day Telesinus was found mortally wounded, but wearing the look of a conqueror, rather than of a man at the point of death. Sylla ordered his head to be cut off, and carried and displayed around the walls of Præneste. Young Caius Marius, then at length seeing his cause desperate, endeavoured to make his way out through subterraneous passages²⁸, which, constructed with wonderful labour, led to different parts of the adjacent country, but, as soon as he emerged from an opening, he was slain by persons stationed there for the purpose. Some say, that he died by his own hand; others, that as he was struggling with the younger brother of Telesinus, who was shut up with him, and attempting to escape at the same time, they fell by mutual wounds. In whatever manner he died, his memory, even at this day, is not obscured by the grand reputation of his father. What was Sylla's opinion of the youth, is manifest; for it was not till after his death that he assumed the title of Felix, which he would have adopted with the greatest justice, had his victories and his life ended together. The commander of the forces that besieged Marius in Præneste was Lucretius Ofella, who, having been previously a leader on Marius's side, had deserted to Sylla. The happy issue of that day, on which Telesinus and the Samnite army were repulsed, Sylla honoured with an annual celebration of games in the Circus, which are exhibited under the title of "Sylla's Games."

XXVIII

A short time before Sylla's battle at Sacriportus, some officers of his party had defeated the enemy in engagements of great importance; the two Servilii at Clusium, Metellus Pius at Faventia, and Marcus Lucullus near Fidentia. The miseries of civil war seemed now to be at an end, when they were renewed with additional violence by the cruelty of Sylla; for, being made dictator, (an office which had been discontinued a hundred and twenty years, the last having been in the year subsequent to Hannibal's departure from Italy; whence it is evident that the Roman people did not so much desire the

authority of the dictatorship in times of danger, as they dreaded it in those of peace,) he used that power, which former dictators had employed to preserve the state from imminent dangers, with the unrestrained indulgence of wanton barbarity. He first adopted (would that he had been the last!) the plan of proscription; so that, in a state in which justice is granted to a hissed actor, if assailed with abusive language, a reward was publicly offered for the murder of a Roman citizen; he who procured most deaths, gained most money; the price for killing an enemy was not greater than that for killing a citizen; and each man's property became a prize for depriving him of life²⁹. He vented his barbarous rage, not only on those who had borne arms against him, but on many who could not be charged with any guilt. He directed, also, that the goods of the proscribed should be sold; and the children, after being excluded from the property of their fathers, were deprived of the right of suing for places of honour; thus, what was most unreasonable, the sons of senators were obliged to bear the burdens of their station, and at the same time lost their privileges.

XXIX

Not long before Lucius Sylla's arrival in Italy, Cnæus Pompey, son of that Cnæus Pompey whose great exploits in his consulship, during the Marsian war, we have previously mentioned, being then twenty-three years of age, a hundred and thirteen years ago, began to form great projects, depending as well on his own private resources as on his own judgment, and boldly to put them in execution; and in order to support or restore the dignity of his country, assembled a strong army from the Picenian territory, which was wholly filled with his father's clients. To do justice to this man's greatness would require many volumes; but the limits of my work require that he should be characterised in a few words. His mother's name was Lucilia, of a senatorial family; he was remarkable for beauty, not such as adorns the bloom of life, but of such dignity and serenity as was well adapted to his rank and station, and which accompanied him to the last day of his life. He was distinguished for temperance, was eminent for integrity, and had a moderate share of eloquence. He was excessively covetous of power, when conferred on him from regard to his merit, but had no desire to acquire it by irregular means. In war, he was the most skilful of generals; in peace, the most

moderate of citizens, except when he was jealous of having an equal. He was constant in his friendships, placable when offended, most cordial in reconciliation, most ready to receive an apology. He never, or very rarely, stretched his power to excess, and was almost exempt from vice, unless it be counted among the greatest vices, that, in a free state, the mistress of the world, though, in every right, he saw every citizen his equal, he could not endure to behold any one on a level with him in dignity. From the time of his assuming the manly gown, he was trained to war in the camp of his father, a general of consummate judgment; and he improved a genius naturally good, and capable of attaining all useful knowledge, with such singular skill in military affairs, that while Metellus received higher praise from Sertorius, Pompey was much more dreaded by him.

XXX³⁰

* * * * At this time Marcus Perperna, a man who had held the prætorship, one of the proscribed, and who was of high family, but of little honour, assassinated Sertorius at a feast at Osca; and by this execrable deed procured certain victory for the Romans, ruin for his own party, and a most shameful death for himself³¹. Metellus and Pompey triumphed for the conquest of Spain. At the time of this triumph, also, Pompey was still a Roman knight; yet on the day before he entered his consulship, he rode through the city in his chariot³². Must it not be matter of wonder, that this man, elevated to the summit of dignity through so many extraordinary gradation of preferment, should be displeased at the Roman senate and people for favouring Caius Cæsar in his application for a second consulship? So apt are men to think everything pardonable in themselves, and to show no indulgence to others; regulating their dislike of proceedings, not by the merits of the case, but by their own wishes and feelings for particular characters. In this consulate, Pompey re-established the tribunitial power, of which Sylla had left the shadow without the substance.

While the war with Sertorius continued in Spain, sixty-four fugitive slaves, headed by Spartacus, made their escape out of a gladiator's school at Capua; and, forcibly supplying themselves with swords in that city, directed their course at first to Mount Vesuvius. Afterwards, increasing daily in numbers, they brought many and grievous disasters on the whole of Italy. At length they

became so numerous, that in the last battle which they fought, they opposed forty thousand men to the Roman army. The honour of terminating this war fell to Marcus Crassus, who soon after became a leading man among the Roman people.

XXXI

The character of Cnæus Pompey had attracted the attention of the whole world, and he was regarded as something more than man. In his consulship he had very laudably taken an oath, that, on the expiration of his office, he would not take the government of any province; and this oath he had observed; when, two years after, Aulus Gabinius, a tribune of the people, got a law passed, that, whereas certain pirates kept the world in alarm with their fleets, engaging in regular warfare, and not in mere robberies or secret expeditions, and had even plundered several cities in Italy, Cnæus Pompey should be commissioned to suppress them; and should have authority in all the provinces, equal to that of the proconsuls, to the distance of fifty miles from the sea. By this decree the government of almost the whole world was vested in one man. However, a law of the like kind had been made two years before in the case of Marcus Antonius, when prætor; but as the character of the person concerned renders such a precedent more or less pernicious, so it augments or diminishes men's disapprobation of the proceeding. With regard to Antonius, they acquiesced without displeasure, for people are rarely jealous of the honours of those whose influence they do not fear. On the contrary, they look with dead on extraordinary powers conferred on persons who seem able either to resign or retain them at their own choice, and who have no limit to their acts but their own will. The nobility opposed the measure, but prudence was overcome by party violence.

XXXII

It is proper to mention in this place, a testimony to the high character, and extraordinary modesty, of Quintus Catulus. Arguing against this decree in the assembly, and having observed that Pompey was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary merit, but that he was already too great for a member of a free state, and that all power ought not to be reposed in one individual, he added, "If anything shall happen to that man, whom will you substitute in his place?"

To which the whole assembly answered aloud, “Yourself, Quintus Catulus.” On this, being overcome by the general concurrence of opinion, and by such an honourable proof of the public esteem, he withdrew from the assembly. Here it is pleasing to admire the modesty of the man and the justice of the people; his modesty in desisting from pressing his opinion further, and their justice in proving themselves unwilling to defraud him of a due testimony of esteem, though he was opposing and arguing against their inclinations. About the same time, Cotta divided equally between the two orders the privilege of being judges³³, which Caius Gracchus had taken from the senate, and transferred to the knights, and which Sylla had again restored to the senators. Roscius Otho now restored³⁴ to the knights their places in the theatre. Cnæus Pompey having engaged many officers of great abilities to assist him in the war, and having raised a navy sufficient to command every nook of the sea, very soon, with his invincible hand, freed the world from apprehension, defeated the pirates * * * in various places³⁵, and, attacking them on the coast of Cilicia, gave them a final overthrow. And in order the sooner to conclude a war so widely spread, he collected the remains of these depredators together, and appointed them fixed residences in towns, and in parts remote from the sea. Some blame this proceeding; but the high character of the man sufficiently justifies it; though, indeed, its reasonableness would have justified it in a man of any character. Enabling them to live without plundering, he of course diverted them from a predatory life.

XXXIII

When the war with Mithridates was drawing to a close, and while Lucius Lucullus, who, on the expiration of his consulship, seven years before, having received Asia as his province, and been appointed to act against Mithridates, had achieved many memorable exploits, having often defeated that monarch in various places, having relieved Cyzicus by a glorious victory, having vanquished Tigranes, the greatest king of the age, in Armenia, and having forborne, rather than been unable, to put the finishing hand to the war, (for though in every other respect highly deserving of praise, and in the field almost invincible, he was a slave to the desire of increasing his wealth,) while Lucullus, I say, was still prosecuting the contest, Manilius, a tribune of the people, a man always venal, and the tool of men in power, proposed a law,

“that the war with Mithridates should be conducted by Cnæus Pompey.” This law was passed; and a quarrel ensued between the two commanders, attended with violent altercations. Pompey reproached Lucullus with his scandalous love of money, and Lucullus railed at Pompey’s inordinate ambition; and neither could be convicted of falsehood in what he laid to the charge of the other. For Pompey, from his first engagement in public business, could never with patience endure an equal, and in cases where he was entitled to the first share of honour, he wished to engross the whole; no man, indeed, being less covetous of everything else, or more so of glory. In his pursuit of employments of honour, he was immoderate; in office, he displayed the utmost moderation. Though he accepted posts of distinction with pleasure, he quitted them without regret, resigning at the will of others what he had sought for his own gratification. Lucullus, in other particulars a very great man, was the first introducer of the luxury which now prevails in buildings, entertainments, and furniture; so that, in allusion to the structures which he raised in the sea, and his conducting the sea into the land by undermining mountains, Pompey the Great used facetiously to call him “Xerxes in a toga.”

XXXIV

About this time, the island of Crete was reduced under the dominion of the Roman people by Quintus Metellus. This island, under two leaders, named Panares and Lasthenes, at the head of twenty-four thousand young men, who were swift and active, patient of warfare and toil, and eminently skilled in archery, had wearied out the Roman armies during the previous three years. Even of the renown acquired here, Pompey did not refrain from seeking a share, but endeavoured to make it appear that a portion of the success was due to himself. However, their own singular merits, and the feeling against Pompey entertained by the most honourable men on the occasion, rendered the triumph of Lucullus and Metellus extremely popular.

Soon after, Marcus Cicero, who was indebted to himself for all his advancement, the noblest of new men³⁶, honoured in his life and pre-eminent in ability, to whom we are obliged for not being excelled in genius by those³⁷ whom we conquered in arms, detected, in his character of consul, and with extraordinary courage, firmness, vigilance, and activity, a conspiracy of Sergius Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and other members of the senatorial and

equestrian orders. Catiline was compelled, by dread of the extraordinary powers conferred on the consul, to flee from the city. Lentulus, Cethegus, and several others of great note, were, by the consul's order, under the authority of the senate, put to death in prison.

XXXV

That day of the senate's meeting, on which these transactions passed, displayed in the brightest colours the merit of Marcus Cato, which on many prior occasions had shone conspicuous, and with peculiar lustre. He was great-grandson of Marcus Cato, the founder of the Porcian family, and was a man who closely resembled virtue itself, and, in every particular of his conduct, seemed more like the gods than mankind; who never acted rightly, that he might appear to do so, but because he could not act otherwise; who never thought anything reasonable, that was not likewise just; and who, exempt from every vice, kept his own fortune always in his own power. After some had advised that Lentulus and the other conspirators should be kept in custody in the municipal towns, he, being then tribune of the people elect, very young, and almost the last that was asked his opinion, inveighed against the conspiracy with such energy and ability, that, by the warmth of his discourse, he caused the language of all that recommended lenity to be regarded with suspicion, as if they were connected with the plot; and so forcibly did he represent the dangers impending from the destruction and burning of the city, and from the subversion of the established state of public affairs, so highly, too, did he extol the merits of the consul, that the whole senate went over to his opinion, and decreed that capital punishment should be inflicted on the conspirators; and the greater part of that body, after the conclusion of the debate, escorted him to his house. But Catiline was not less resolute in the prosecution of his schemes, than he had been in forming them; for, fighting with the greatest courage, he resigned in the field of battle the breath which he owed to the executioner.

XXXVI

The birth of the emperor Augustus, ninety-two years from the present time, who was afterwards, by his greatness, to cast a shade over all men of all nations, added no small lustre to the consulship of Cicero. To notice the times

at which eminent geniuses flourished during this period, may seem almost superfluous; for who is ignorant that in this age arose, separated by short intervals, Cicero, Hortensius, and, a little before them, * * * Crassus³⁸, Cotta, and Sulpicius, while, immediately after, appeared Brutus, Calidius, Cælius, Calvus, and Cæsar, who came next to Cicero, besides the disciples, as we may call them, of these, Corvinus, Asinius Pollio, Sallust, the rival of Thucydides, as well as the poets Varro and Lucretius, with Catullus, who was inferior to none in the style of writing which he adopted? To enumerate those that are before our eyes would seem to be but folly; amongst whom, however, the most eminent are Virgil, the prince of poets, Rabirius³⁹, Livy, who follows hard upon Sallust, Tibullus, and Ovid, each excellent in his peculiar species of composition. But the difficulty of criticising our living authors is proportioned to the great admiration felt for them.

XXXVII

During the time of these transactions in Rome and Italy, Cnæus Pompey was carrying on the war with extraordinary success against Mithridates, who, after the departure of Lucullus, had formed a new army of very great force. But the king being routed and put to flight, and stripped of all his forces, went into Armenia, to his son-in-law Tigranes, the most powerful prince of that age, had not his strength been somewhat reduced by the arms of Lucullus. Pompey, therefore, in pursuit of both, entered Armenia. The son of Tigranes, who was at variance with his father, was the first to meet Pompey, and soon after, the king himself, in a suppliant manner, surrendered his person and his kingdom to his disposal; previously declaring, that there was no man, either of the Roman or of any other nation, to whose honour he would entrust himself, but Cnæus Pompey; that any condition, whether favourable or adverse, which he should appoint, would be tolerable to him; and that it was no disgrace to be conquered by him whom it was impossible to conquer, nor any dishonour to submit to him whom fortune had raised above all men. The king was allowed to retain the honour of sovereignty, but was obliged to pay a vast sum of money; the whole of which, according to Pompey's constant practice, was lodged in the hands of the quæstor, and registered in the public accounts. Syria and the other provinces which he had seized, were taken from him; of which some were restored to the Roman people, and others came for the first

time under its dominion, as Syria, which was sentenced to pay tribute. The limits of the king's dominion were fixed as those of Armenia.

XXXVIII

It seems not inconsistent with the plan of this work to recount briefly what states and nations have been reduced, and under whose generalship, into the form of provinces, and made tributary. This statement I shall give, that the whole history of them may more easily be learned at one view, than if each were mentioned separately. The first who transported an army into Sicily was the consul Claudius; and about fifty-two years after, Claudius Marcellus, having taken Syracuse, made it a province. Regulus first carried hostilities into Africa, about the ninth year of the first Punic war; but it was not till a hundred and five years after, (a hundred and seventy-five years from the present time,) that Publius Scipio Æmilianus, on destroying Carthage, reduced Africa into the form of a province. Sardinia submitted to a permanent yoke of government between the first and second Punic wars, through the exertions of the consul Titus Manlius. It is a strong proof of the warlike disposition of the Roman nation, that the shutting of the temple of double-faced Janus gave indication of general peace, only once under the kings, a second time in the consulship of this Titus Manlius, and a third time in the reign of Augustus. The first who led armies into Spain were the two Scipios, Cnæus and Publius, in the beginning of the second Punic war, two hundred and fifty years ago; after that, our possessions there varied, and were often partly lost, but the whole was made tributary by the arms of Augustus. Paulus subdued Macedonia, Mummius Achaia, Fulvius Nobilior Ætolia. Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus, took Asia from Antiochus; but after it had been possessed some time by the royal family of Attalus, through the kindness of the Roman senate and people, Marcus Perperna, having taken Aristonicus prisoner, made it a tributary province. Of conquering Cyprus the honour can be given to no one; for it was in consequence of a decree of the senate, and by the instrumentality of Cato, on the death of its king, which, conscious of guilt, he inflicted on himself, that it became a province. Crete was punished, under the command of Metellus, with the loss of its long-enjoyed liberty, and Syria and Pontus are monuments of the valour of Cnæus Pompey.

In Gaul, which was first entered with an army by Domitius, and Fabius the grandson of Paulus, who got the title of Allobrogicus, we often, with great detriment to ourselves, made acquisitions and lost them. But the most splendid achievements of Caius Cæsar is there conspicuous; for, under his conduct and auspices, it was so reduced, that it tamely pays almost the same tribute as all the rest of the world. By the same commander Numidia was made a province. Isauricus completely subdued Cilicia, and Manlius Vulso Gallogræcia, after the war with Antiochus. Bithynia, as we have stated, was left us as an inheritance by the will of Nicomedes. The divine Augustus, beside Spain and other nations, with the names of which his Forum is adorned, brought into the treasury, by making Egypt tributary, almost as great a revenue as his father did by the reduction of Gaul. Tiberius Cæsar extorted from the Illyrians and Dalmatians as explicit a confession of subjection as his parent had exacted from the Spaniards, and annexed to our empire, as new provinces, Rhætia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and the Scordisci. As he reduced these by arms, so, by the influence of his name, he made Cappadocia tributary to the Romans. But let us return to the course of our narrative.

XL

Then followed the military exploits of Cnæus Pompey, of which it is hard to tell, whether the glory or the toil was greater. In his victorious career, he traversed Media, Albania, Iberia, and then directed his march to the nations inhabiting the interior and right-hand coasts of the Pontus Euxinus, the Colchians, Heniochi, and Achæans. Mithridates, sinking under the ascendancy of Pompey, and the treachery of his own son Pharnaces, was the last of independent kings, excepting the Parthian⁴⁰. Thus Pompey, victorious over every nation to which he had gone, grown greater than the wish of his countrymen or even than his own, and having in every way exceeded the measure of human fortune, returned to Italy. An opinion that had prevailed rendered his return extremely popular; for most people had asserted that he would not come into the city without his army, and that he would limit the liberty of the people by his own will. The more strongly they were affected by this apprehension, the more grateful was the unassuming manner in which that

great commander returned; for, having disbanded his whole army at Brundisium, and retaining nothing of the general but the title, he entered the city with no other retinue than that which was constantly accustomed to attend him. During two days he exhibited a most magnificent triumph over so many kings, and, out of the spoils, brought into the treasury a much larger sum of money than had been known in any former instance, excepting that of Paulus⁴¹. During the absence of Pompey, Titus Ampius and Titus Labienus, tribunes of the people, got a law passed, that at the games in the Circus he might wear a crown of laurel, and all the dress usual in triumphs; and at exhibitions on the stage, a purple-bordered robe, and laurel crown; but this privilege he never thought proper to use but once, and, in truth, even that was too much. Fortune added to this man's dignity with such large increase, that he triumphed first over Africa, then over Europe, and next over Asia, rendering each part of the world a monument of his victories. But eminent stations are never exempt from envy. Lucullus, who, however, was moved by resentment of the ill-treatment shown him, and Metellus Creticus, who had a just cause of complaint, (for Pompey had taken from him some captive leaders that were intended to grace his triumph,) in conjunction with many of the nobles, laboured to prevent both Pompey's engagements to the several states, and his promises of rewards to the deserving, from being fulfilled according to his direction.

XLI

Next followed the consulship of Caius Cæsar, who arrests me as I am writing, and forces me, though in haste, to bestow some attention on him. He was born of the most noble, and, as all writers admit, most ancient family of the Julii, deriving his pedigree from Anchises and Venus. In personal beauty he was the first of all his countrymen; in vigour of mind indefatigable; liberal to excess; in spirit elevated above the nature and conception of man; in the grandeur of his designs, the celerity of his military operations, and in his cheerful endurance of dangers, exactly resembling Alexander the Great when sober and free from passion. Food he took for the sustenance of life, not for pleasure. Though he was closely connected in relationship with Caius Marius, and was also son-in-law to Cinna, (whose daughter he could by no intimidation be induced to divorce, though Marcus Piso, a man of consular

rank, to gratify Sylla, had divorced Annia, who had been wife of Cinna,) and though he was only about nineteen years old when Sylla assumed the government of the state, yet the ministers and creatures of Sylla, more than himself, made search for him, in order to kill him; on which he changed his clothes, and, putting on a dress far inferior to his rank, escaped out of the city in the night. Afterwards, while he was still very young, he was taken by pirates, and during the whole time that he was detained by them, behaved in such a manner, that he became an object both of terror and veneration to them; nor did he ever, by night or by day, take off his shoes or his girdle, (for why should so remarkable a circumstance be omitted, though it cannot be told with any grace of style?) lest, if he made any alteration in his usual dress, he should render himself suspected by those who watched him only with their eyes⁴².

XLII

It would require too much space to speak of all his various and numerous services, or of the conduct of the Roman magistrate, who then governed Asia, and who, through timidity, shrunk from seconding his efforts. Let what follows be mentioned, as a specimen of the conduct of a man soon to become so great. On the night succeeding the day on which he was ransomed by the public money of several states, (which, however, he managed so as to make the pirates give hostages to those states,) he collected a squadron of private vessels hastily fitted out, and sailing to the place where the pirates were, dispersed part of their fleet, sunk part, took several of their ships and men, and then, delighted at the success of his nocturnal expedition, returned to his friends. Having lodged his prisoners in custody, he proceeded to Bithynia, to the proconsul Junius, the governor of Asia, and requested him to give orders for putting the prisoners to death. This he refused, and said he would sell them, (for envy was the concomitant of his baseness of spirit⁴³,) when Cæsar, with incredible speed, returned to the coast, and before letters from the proconsul about the business could be conveyed to any one, crucified the whole of the prisoners.

XLIII

Returning in haste to Italy, to take on him the priest's office, (for he had been

elected a pontifex in his absence, in the room of Cotta, who had been consul; and when almost a boy, indeed, he had been appointed a priest of Jupiter by Marius and Cinna, but had lost that office through the victory of Sylla, who annulled all their acts,) he embarked, in order to escape the notice of the pirates, who covered the whole sea, and were then naturally incensed against him, in a four-oared boat, with two friends and ten servants, and thus crossed the vast gulf of the Adriatic. On his passage, having seen, as he thought, some of the pirates' vessels, he threw off his gown, and fastened his dagger to his side, preparing himself for any event, but soon discovered that his sight had been deceived by a row of trees at a distance presenting the appearance of the rigging of ships. The rest of his acts in the city, his celebrated impeachment of Dolabella, to whom more public favour was shown than is generally extended to persons arraigned; his remarkable political contests with Quintus Catulus, and other eminent men; his victory, before he was prætor, and when he stood for the office of pontifex maximus, over the same Quintus Catulus, who was universally allowed to be the first man in the senate; his repairing, in his ædileship, the monuments of Caius Marius, even in opposition to the nobility; his re-instatement, at the same time, of the sons of the proscribed in the right of standing for office; his wonderful energy and activity in his prætorship and quæstorship in Spain, (where he was under Antistius Vetus, the grandfather of the present Vetus, who has been consul and is a pontifex, and who is the father of two sons that have been consuls and are priests, a man of as much virtue as human integrity can be conceived to embrace,) all these matters are too well known to require repetition here.

XLIV

In his consulship, there was settled between him, Cnæus Pompey, and Marcus Crassus, a treaty of alliance in power, which proved of fatal consequence to the city and to the world, and not less so, at subsequent periods, to themselves. Pompey's motive for entering into this plan was, that his acts in the provinces beyond sea, which were opposed by many, as we have already mentioned, might at length be confirmed by means of Cæsar, while Consul; Cæsar's, because he imagined, he should advance his own, and that by throwing on him the jealousy attending their common greatness, he should gain stability to his own strength; while Crassus was filled with the hope of acquiring, through

the influence of Pompey, and the support of Cæsar, that pre-eminence which he never could attain by his own single efforts. An affinity had also been contracted by marriage between Cæsar and Pompey; for Pompey had married Cæsar's daughter. In his consulship, Cæsar procured a law to be passed, which was also supported by Pompey, that the lands of Campania should be divided among the people; in consequence of which, about twenty thousand citizens were conducted thither, and the privileges of Rome were restored to that country, about a hundred and fifty-two years after Capua had, in the Punic war, been reduced by the Romans into the condition of a prefecture. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, being more willing than able to obstruct his proceedings, confined himself to his house during the greater part of the year; by which conduct, while he wished to increase the odium against his colleague, he only increased his power. The province of Gaul was then decreed to Cæsar for five years.

XLV

During this period, Publius Clodius, a man of noble birth, eloquent, and daring, who knew no control for his words or actions but his own will, who fearlessly executed what he wickedly conceived, who bore the infamy of an incestuous commerce with his own sister, and who had been publicly accused of having committed adultery amidst the most solemn religious rites of the Roman people; this man, I say, being actuated by a most violent enmity to Marcus Cicero, (for how, indeed, could anything like friendship subsist between characters so dissimilar?) renounced his patrician rank, became a plebeian, was appointed a tribune, and passed a law in his tribunate, that any person who had put a Roman citizen to death without a judicial sentence, should be sent into banishment⁴⁴. It was Cicero alone, though he was not named in this law, that was meant to be affected by it. Thus a man, who had performed the highest services to the state, received, in return for having saved his country, the penalty of exile. Cæsar and Pompey did not escape suspicion of having abetted this persecution of Cicero, who seemed to have brought it on himself by refusing to be one of the twenty commissioners for dividing the lands of Campania. In less than two years, however, by the late but intrepid exertions of Cnæus Pompey, joined with the wishes of all Italy and the decrees of the senate, and through the energy and efforts of Annius

Milo, a tribune of the people, he was restored to his dignity and his country. Nor, since the exile and recall of Numidicus, had the banishment of any one excited more regret, or the return more joy. His house, which had been pulled down with great malice by Clodius, the senate rebuilt with equal magnificence.

The same Publius Clodius removed Marcus Cato from the seat of government, under pretence of giving him a very honourable employment; for he procured a law to be passed, that he should be sent in character of quæstor, but with the authority of prætor, and with another quæstor attending him, into the island of Cyprus, to despoil Ptolemy of his kingdom, who, indeed, deserved such treatment by the general viciousness of his life. But, just before Cato's arrival, he put an end to his own life, and Cato brought home from Cyprus a much larger quantity of treasure than had been expected. To praise Cato for his honesty, would be rather derogatory to him than otherwise; but to accuse him of ostentatiously displaying it, would seem but just; for when all the populace of the city, together with the consuls and the senate, poured forth to salute him as he was sailing up the Tiber, he did not disembark to meet them until he arrived at the spot where the treasure was to be landed.

XLVI

While Cæsar was achieving vast exploits in Gaul, the relation of which would require many volumes, and, not content with numerous and glorious victories, or with killing or taking great multitudes of the enemy, had at last transported his army into Britain, seeking, as it were, a new world for our government and his own, a remarkable pair of consuls⁴⁵, Cnæus Pompey and Marcus Crassus, entered on a second consulship, which they neither acquired by honourable means, nor conducted in a praiseworthy manner. By a law which Pompey proposed to the people, the government of his province was continued to Cæsar for the same length of time as before, and Syria was decreed to Crassus, who now meditated a war with Parthia. This man, in other respects irreproachable, and unstained by dissipation, knew no limits, and imposed no restraint on himself, in his pursuit of wealth and glory. When he was setting out for Syria, the tribunes of the people strove in vain to detain him, by announcing unfavourable omens; and, had their curses taken effect on him alone, the loss of the general, while the army was safe, would have been

rather an advantage to the public. Crassus had crossed the Euphrates, and was on his march towards Seleucia, when king Orodes, surrounding him with an immense force of cavalry, slew him, together with the greater part of the Roman army. Caius Cassius, (who was afterwards guilty of a most atrocious crime⁴⁶,) being at that time quæstor, preserved the remains of the legions, ably retained Syria under the power of the Romans, and routed, with distinguished success, the Parthians who had invaded it, and compelled them to flee.

XLVII

During this period, that which followed, and the one which we have already mentioned, above four hundred thousand of the enemy were slain by Caius Cæsar, and a greater number taken. He fought often in pitched battles, often on his march, often made sudden attacks; twice he penetrated into Britain; and of nine campaigns, scarcely one passed without his justly deserving a triumph. But near Alesia such achievements were effected as it was scarcely for man to attempt, and for little less than a deity to accomplish. It was in the seventh year of Cæsar's stay in Gaul that Julia, the wife of Pompey the Great, died, the connecting link of concord between Pompey and Cæsar; which, through their mutual jealousy of power, had been some time in danger of disruption; and, as if fortune would dissolve every tie between leaders destined to so great a contest, the little son of Pompey and Julia died a short time after. Then, while ambition extended its rage to the sword and civil slaughter, of which neither end nor control could be found, his third consulship was conferred on Cnæus Pompey, he being made sole consul, with the approbation even of those who had formerly opposed his pretensions. In consequence of the distinction conferred on him by this election, by which it appeared that the party of the nobles were reconciled to him, the breach was greatly widened between him and Caius Cæsar. But he employed the whole power of that consulship in laying restraints on bribery. In this year, Publius Clodius was killed by Milo, then a candidate for the consulship, in a quarrel that arose on their meeting near Bovillæ; an act of bad precedent, but beneficial to the public. It was not more the feeling excited against this deed, than the will of Pompey, that caused Milo to be condemned on his trial; though Marcus Cato publicly gave his opinion in favour of his acquittal. Had he given it sooner, several would, doubtless, have followed his example, and have approved of

the sacrifice of such a member of the community, than whom there never lived one more pernicious to the state, or a greater enemy to all good men.

XLVIII

In a short time after, the flames of civil war began to blaze, while every man who regarded justice wished both Cæsar and Pompey to disband their armies. For Pompey, in his second consulship, had desired that the province of Spain might be assigned to him; and during three years, while he was absent from the country, and directing affairs in Rome, he administered the government there by his deputies, Afranius of consular, and Petreius of prætorian rank; and while he assented to the judgment of those who insisted on Cæsar's disbanding of his army, he opposed those who required the same for himself. Had this man died two years before recourse was had to arms, after he had finished the structures erected at his own expense, his theatre, and the buildings around it, and when he was attacked by a violent disorder in Campania, (at which time all Italy offered prayers for his recovery, an honour never before paid to any citizen,) fortune would not have had opportunity to work his overthrow, and he would have carried undiminished to the shades below the greatness that he enjoyed in this upper world.

For producing the civil war, and all the calamities that ensued from it, through a space of twenty successive years, there was no one that supplied more flame and excitement than Caius Curio, a tribune of the people. He was of noble birth, eloquent, intrepid, prodigal alike of his own fortune and reputation, and those of others; a man ably wicked, and eloquent to the injury of the public, and whose passions and desires no degree of wealth or gratification could satisfy. At first he took the side of Pompey, that is, as it was then deemed, the side of the Commonwealth; soon after, he pretended to oppose both Cæsar and Pompey, but, in reality, was attached to Cæsar. Whether this attachment was the result of his own choice, or the consequence of a bribe of ten thousand sester tia⁴⁷, as has been said, we shall leave undetermined. At last, when salutary conditions, tending to unite all parties in peace, had been very fairly proposed by Cæsar, and were patiently considered by Pompey, this man interrupted and broke off the treaty, while Cicero laboured, with singular zeal, to preserve concord in the state. Of these and the preceding transactions, the detail is given in the larger volumes of others, and

will, I trust, be sufficiently set forth in mine.

XLIX

Let my work now resume its intended character; though I would first congratulate Quintus Catulus, the two Luculli, Metellus, and Hortensius, that after having flourished in the state without envy, and enjoyed great eminence without danger, they died in the course of nature before the commencement of the civil broils, and while the state was still quiet, or at least not tending to its fall. In the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus, seven hundred and three years after the foundation of the city, and seventy-eight before the commencement of your consulate, Marcus Vinicius, the civil war blazed forth. The cause of one of the leaders appeared to be the better, that of the other was the stronger. On one side everything was specious, on the other was greater power. The support of the senate armed Pompey with confidence, that of the soldiery, Cæsar. The consuls and senate conferred supreme authority, not on Pompey, but on his cause. Nothing was omitted by Cæsar that could be tried for the promotion of peace; to nothing would the party of Pompey listen. Of the consuls, Marcellus was more violent than was reasonable; Lentulus saw that his own security⁴⁸ was incompatible with that of the state. Marcus Cato insisted that it were better for them to die, than for the state to listen to offers from a private citizen. A man of probity and sound judgment would approve Pompey's party; a man of prudence would rather follow Cæsar's; deeming the former more honourable, the latter more formidable. At length, after rejecting every proposal of Cæsar's, the opposite party decreed that, retaining the mere title of a province, and a single legion, he should come to Rome as a private person, and, in standing for the consulship, should submit himself to the votes of the Roman people; Cæsar then resolved on war, and passed the Rubicon with his army. Cnæus Pompey, the consuls, and the greater part of the senate, withdrawing from the city, and then from Italy, sailed over to Dyrrachium.

L

Cæsar, having got into his power Domitius, and the legions with him at Corfinium, dismissed that general without delay, and every one else who chose to go to Pompey, whom he then followed to Brundisium; thus making it

apparent, that he desired to put an end to war while the powers of the state were unimpaired, and negotiation open, rather than to overpower his opponents in their flight. Finding that the consuls had sailed, he returned to the city, and having represented in the senate, and in a general assembly of the people, the motives of his proceedings, and the cruel necessity under which he lay, in being compelled to take arms by the hostility of others, he resolved to go into Spain. His progress, rapid as it was, was for some time retarded by the conduct of Marseilles, which, with more honesty than good policy, unseasonably assumed the arbitration between those great men in arms; a case in which such only ought to interpose as have power to enforce submission to their award. The army, which was commanded by Afranius, who had been consul, and Petreius, who had been prætor, amazed at the energy and brilliancy of his progress, immediately surrendered itself to his pleasure. Both the commanders, and all men of every description who wished to follow them, were permitted to go to Pompey.

LI

In the year following, when Dyrrachium, and the whole country round it, were occupied by Pompey's camp, (who, by collecting about him legions from all the foreign provinces, auxiliary troops of horse and foot, and forces from kings, tetrarchs, and petty princes⁴⁹, had formed a vast army, and had, as he thought, guarded the sea with such a line of ships as would prevent Cæsar from transporting his legions,) Cæsar, proceeding with his usual despatch and success, suffered nothing to hinder him and his army from making good their passage by sea, whithersoever and whensoever he pleased. At first he pitched his camp almost close to Pompey's, and soon after shut him up within a line of circumvallation and forts. Scarcity of provisions, however, began to be felt, and more severely by the besiegers than the besieged. In this state of things, Cornelius Balbus, with a spirit of enterprise almost incredible, went into the enemy's camp, and held frequent conferences with the consul Lentulus, (who was undetermined at what price he would sell himself,) and thus opened the way for himself to those preferments, by which he (not a mere sojourner in Spain, but a native Spaniard,) rose to a triumph and pontificate, and, from a private station, became a consul. Several battles followed with various success; but one of them proved very favourable to Pompey's party, Cæsar's

troops meeting a severe repulse.

LII

Cæsar then led his army into Thessaly, the destined scene of his future victory. Pompey, though his friends advised a very different course, (most of them recommending him to transfer the war into Italy; and indeed no movement could have been more beneficial to his party; others persuading him to protract the contest, a plan which, from the increasing popularity of his cause, would daily be more and more productive of good,) yet, yielding to his natural impetuosity, marched in pursuit of the enemy. The day of battle at Pharsalia, so fatal to the name of Rome, the vast effusion of blood on both sides, the two heads of the state meeting in deadly conflict, the extinction of one of the luminaries of the Commonwealth, and the slaughter of so many and so eminent men on the side of Pompey, the limits of this work do not allow me to describe at large. One thing must be observed, that as soon as Cæsar saw Pompey's line give way, he made it his first and principal care (if I may use a military expression to which I have been accustomed) to disband⁵⁰ from his breast all considerations of party. O immortal gods! what requital did this merciful man afterwards receive for his kindness then shown to Brutus? Nothing would have been more admirable, more noble, more illustrious, than this victory, (for the nation did not miss one citizen, except those who fell in battle,) had not obstinacy defeated the exertions of compassion, as the conqueror granted life more freely than the vanquished received it.

LIII

Pompey, having fled with the two Lentuli, who had been consuls, his son Sextus, and Favonius, formerly a prætor, all of whom chance had assembled in his company, (some advising him to retreat to Parthia, others to Africa, where he would find king Juba a most faithful supporter of his party,) determined at last to repair to Egypt; a course to which he was prompted by his recollection of the services which he had rendered to the father of Ptolemy, who, rather a boy than a man, was now seated on the throne of Alexandria. But who, when his benefactor is in adversity, remembers his benefits? Who thinks that any gratitude is due to the unfortunate? Or when does a change of fortune not produce a change in attachments? Men were

despatched by the king, at the instigation of Theodotus and Achilles, to meet Pompey on his arrival, (who was now accompanied in his flight by his wife Cornelia, having taken her on board at Mitylene,) and to desire him to remove from the transportation into a vessel which was come to receive him. No sooner had he done so, than he, chief of all that bore the name of Roman, was murdered by the order and direction of an Egyptian slave; an event which took place in the consulship of Caius Cæsar and Publius Servilius. Such was the end of a most upright and excellent man, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and on the day before his birthday, after three consulships and as many triumphs, after subduing the whole world, and after reaching a degree of exaltation beyond which it is impossible to ascend; fortune having made such a revolution in his condition, that he who lately wanted earth to conquer, could now scarcely find sufficient for a grave.

Of those who have made a mistake of five years in the age of this great man, who lived almost in our own times, what can I say but that they have not given due attention to the matter, especially as the succession of years, from the consulship of Atilius and Servilius, was so easy to settle? This I mention, not to censure others, but to escape censure myself.

LIV

Yet the king, and those by whose influence he was governed, showed no more attachment to Cæsar than they had shown to Pompey; for, at his coming, they made a treacherous attempt on his life, and afterwards were daring enough to make open war on him; but they soon atoned for their conduct to both these great commanders, the living and the deceased, by suffering well-merited deaths.

Pompey was no longer on earth, but his name still had influence everywhere. A strong devotion to his cause excited a formidable war in Africa, conducted by king Juba, and by Scipio, who had been consul, and whom Pompey, two years before his death, had chosen for a father-in-law; their strength being augmented by Marcus Cato, who brought some legions to them, though with the utmost difficulty, by reason of the badness of the roads, and the scarcity of provisions, and who, when the soldiers offered him the supreme command, chose rather to act under a person of superior dignity.

My promise to be brief reminds me with what haste I must pursue my narrative. Cæsar, pushing his good fortune, and sailing to Africa, of which the army of Pompey's party, after killing Curio, the leader of Cæsar's adherents, had taken possession, fought there at first with various success, but afterwards with such as usually attended him, and the enemy's forces were obliged to yield. His clemency to the vanquished, on this occasion, was such as he had shown to those whom he had previously defeated. But when he had finished the war in Africa, another still more formidable demanded his attention in Spain, (as to his conquest of Pharnaces, it scarcely added anything to his renown,) for Cnæus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, a young man of great energy in war, had formed there a powerful and formidable opposition; as multitudes, still revering the great fame of his father, flocked to his aid from every quarter of the earth. His usual fortune accompanied Cæsar to Spain; but no field of battle, more perilous or desperate, had he ever entered; for, on one occasion, when his prospect of success seemed worse than doubtful, he dismounted from his horse, placed himself before the line of his retreating troops, and, after reproaching fortune for having preserved him for such an end, declared to his soldiers that he would not retire a step; bidding then therefore consider the character and circumstances of the general whom they were going to desert. The battle was restored by the effect of shame rather than of courage; and greater efforts were made by the leader than by his men. Cnæus Pompey, who was found grievously wounded in a desert place, was slain. Labienus and Varius fell in the engagement.

LVI

Cæsar, victorious over all opposition, came home to Rome, and, what is almost incredible, granted pardon to all who had borne arms against him, and delighted the city with most magnificent exhibitions of gladiators and representations of sea-fights, and of battles with cavalry, infantry, and even with elephants; celebrating a feast, too, at which he entertained the people, and which lasted several days. He had five triumphs; the figures displayed in that for Gaul were made of citron wood; in that for Pontus, of acanthus wood⁵¹; in that for Alexandria, of tortoise-shell⁵²; in that for Africa, of ivory;

and in that for Spain, of polished silver. The money arising from the spoils was somewhat more than six hundred thousand sesteria⁵³. But this great man, who had used all his victories with so much mercy, was not allowed peaceable possession of supreme power more than five months; for after returning to Rome in the month of October, he was killed on the ides of March by a band of conspirators under Brutus and Cassius; the former of whom, though he had promised him a second consulship, he had not by that means secured to his interest, and the latter he had offended by putting him off to another time. They had even drawn into their murderous plot Decimus Brutus and Caius Trebonius, the most intimate of all his adherents, men who had been raised to the highest dignity by the success of his party, with several others of great note.

Mark Antony, however, his colleague in the consulship, a man always ready for any daring deed, had excited a strong feeling against him, by placing on his head, as he was sitting in the Rostrum at the festival of Pan, a royal diadem, which Cæsar indeed pushed away, but in such a manner that he did not seem offended.

LVII

By this event was shown the excellence of the advice of Hirtius and Pansa, who had always warned Cæsar to preserve by arms the sovereignty which by arms he had to preserve by arms the sovereignty which by arms he had acquired; but he constantly declared, that he would rather die than live in constant fear of death; and thus, while he expected to meet the same good feeling that he had shown to others, he was cut off by the ungrateful men around him. The immortal gods had given him many presages and signs of his approaching danger; for the aruspices had forewarned him carefully to beware of the ides of March; his wife Calpurnia, terrified by a vision in the night, besought him to stay at home that day; and he received a paper from one that met him, containing an account of the conspiracy, but which he did not read. Surely the resistless power of fate, when it determines to reverse a man's fortune, confounds his understanding!

LVIII

The year that they perpetrated this deed, Brutus and Cassius were prætors, and

Decimus Brutus consul elect. These, with the body of the conspirators, attended by a band of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus, seized on the Capitol. On this Mark Antony the consul convened the senate. Cassius had proposed that Antony should be killed at the same time with Cæsar, and that Cæsar's will should be annulled; but this was overruled by Brutus, who insisted that the citizens ought to seek no more than the blood of the tyrant; for so, to palliate his own conduct, he thought proper to call Cæsar. In the mean time, Dolabella, whom Cæsar had destined for his successor in the consulship, laid hold on the fasces and badges of that office; and Antony, as wishing to preserve peace, sent his own sons into the Capitol as hostages, and pledged his faith to the murderers of Cæsar, that they might come down with safety. Then was proposed by Cicero, and approved by a resolution of the senate, the imitation of that famous decree of the Athenians, enacting a general oblivion of the past.

LIX

Cæsar's will was then opened, by which he had adopted Cnæus Octavius, grandson of his sister Julia, of whose origin, though he himself has anticipated me⁵⁴, * * * I must yet say a few words. Caius Octavius, his father, was of a family which, though not patrician, was of a highly honourable equestrian rank. He possessed a sound understanding and a virtuous disposition; his conduct was distinguished by probity, and his wealth was great. In standing for the prætorship, he was chosen first among competitors of the highest character; and this honourable distinction gained him Atia, daughter of Julia, in marriage. On the expiration of his prætorship, the lots gave him the province of Macedonia, where he was honoured with the title of Imperator. On his way home to stand for the consulship, he died, leaving a son, who was under the age of manhood. This youth, who was brought up in the house of his stepfather Philippus, Caius Cæsar loved as if he were his own son; and at the age of eighteen, as he had followed him to Spain, he made him his constant companion in the Spanish war; not suffering him to use any other quarters, or to travel in any other carriage than his own; and, even while he was yet a boy, honoured him with the office of pontiff. When the civil wars were ended, in order to improve the young man's excellent capacity by a liberal education, he sent him to Apollonia to study, proposing afterwards to

take him to the wars which he meditated against the Getæ and Parthians. When the news of the murder of his uncle reached him, he received from the centurions of the legions of that neighbourhood an offer of their support, and that of the troops; which Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him not to reject. Hastening to Rome, he found at Brundisium full accounts of the fall of Cæsar, and of his will. On his approach to the city, he was met by immense crowds of his friends; and when he was entering the gate, the orb of the sun over his head was seen regularly curved⁵⁵ into a circular arm, and coloured like a rainbow, as if setting a crown on the head of a man who was soon to become so great.

LX

His mother Atia and his step-father Philip were of opinion that he should not assume the name of Cæsar, as being likely to excite jealous feelings towards him; but the propitious fates of the state, and of the world, claimed him, under that name, as the founder and preserver of the Roman nation. His celestial mind accordingly spurned human counsels, determined to pursue the loftiest designs with anger rather than a humble course with safety, and choosing to follow the direction of an uncle, and that uncle Cæsar, in preference to that of his step-father; observing that it would be impious to think himself unworthy of a name of which Cæsar had thought him worthy.

The consul Antony at first met him with haughtiness, not indeed from contempt, but from fear; and after granting him an interview in Pompey's gardens, scarcely allowed him time to speak with him. Soon after, he spread malicious insinuations that Octavius was plotting against him; the falsehood of which was detected to his disgrace.

The madness of the consuls Antony and Dolabella soon burst forth into open acts of abominable tyranny. The sum of seven hundred thousand sester tia⁵⁶, deposited by Caius Cæsar in the temple of Ops, was seized by Antony, under color of false insertions which he made in Cæsar's registers⁵⁷. Everything had its price, the consul setting the Commonwealth to sale. He even resolved to seize on the province of Gaul, which had been decreed to Decimus Brutus, consul elect; while Dolabella allotted the provinces beyond sea to himself. Between parties so discordant in their natures, and so opposite in their views, mutual hatred continually increased; and Caius Cæsar, in

consequence, was exposed to daily machinations on the part of Antony.

LXI

The state, oppressed by the tyranny of Antony, lost all vigour; every man felt indignation and grief, but none had the courage to make resistance; when Caius Cæsar, in the beginning of his nineteenth year, by his wonderful exertions, and accomplishment of the most important measures, displayed, while acting in a private character, a greater spirit than the senate in support of the republic. He called out his father's veterans, first from Calatia, and then from Casilinum; and their example was followed by others, who came together in such numbers as quickly formed a regular army; and when Antony met the troops, which he had ordered to come from the foreign provinces to Brundisium, a portion of them, consisting of the Martian and the fourth legions, having learned the wish of the senate, and the abilities of Cæsar, took up their standards, and went off to join him. After honouring him with an equestrian statue, which at this day stands on the Rostrum, and testifies his age by its inscription, a compliment which, during three hundred years, was paid to none but Lucius Sylla, Cnæus Pompey, and Caius Cæsar, the senate commissioned him, in the character of proprætor, and in conjunction with the consuls elect, Hirtius and Pansa, to make war on Antony. This charge, he in his twentieth year executed with the greatest bravery in the neighbourhood of Mutina. Decimus Brutus was relieved from a siege; and Antony was forced to quit Italy in disgraceful and solitary flight. One of the consuls, however, fell in the field, and the other died of a wound a few days after.

LXII

Before Antony was obliged to flee, the highest honours were decreed by the senate, chiefly at the suggestion of Cicero, to Cæsar and his army; but, as soon as their fears were removed, their real feeling discovered itself, and their favour to Pompey's party was renewed. To Brutus and Cassius were decreed those provinces, which they themselves, without any authority from the senate, had already seized; those who furnished them with troops were commended, and all the foreign settlements were committed to their direction. For Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, at one time fearing the arms of Antony, at another time counterfeiting fear in order to increase the odium against him,

had published declarations, that they would willingly live even all their lives in exile, if harmony could by that means be established in the republic; that they would never afford occasion for a civil war, but were satisfied with the honour which they enjoyed in the consciousness of what they had done; and, leaving Rome and Italy, with settled and similar intentions, they had, without any public commission, possessed themselves of the provinces and armies; and pretending that wherever they were, there was the Commonwealth, had received from such as were willing to gratify them, the sums of money which used to be transmitted to Rome from the foreign provinces by the quæstors. All these proceedings were recited and approved in decrees of the senate. To Decimus Brutus, because he had escaped with life by the kindness of another, a triumph was even voted. The bodies of Hirtius and Pansa were honoured with a funeral at the public expense. So little regard was paid to Cæsar, that the deputies who were sent to the army, were directed to address themselves to the soldiers in his absence. But the army was not so ungrateful as the senate; for, though Cæsar bore the affront, pretending not to notice it, the soldiers refused to listen to any directions unless their general were present. It was at this time that Cicero, out of his rooted love of Pompey's party, gave his opinion, that Cæsar was "laudandus et tollendus⁵⁸;" saying one thing while he wished that another should be understood.

LXIII

Meanwhile Antony, having fled across the Alps, and meeting a repulse in a conference with Lepidus, (who had been clandestinely made pontifex maximus in the room of Caius Cæsar, and though appointed to the government of Spain, still delayed in Gaul,) came afterwards frequently before the eyes of the soldiers, by whom, as any commander was preferable to Lepidus, and Antony, when sober, was superior to many, he was admitted at the rear of the camp through a breach which they made in the rampart; but while he took the entire direction of affairs, he still yielded to Lepidus the title of commander. About the time that he entered the camp, Juventius Laterensis, a man whose life was consistent with his death, having earnestly dissuaded Lepidus from joining Antony, who had been proclaimed a rebel, and finding his counsel disregarded, ran himself through with his sword. Plancus, with his usual duplicity, after long debating in his mind which party he should follow,

and with much difficulty forming a resolution, supported for some time Decimus Brutus, (who was consul elect, and his own colleague,) boasting of acting thus in letters to the senate; but soon after betrayed him. Asinius Pollio was steadfast in his purpose, faithful to the Julian party, and adverse to that of Pompey. Both these officers made over their troops to Antony.

LXIV

Decimus Brutus, being first deserted by Plancus, and then endangered by his plots, and seeing his troops, too, gradually forsaking him, betook himself to flight, and was slain by some of Antony's emissaries, in the house of a friend, a nobleman named Camelus, thus suffering just punishment for his conduct to Caius Cæsar, to whom he was under the greatest obligations. For, though he had been the most intimate of all his friends, he became his murderer, and threw on his benefactor the odium of that fortune of which he had reaped the benefit. He thought it just that he should retain the favours which he had received from Cæsar, and that Cæsar, who had given them, should perish. It was during these times that Marcus Tullius, in a series of orations, branded the memory of Antony with eternal infamy. He, indeed, assailed Antony in splendid and noble language, but Canutius, a tribune, attacked him with constant abuse. Their defence of liberty cost both of them their lives; the proscription commenced with the blood of the tribune, and ended with that of Cicero, as if even Antony were satiated with the death of such a man. Lepidus was then declared an enemy by the senate, as had previously been the case with Antony.

LXV

A correspondence by letter was then commenced between Lepidus, Cæsar, and Antony. Hints were thrown out of an accommodation, while Antony frequently reminded Cæsar how hostile to him Pompey's party was, to what a height of power it had already arisen, and with what zeal, on the part of Cicero, Brutus and Cassius were extolled; declaring that if Cæsar disdained to come to terms with him, he would join his power to that of Brutus and Cassius, who were already at the head of seventeen legions; at the same time remarking, that Cæsar was under stronger obligations to revenge a father⁵⁹ than he to revenge a friend. Hence a league of partnership in power was

concluded; and in compliance with the exhortations and entreaties of the armies, an affinity was contracted between Cæsar and Antony, the step-daughter of Antony being betrothed to Cæsar. Cæsar entered on the consulship with Quintus Pedius, on the day before he completed his twentieth year, the twenty-second of September, seven hundred and eleven years after the building of the city, and seventy-two before the beginning of your consulate, Marcus Vinicius. This year saw Ventidius assume the consular robe, immediately after wearing the prætorian, in that city through which he had been led in triumph among other Picenian prisoners. He had afterwards also a triumph.

LXVI

While Antony and Lepidus were greatly enraged, both of them having, as we have said, been declared public enemies, and while both were better pleased at hearing what they had suffered, than what they had gained, the practice of proscription, on the model given by Sylla, was, in spite of Cæsar's opposition, which was vain against the two, revived. Nothing reflects more disgrace on that period, than that either Cæsar should have been forced to proscribe any person, or that Cicero should have been proscribed by him, and that the advocate of the public should have been cut off by the villany of Antony, no one defending him, who for so many years had defended as well the cause of the public as the causes of individuals. But you have gained nothing, Mark Antony, (for the indignation bursting from my mind and heart, compels me to say what is at variance with the character of this work,) you have gained nothing, I say, by paying the hire for closing those divine lips, and cutting off that noble head, and by procuring, for a fatal reward, the death of a man, once so great as a consul, and the preserver of the Commonwealth. You deprived Marcus Cicero of a life full of trouble, and of a feeble old age; an existence more unhappy under your ascendancy, than death under your triumvirate; but of the fame and glory of his actions and writings you have been so far from despoiling him that you have even increased it. He lives, and will live in the memory of all succeeding ages. And as long as this body of the universe, whether framed by chance, or by wisdom, or by whatever means, which he, almost alone of the Romans, penetrated with his genius, comprehended in his imagination, and illustrated by his eloquence, shall continue to exist, it will

carry the praise of Cicero as its companion in duration. All posterity will admire his writings against you, and execrate your conduct towards him; and sooner shall the race of man fail in the world, than his name decay.

LXVII

The calamity of this whole period no one can sufficiently deplore; much less can any one find language to express it. One thing demands observation, that there prevailed towards the proscribed the utmost fidelity in their wives, a moderate share of it in their freedmen, some portion in their slaves, and in their sons none at all; so intolerable to men is the delay of hope, on whatever grounds it be conceived. That nothing, however, should be left inviolate, Antony, as if for an attraction and excitement to atrocities, proscribed his uncle Lucius Cæsar, and Lepidus his brother Paulus. Plancus, too, had interest enough to procure a like sentence upon his brother Plotius Plancus. Among the jests of the soldiers, accordingly, who, amidst the curses of their countrymen, followed the chariots of Lepidus and Plancus, they made use of this expression, “The consuls triumph over Germans,” (*that is*, brothers⁶⁰ “not over Gauls.”

LXVIII

Let us here mention an affair which was omitted in its proper place; for the character of the agent does not allow a screen to be cast over his act. While Cæsar was deciding by arms the fate of the empire at Pharsalia, Marcus Cælius, a man nearly resembling Curio in eloquence and ability, but his superior in both, and not less ingeniously vicious, proposed in his prætorship, as he could not be saved by quiet and moderate means, (for his property was in a more desperate state than even in his mind,) a law for the relief of debtors; nor could he be deterred from his purpose by the influence of the senate or the consul, but called to his aid Annius Milo, (who was incensed against the Julian party, because he had not obtained a repeal of his banishment,) and endeavoured to raise a sedition in the city, and secretly to stir up war in the country; however, by the authority of the senate, he was first banished, and soon after cut off by the arms of the consuls near Thurii. Similar fortune attended Milo in a similar attempt; for while he was besieging Compsa, a town of the Hirpini, he was killed by the stroke of a stone, and paid

the penalty of his offences against Publius Clodius, and against his country, on which he was making war. He was a restless character, and carried his bravery even to rashness. But since I am reverting to things omitted, let me observe, that Marullus Epidius and Flavius Cæsetius, tribunes of the people, having used intemperate and unseasonable liberties in prejudice of Caius Cæsar, and having charged him with aspiring to royalty, were very near feeling the force of absolute power. Yet the anger of the prince, though often provoked, went no further than this, that, satisfied with a sentence of disgrace from the censors, instead of the punishment which a dictator might inflict, he banished them from the country, declaring that it was a great unhappiness to him, to be obliged either to depart from his nature, or suffer his dignity to be violated. But I must return to the course of my narrative.

LXIX

In Asia, Dolabella, having by a stratagem deluded Caius Trebonius, who had been consul, and with whom he was at enmity, had slain him at Smyrna. Trebonius was a man most ungrateful for the kindnesses of Cæsar, and a participator in the murder of him by whom he had been raised to the dignity of consul. In Syria, Caius Cassius, having received some legions from Statius Murcus and Crispus Marcius, who had been prætors, and were at the head of a very powerful force, shut up Dolabella in Laodicea, (for he, finding Asia pre-occupied, had proceeded into Syria,) and, having taken the town, put him to death, (Dolabella, with spirit enough, holding out his neck to the stroke of his slave,) and thus acquired the command of ten legions in that country. In Macedonia, Marcus Brutus had drawn over to his side the legions of Caius, the brother of Mark Antony, and those of Vatinius, near Dyrrachium, who willingly joined him. Antonius he had attacked in the field; Vatinius he had overawed by the dignity of his character; as Brutus was reckoned preferable to any leader of the times, and Vatinius was considered inferior to every one; a man in whom deformity of person vied with depravity of mind, so that his soul seemed lodged in an habitation perfectly adapted to it. He was seven legions strong.

By the Pedian law, which the consul Pedius, Cæsar's colleague, had proposed, a sentence of banishment had been passed on all persons concerned in the murder of Cæsar his father. At that time, Capito, my uncle, a man of

senatorial rank, seconded Agrippa in the prosecution of Caius Cassius. While these transactions were passing in Italy, Cassius by active and successful operations, had got possession of Rhodes, an enterprise of extreme difficulty. Brutus had subdued the Lycians, and both of them had then marched their armies into Macedonia, while Cassius, on every occasion, acting against his nature, exceeded even Brutus in clemency. You cannot find two men whom fortune more propitiously attended, or whom, as if tired of them, she sooner deserted, than Brutus and Cassius.

LXX

Cæsar and Antony then transported their armies into Macedonia, and near the city of Philippi came to a general engagement with Brutus and Cassius. The wing that Brutus commanded, driving the enemy from the field, took Cæsar's camp; for Cæsar himself, though in a very weak state of health, performed the duties of a commander; notwithstanding he was urged by a plain warning in a dream, not to remain in the camp. But the wing which Cassius commanded, being routed with great loss, retreated to higher ground; when Cassius, judging of his colleague's fortune by his own, despatched a veteran, with orders to bring him an account what body of men it was that were coming towards him; but the veteran being slow in bringing the intelligence, and the band of men, marching hastily up, being just at hand, (neither their faces nor their standards being distinguishable by reason of the dust,) Cassius, supposing them enemies ready to rush on him, covered his head with his robe, and intrepidly presented his extended neck to his freedman. The head of Cassius had fallen, when the veteran returned with intelligence, that Brutus was victorious; and, seeing the body of his general extended on the earth, he exclaimed, "I will follow him whom my tardiness has killed," and immediately fell on his sword. In a few days after, Brutus engaged the enemy again, and, being worsted in the field, and retreating to a hill in the night, he prevailed on Strato of Ægeum, an intimate friend, to lend him his hand in effecting his death; when, raising his left arm over his head, and holding the point of his sword in his right hand, he applied it to the side of his left breast, at the very spot where the heart beats, and throwing himself on the weapon, was transfixed by the one effort, and immediately expired.

Messala Corvinus, a young man of shining character, who, next to Brutus and Cassius, possessed the greatest influence of any in the camp, and whom some solicited to take the command, chose to be indebted for safety to Cæsar's kindness, rather than to try any further the chance of arms. Nor did any circumstance attending his victories afford greater joy to Cæsar, than the saving of Corvinus; nor was there ever an instance of greater gratitude, or more affectionate attachment, than Corvinus showed to Cæsar in return. No war was ever more stained with the blood of illustrious men. The son of Cato fell in it; and the same fate carried off Lucullus and Hortensius, sons of the most eminent men in the state. Varro, when ready to die, predicted with great freedom of speech, in mockery of Antony, several circumstances respecting his death, which were well suited to his character, and which really came to pass. Livius Drusus, father of Julia Augusta, and Quintilius Varus, did not even try the mercy of the enemy; for Drusus slew himself in his tent; and Varus, after decking himself with all the insignia of his honours, was slain by the hand of a freedman, whom he compelled to be his executioner.

Such was the end assigned by fortune to the party of Marcus Brutus, who was then in his thirty-seventh year, and whose mind had been incorrupt till the day which obscured all his virtues by the rashness of one act. Cassius was as much the better commander, as Brutus was the better man. Of the two, you would rather have Brutus for a friend; as an enemy, you would stand more in dread of Cassius. In the one there was greater ability, in the other greater virtue. Had they been successful, it would have been as much for the interest of the state to have had Brutus for its ruler rather than Cassius, as it was to have Cæsar rather than Antony. Cnæus Domitius, father of Lucius Domitius, whom we lately saw⁶¹, and who was a man of very eminent and distinguished integrity, and grandfather of the present excellent youth of the same name, seized several ships, and, with a numerous train of such as chose to follow his guidance, committed himself to flight and fortune, looking for no other leader of the party than himself. Statius Murcus, who commanded a fleet, and had charge of the sea, deserted with all the troops and ships entrusted to him, and

joined Sextus Pompey, son of Cnæus the Great; who, on his return from Spain, had by force gained possession of Sicily. The proscribed, whom fortune had rescued from immediate danger, flocked to him from the camp of Brutus, from Italy, and from other parts of the world; for to those who had no position in the state⁶², any leader appeared sufficient, as Fortune did not give them an option, but merely pointed out a refuge; and to those who are fleeing from a destructive tempest, any anchoring-place serves for a harbour.

LXXIII

Sextus was quite illiterate, and in his language barbarous; but he was of a bold spirit, prompt to act, and quick to judge. He was a freedman among his own freedmen⁶³; a slave to his slaves; envying men of dignity, to become subservient to the meanest. To this young man, who had been recalled, after Antony quitted Mutina, from Spain, where Asinius Pollio, who had been prætor, had carried on the war against him with much honour, the senate, which consisted almost wholly of Pompey's partisans, restored, at the same time that they decreed the transmarine provinces to Brutus and Cassius, the possession of his father's property, and gave him the command of the sea-coast. Having possessed himself of Sicily, as we have just said, he filled up, by receiving slaves and vagabonds into his troops, a complement of several legions; and having, by the aid of Menas and Menecrates, two of his father's freedmen who commanded his fleet, ravaged the sea with piracies and rapine, he made use of the plunder to support himself and his followers, without being ashamed to disturb with the atrocities of freebooters those seas which had been cleared of them by the arms and exertions of his father.

LXXIV

The party of Brutus and Cassius being crushed, Antony stayed behind, for the purpose of settling the foreign provinces, while Cæsar returned to Italy, which he found in a much more turbulent state than he had expected. For the consul Lucius Antony, a partaker in all his brother's vices, but destitute of the virtues which sometimes appeared in him, had, sometimes, by inveighing against Cæsar in the hearing of the veterans, and sometimes by inciting those to arms, who had not been included in the regular distribution of lands and the nomination of colonists, collected a large army. On the other sides, Fulvia the

wife of Antony, in whom there was nothing feminine but the form, was throwing everything into confusion and tumult. She had chosen Præneste as the seat of war. Lucius Antony, forced to give way in every quarter to Cæsar's superior strength, retired to Perusia; while Plancus, a favourer of Antony's party, rather held out hopes of assistance than afforded him any. Cæsar, relying on his courage, and pursuing his good fortune, took Perusia, and dismissed Antony unhurt. On the Perusians great severities were inflicted, rather through the violence of the soldiers than with the consent of their commander. The city was burnt; but of this conflagration Macedonicus, one of the principal inhabitants, was the author, who, after setting fire to his house and effects, stabbed himself, and fell amid the flames.

LXXV

At the same time an insurrection broke out in Etruria, which, under pretence of serving those who had lost their lands, Tiberius Claudius Nero, who had been prætor and was then pontifex, and who was the father of Tiberius Cæsar, and a man of great spirit, accomplishments, and abilities, employed himself in fomenting. This party was dispersed and quelled on the arrival of Cæsar. Who can sufficiently wonder at the changes of fortune, and the uncertain vicissitudes of human affairs? Who must not either hope, or fear, some alteration in his present circumstances, or something contrary to what is expected? Livia, the daughter of Drusus Claudianus, a man of the highest distinction and courage; Livia, I say, the most eminent in birth, virtue, and beauty, of all the Roman ladies, whom we subsequently saw the wife of Augustus, and, after his translation to the gods, his priestess and daughter⁶⁴, was now flying from the troops of Cæsar, who was soon to be her consort, carrying in her bosom a child scarcely two years old, the present Tiberius Cæsar, the supporter of the Roman empire; and thus, passing through unfrequented roads, to avoid the swords of the soldiers, accompanied only by a single attendant, that her flight might the more easily be concealed, she made her way to the sea, and sailed, with her husband Nero, over to Sicily.

LXXVI

The testimony which I would give to a stranger, I will not withhold from my own grandfather. Caius Velleius had been chosen by Cnæus Pompey in the

most honourable place among the three hundred and sixty judges; he had been præfect of the artificers under him, Marcus Brutus, and Tiberius Nero, and was a man inferior to none. Being in Campania, at the departure of Nero from Naples, whose party, through intimate friendship for him, he had supported, and being unable, from the pressure of age and weakness of body to follow him, he run himself through with his own sword.

Cæsar allowed Fulvia to depart from Italy in safety, and Plancus to accompany her in her flight. Asinius Pollio, with seven legions, had long retained Venetia in subjection to Antony, and had performed many and brilliant exploits at Altinum, and in other parts of that country; and, as he was now marching forward toward Antony, he prevailed on Domitius (who, having, as we said before, quitted the camp of Brutus on the death of that general, was still undecided in his movements, and at the head of a fleet of his own,) to join Antony's party; Domitius being induced to take this step by Pollio's representations and solemn assurances. By this proceeding, whoever forms a fair judgment, must allow that no less benefit was conferred by Pollio on Antony than had be bestowed by Antony on Pollio. Antony's arrival in Italy soon after, and Cæsar's preparations to oppose him, excited apprehensions of war; but an accommodation was effected near Brundisium. About this time, the wicked schemes of Salvidienus Rufus were detected. This man, sprung from the most obscure parentage, was not satisfied with having received the highest honours, with being the next after Cnæus Pompey and Cæsar, and with having been raised from the equestrian rank to the consulship, but would even have mounted to such an height, as to see both Cæsar and the Commonwealth beneath him.

LXXVII

In consequence of the general expostulations of the people, who were sorely distressed by a scarcity of provisions occasioned by the depredations committed at sea, a treaty was likewise concluded with Sextus Pompey at Misenum; who, entertaining Cæsar and Antony on board his ship, observed with some humour, that he was giving a supper in his own *Carina*⁶⁵, alluding to the name of the street in which stood his father's house, then occupied by Antony. In this treaty it was resolved to assign Sicily and Achaia to Pompey; but with this his restless mind could not be long content; and the only

advantage that his coming produced to his country was, that he stipulated for the recal and safety of all the proscribed, and of others who, for various reasons, had taken refuge with him. This stipulation restored to the republic, among other illustrious men, Claudius Nero, Marcus Silanus, Sentius Saturninus, Aruntius, and Titius. Staius Murcus, who, by joining Pompey with his famous fleet, had doubled his strength, he loaded with false accusations, because Menas and Menecrates had disdained such a man as his colleague, and put him to death in Sicily.

LXXVIII

At this period, Mark Antony married Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Pompey returned to Sicily, Antony to the transmarine provinces, which Labienus, who had gone from the camp of Brutus to the Parthians, had brought an army of that period into Syria, and had put to death Antony's deputy, had disturbed with violent commotions; but, through the courage and good conduct of Ventidius, he was cut off, together with the Parthian troops, and their king's son Pacorus, a young prince universally celebrated. Meanwhile, Cæsar, lest, in such quiet times, idleness, the greatest foe to discipline, should debilitate the soldiery, made frequent excursions throughout Illyricum and Dalmatia; and, by inuring the men to hardships, and training them in action, confirmed their strength. At this time Domitius Calvinus, being, on the expiration of his consulship, made governor of Spain, gave an instance of strict discipline, comparable to the usage of old times; for he put to death by the bastinado a centurion of the first rank, named Vibillius, for having shamefully fled in the field of battle.

LXXIX

As the fleet and fame of Pompey increased daily, Cæsar resolved to take on himself the weight of the war against him. To build ships, to collect soldiers and seamen, and to train them in naval exercises and evolutions, was the charge of Marcus Agrippa, a man of distinguished courage, proof against toil, watching, and danger; who knew perfectly well how to obey, that is, to obey one; others, he certainly wished to command: a general, in all his proceedings, averse to delay, and making action keep pace with deliberation. Having built a very fine fleet in the Avernian and Lucrine lakes, he brought, by daily

practice, both soldiers and seamen to a thorough knowledge of military and naval business. With this fleet, Cæsar (having first, however, with omens, propitious to the state, espoused Livia, who was given to him in marriage by Nero her former husband,) commenced hostilities against Pompey and Sicily. But Fortune, on this occasion, gave a severe shock to him who was invincible by human power; for a storm, arising from the south-west, shattered and dispersed the greater part of his fleet near Velia and the promontory of Palinurus. This event occasioned a delay in the prosecution of the war, which was afterwards carried on with uncertain success on Cæsar's part, and sometimes with danger. For his fleet suffered severely in a second storm at the same place, and although in the first naval engagement at Mylæ, in which Agrippa commanded, the issue was favourable, yet in consequence of the unexpected arrival of the enemy's fleet, a heavy loss was sustained at Tauromenium under Cæsar's eye, nor was his person unmenaced by danger; as the legions, which had been landed with Cornificius, his lieutenant-general, were nearly surprised by Pompey. But the fortune of this hazardous juncture was amended by steady courage; for in a general engagement at sea, Pompey lost nearly all his ships, and was forced to fly to Asia, where, by order of Mark Antony, to whom he applied for succour, while he was acting a confused part between the general and the suppliant, at one time supporting his dignity, at another begging his life, he was slain by Titius; who, some time afterwards, when he was celebrating games in Pompey's theatre, was driven out by the execrations of the people, so strong had continued the detestation which he had incurred by such a deed, from the exhibition which he himself had given.

LXXX

In prosecuting the war against Pompey, Cæsar had summoned Lepidus from Africa, with twelve legions containing half their compliment of men. This man, the vainest of human beings, who merited not by a single good quality so long an indulgence of fortune, had taken the command, as he happened to be nearer to them than any other leader, of the troops of Pompey, who, however, were attracted, not by his influence or honour, but by Cæsar's; and inflated with vanity at the number of legions, which was more than twenty, he proceeded to such a degree of madness, that, though he had been a useless

attendant on another's victory, which he had long retarded by dissenting from Cæsar's plans, and constantly urging measures different from those recommended by others, he yet claimed the whole credit of the success as his own, and even had the assurance to send notice to Cæsar to quit Sicily. But neither by the Scipios, nor by any of the ancient Roman commanders, was a more resolute act ever attempted or executed, than was now performed by Cæsar. For, though he was unarmed and in his cloak, carrying with him nothing but his name, he went into the camp of Lepidus, and avoiding the weapons which were thrown at him by the order of that infamous man, one of which pierced through his mantle, he boldly seized the eagle of a legion. Then might be seen the difference between the commanders. The armed troops followed the unarmed leader, and Lepidus, in the tenth year after he had arrived at a height of power not at all merited by his conduct, being deserted by Fortune and his troops, wrapped himself up in a black cloak, and, passing unobserved among the hindmost of the crowd that flocked about Cæsar, prostrated himself at his feet. His life, and the disposal of his property, were granted to his entreaties; his dignity, which he was ill qualified to support, was taken from him.

LXXXI

A sudden mutiny then broke out in the army; for when troops consider their own great numbers, they are apt to revolt from discipline, and to scorn to ask what they think themselves able to obtain by force; but it was soon quelled, partly by the firmness, and partly by the liberality of the prince. A grand addition was made at this time to the colony of Capua. Its lands were public property; and, in exchange for these, others, producing revenues of much larger value, to the amount of twelve hundred sestertia⁶⁶, were assigned them in the island of Crete; a promise was also given to them of the aqueduct, which to this day is an exceedingly fine ornament, productive of both health and pleasure.

Agrippa, for his singular services in this war, was rewarded with the distinction of a naval crown, an honour never before conferred on any Roman. Cæsar then returned victorious to Rome, and a great number of houses having been purchased by his agents, for the purpose of enlarging his own, he declared that he intended them for public uses, and announced his purpose of

building a temple to Apollo, surrounded with porticos, which he afterwards erected with extraordinary magnificence.

LXXXII⁶⁷

During this summer, in which Cæsar so happily quelled the war in Sicily, fortune changed in the east, as well to his prejudice as that of the Commonwealth. For Antony, at the head of thirteen legions, having entered Armenia and Media, and marching through those countries against the Parthians, had to encounter their king in the field. At first he lost two legions, with all their baggage and engines, with Statianus, one of his lieutenant-generals; afterwards, he himself, to the great hazard of the whole army, became often involved in difficulties from which he despaired of escape; and when he had lost no less than a fourth part of his soldiers, he was saved by the advice and fidelity of a captive Roman. This man had been made a prisoner when the army of Crassus was cut off, but as this change in his condition had produced no alteration in his feelings, he came by night to an outpost of the Romans, and gave them warning not to proceed by the road which they intended, but to make their escape through a woody part of the country. This proved the preservation of Mark Antony and his legions, out of which, however, and the whole army, was lost, as we have said, one fourth part of the soldiers, and one third of the servants and slaves; while of the baggage hardly anything was saved. Yet Antony called this flight of his, because he escaped from it with life, a victory. In the third year after, having returned into Armenia, and having, by some artifice, got its king Artavasdes into his power, he threw him into chains, which, not to fail in respect for him, he made of gold. But his passion for Cleopatra daily increasing, as well as the strength of those vices which are ever nourished by wealth, licence, and flattery, he determined to make war upon his country. Previously, however, he had given orders that he should be called the new Father Bacchus; after riding in his chariot, in the character of Bacchus, through the city of Alexandria, with a chaplet of ivy on his head, a golden-coloured robe, a thyrsus in his hand, and buskins on his feet.

LXXXIII

While Antony was making preparations for war, Plancus, not from a belief

that he was choosing the right side, or from love of Cæsar or of the Commonwealth, for to both he was ever a foe, but from being infected with treason as a disorder, (having previously been the meanest flatterer of the queen, more obsequious than any slave, the letter-carrier of Antony, the prompter and actor of the vilest obscenities, venal to all men and for all purposes, and having at a banquet represented Glaucus in a dance, naked and painted green, carrying on his head a chaplet of reeds, dragging a tail after him, and crawling on his knees,) formed the resolution, on being coldly regarded by Antony, because of certain plain proofs of his dishonesty, to desert to Cæsar. He afterwards construed the clemency of the conqueror into a proof of his own merit, alleging that Cæsar had approved what he had only pardoned. Titius soon followed the example of this uncle of his. One day, when Plancus, in the senate, charged Antony in his absence, whom he had but recently deserted, with many foul enormities, Coponius, who had been prætor, and was a man of high character, observed with some humour, “Surely Antony did a great many things *the day before* you left him.”

LXXXIV

Soon after, in the consulate of Cæsar and Messala Corvinus, the decisive contest was fought at Actium, where, long before the engagement, the victory of the Julian party was certain. On one side, both the soldiers and the commander were full of energy; on the other, everything showed want of spirit; on the one, the seamen were in full strength; on the other, they were greatly weakened by want of provisions; on the one, the ships were moderate in size and active; on the opposite, more formidable only in appearance. From the one side not a man deserted to Antony; from the other, deserters came daily to Cæsar. Besides, in the very presence and view of Antony’s fleet, Leucas was stormed by Marcus Agrippa, Patræ taken, Corinth seized, and the enemy’s fleet worsted twice before the final decision. King Amyntas⁶⁸, adopting the better and more profitable side, (for Dellius⁶⁹, adhering to his usual practice * * * *,) and Cnæus Domitius, a man highly esteemed, and the only one of Antony’s party who never addressed the queen but by her name⁷⁰, came over to Cæsar through great and imminent dangers.

LXXXV

At length arrived the day of the great struggle, when Cæsar and Antony, with their fleets drawn up, came to a general engagement; one fighting to save, the other to ruin the world. The right wing of Cæsar's fleet was intrusted to Marcus Lurius, the left to Aruntius; to Agrippa was committed the management of the whole action. Cæsar himself, ready to go wherever he should be called by fortune, might be said to be present everywhere. On Antony's side, the direction of the fleet was given to Publicola and Sosius. Of the troops stationed on the land, Taurus commanded Cæsar's, and Canidius Antony's. When the engagement began, there was everything ready on one side, the commander, the seamen, the soldiers; on the other, nothing but the soldiers. Cleopatra first began the flight, and Antony chose rather to be the companion of a flying queen than of a fighting soldiery; and the general, whose duty it had been to punish deserters, became a deserter from his own army. The courage of his men, though deprived of their head, held out a long time in a most determined struggle; despairing of victory, they sought death in the conflict. Cæsar, wishing to soothe with words those whom he might have slain with the sword, and calling and pointing out that Antony had fled, asked them for whom, and against whom, they were fighting. At last, after a long effort in favour of their absent leader, they reluctantly laid down their arms, and yielded the victory; and Cæsar granted them life and pardon more readily than they could be persuaded to ask them of him. It was universally allowed, that the soldiery acted the part of an excellent commander, and the commander that of a most dastardly soldier. Who can doubt, therefore, whether he who took to flight at the will of Cleopatra, would, in case of success, have regulated his conduct by her will or his own? The army on land submitted in like manner, Canidius having precipitately fled to join Antony.

LXXXVI

What blessings that day procured to the world, what an improvement it produced in the state of the public welfare, who would attempt to recount in such a hasty narrative as this abridgment? The victory was attended with the greatest clemency; only a few were put to death; and these were such as would not deign to sue for mercy. From this lenity of the leader, a judgment may be formed of the limits which he would have prescribed to himself in success, had he been allowed, both at the beginning of his triumvirate and in

the plains of Philippi. The faithful friendship of Lucius Aruntius, a man remarkable for integrity like that of old, was the means of saving the life of Sosius, though Cæsar had a long struggle against his inclination to spare him. Let us not pass unnoticed the memorable conduct and language of Asinius Pollio. Having, after the peace of Brundisium, stayed at home in Italy, having never seen the queen, nor, after Antony's mind was enervated by his passion for her, ever interfered in the business of his party, he replied to a request from Cæsar to accompany him to the battle at Actium, "My services to Antony are too great; his kindnesses to me are too notorious; I will therefore keep aloof from your contest, and be the prey of the conqueror."

LXXXVII

In the next year, Cæsar, pursuing the queen and Antony to Alexandria, brought the civil wars to a conclusion. Antony killed himself courageously enough, so as to compensate by his death for many faults of effeminacy. Cleopatra, eluding the vigilance of her guards, and causing an asp to be brought in to her, put an end to her life by its bite, showing no signs of womanish fear. It reflected honour on Cæsar's successes, and his merciful disposition, that not one of those who had borne arms against him was put to death by him. The cruelty of Antony took off Decimus Brutus; and the same Antony deprived Sextus Pompey of life, though, on conquering him, he had pledged his honour to secure to him even his rank. Brutus and Cassius died voluntary deaths, without waiting to make trial of the disposition of the conquerors. The end of Antony and Cleopatra I have just related. Canidius died in a more cowardly manner than was consistent with his frequent professions. Of the murderers of Cæsar, Cassius Parmensis was the last victim of vengeance, as Trebonius had been the first.

LXXXVIII

While Cæsar was employed in putting the last hand to the Actian and the Alexandrine wars, Marcus Lepidus, a young man more amiable in person than in mind, son of that Lepidus who had been triumvir for regulating the government, by Junia a sister of Brutus, formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar, as soon as he should return to Rome. The guardianship of the city was then in the hands of Caius Mæcenæ, who was of equestrian rank, but of a highly

honourable family; a man who, when any affair demanded vigilance, showed the greatest alacrity, foresight, and judgment, but who, when relaxation from business could be obtained, indulged himself in indolence and pleasure to an excess of effeminacy. He was no less beloved by Cæsar, than was Agrippa, but he was not so highly promoted, because, through life, he was fully contented with the narrow purple⁷¹; he might have obtained equal preferment, but he had not equal desire for it. On this occasion, making not the least stir, but dissembling his knowledge of the matter, he watched the proceedings of this hot-headed young man, and then crushing him with wonderful despatch, and without any disturbance either of men or business, he stifled the direful seeds of a new and fast reviving civil war, the author meeting the punishment due to his criminal purposes. Here we may produce an instance of conjugal affection parallel to that of Calpurnia, wife of Antistius, whom we have mentioned above⁷²; Servilia, the wife of Lepidus, swallowed burning coals, and thus gained immortal fame as a compensation for a premature death.

LXXXIX

How great the concourse was, and how ardent the welcome from men of all ages and ranks, with which Cæsar was met on his return to Italy and Rome; how magnificent, too, were his triumphs and donations, cannot be fully related even in the compass of a regular history, much less in so brief a work as this. There is no good which men can desire of the gods, none that the gods can bestow on men, none that can be conceived in wishes, none that can be comprised in perfect good fortune, which Augustus on his return did not realise to the state, to the Roman people, and to the world. The civil wars, which had lasted twenty years, were ended, foreign wars were suppressed, peace was recalled, the fury of arms everywhere laid asleep, energy was restored to the laws, authority to the courts of justice, and majesty to the senate; the power of the magistrates was confined within its ancient limits, only two prætors being appointed in addition to the former eight; the old and original form of the Commonwealth was re-established; the culture of the lands was revived; reverence was restored to religion, security to men's persons, and to every man safe enjoyment of his property; the old laws received useful emendations, and others of a salutary nature were introduced; and the senate was chosen without severity, though not without strictness. The

principal men, who had enjoyed triumphs and the highest honours, were induced by the encouragement of the prince to add to the decorations of the city. He himself could only be persuaded to accept of the consulship, which he was prevailed upon to hold, though he made many endeavours to prevent it, for eleven years; the dictatorship, which the people resolutely pressed upon him, he as resolutely refused. A recital of the wars waged under his command, of his victories that gave peace to the world, and of his numerous works both in Italy and abroad, would give full employment to a writer, who should dedicate the whole of his life merely to those subjects. Mindful of our declared purpose, we have laid before our readers only a general view of his administration.

XC

When the civil wars were composed, as we have said, and the parts of the state, which a long succession of contests had lacerated, began to coalesce, Dalmatia, which had continued rebellious for two hundred and twenty years, was reduced to make a full acknowledgment of the Roman supremacy. The Alps, inhabited by fierce and barbarous nations, were entirely subdued. Spain, after much fighting with various success, was completely subjugated, partly by Cæsar in person, and partly by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the prince raised to a third consulship, and afterwards to be his colleague in the tribunitial power. Into this province a Roman army was first sent in the consulship of Scipio and Sempronius Longus, in the first year of the second Punic War, and two hundred and fifty years from the present time, under the command of Scipio, the uncle of Africanus; and a war was maintained there for two hundred years, with so much bloodshed on both sides, that, while Rome lost several armies and generals, the struggle was often attended with dishonour, and sometimes even with danger, to her empire. This province brought death to the Scipios; this province employed our forefathers in a disgraceful contest of twenty years with the general Viriathus; this province shook Rome itself with the terror of the Numantine war. In this province was made the scandalous treaty of Quintus Pompeius, and the more scandalous one of Mancinus, which the senate rescinded by delivering up that commander with ignominy. This province caused the loss of many generals of consular and prætorian rank, and, in the time of our fathers, exalted Sertorius

to such power in arms, that during five years it was impossible to judge whether the Romans or the Spaniards were the stronger in the field, or which nation was destined to obey the other. This province, then, so extensive, so populous, and so warlike, Augustus Cæsar, about fifty years ago, reduced to such a state of pacification, that the country, which had never been free from most violent wars, was thenceforward, first under Caius Antistius, then under Publius Silius, and afterwards under other governors, perfectly exempt from the disturbances even of marauders.

XCI

While means were employed for establishing peace in the west, the Roman standards which Orodes had taken when Crassus was cut off, and those which his son Phraates had captured when Antony was driven from the country, were sent back from the east, by the king of the Parthians, to Augustus, the name which the general voice of the senate and people of Rome had, on the motion of Plancus, conferred upon Cæsar. Yet there were some who felt dissatisfied with this most happy state of affairs. Lucius Murena and Fannius Cæpio, men of different character, (for Murena, setting aside his present misconduct, might be esteemed a good man; Cæpio, even before this, had shown himself one of the worst,) formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar, but, being found guilty on a public trial, they suffered from justice that which they had intended to inflict on another by violence. Not long after, Rufus Egnatius, a man, who, in every respect, was more like a gladiator than a senator, but who, in the office of ædile, had acquired a considerable share of popularity, which he had increased by occasionally extinguishing fires with the aid of his own servants; so that from that office he succeeded to the prætorship, and afterwards had the assurance to stand for the consulate, though he was conscious of being sunk in every kind of vice and infamy; nor was his property in better condition than his mind; this man, I say, having collected a number of accomplices like himself, resolved to effect Cæsar's death, being willing to die himself, if he could but cut off the man during whose life he could not hope to prosper. For it is frequently the case, that a desperate man chooses to fall amidst public ruin, rather than to sink by himself, and desires, if he must perish, to escape notice among a multitude. But he was not more successful in keeping the secret than the former conspirators; for being thrown

into prison, he suffered, with his accomplices, the death best suited to his life.

XCII

Let us not defraud of due commemoration the very meritorious conduct of an excellent man, Caius Sentius Saturninus, who was consul at this time. Cæsar was absent, being employed in regulating the affairs of Asia, and of the east, and dispensing by his presence to every part of the world the blessings of that peace, of which he was the author. Sentius, in Cæsar's absence, happened to be sole consul; and, after giving other instances of conduct distinguished by primitive strictness and the greatest firmness of mind⁷³, such as dragging into light the frauds of the revenue farmers, punishing their avarice, and replacing the public money in the treasury, he also, when presiding at the elections, supported the character of consul with extraordinary dignity; for whatever persons he judged unworthy to stand for the quæstorship, he forbade to declare themselves candidates for it; and, if they persisted in doing so, he threatened to make them feel the power of a consul, should they appear in the Campus Martius. And when Egnatius, elated by his popularity, conceived hopes, that as he had advanced immediately from the office of ædile to that of prætor, so he would proceed from the prætorship to the consulate, he ordered him to withdraw from the field, and, on failing to obtain compliance from him, he assured him with an oath, that even if he should be elected by the votes of the people, he would not return him. Such conduct I think comparable to any of the celebrated acts of the early consuls; but such is our nature, that we more readily bestow praise on action of which we hear, than on those which we see; we view present merit with envy, and past with veneration; thinking ourselves obscured by the one, but stimulated by the other.

XCIII

Three years before the discovery of the plot of Egnatius, about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Cæpio, fifty years from the present time, Marcus Marcellus, son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, (whom people generally supposed, if Cæsar should die, to be likely to succeed to his station, but suspected that that dignity would not be conferred on him without opposition from Marcus Agrippa,) died very young, after having, in the office of ædile,

exhibited games with the greatest magnificence. He is said to have been a youth of excellent natural qualities, happy in temper and ability, and capable of filling the high station for which he was educated. After his death, Agrippa, who had gone to Asia under pretence of acting as deputy to the prince, but, as fame says, choosing to be out of the way during the present state of affairs, on account of private misunderstandings between him and Marcellus, returned home and married Cæsar's daughter Julia, who had been the wife of Marcellus, a woman whose offspring promoted neither her own nor her country's happiness.

XCIV

During this period, Tiberius Claudius Nero, (who, as we have said, was three years old when Livia, daughter of Claudianus Drusus, became the wife of Cæsar, being contracted to him by Nero her former husband,) a youth who had been trained in the noblest principles, who possessed in the highest degree birth, beauty, dignity of mien, valuable knowledge, and superior capacity, and who from the beginning gave hopes of becoming the great man that he now is, and by his look announced himself a prince, began to act in a public character, being made quæstor in his nineteenth year; and, under the direction of his stepfather, took such judicious measures, both in Rome and at Ostia, to remedy the exorbitant price of provisions and the scarcity of corn, that from what he did on that occasion, it plainly appeared how great he was to become. Not long after, being sent with an army, under a commission also from his stepfather, to inspect and regulate the provinces in the east, he displayed in those countries instances of every kind of virtue; and, having marched his legions into Armenia, and reduced it under the power of the Roman people, he bestowed the government of it, [which had been taken from] Artavasdes⁷⁴, on [Tigranes.] Even the king of the Parthians, awed by the fame of his great character, sent his own sons as hostages to Cæsar.

XCV

When Nero returned from those parts, Cæsar determined to try his abilities in supporting the weight of a difficult war, giving him, as an assistant in the business, his own brother Claudius Drusus, whom Livia had borne in the house of Cæsar. The two brothers attacked the Rhætians and Vindelicians on

different sides, and having accomplished the sieges of many cities and forts, as well as some successful actions in the field, they completely subdued those nations, (though strongly protected by the nature of the country, difficult of access, abounding in numbers, and of savage fierceness,) with more danger than loss on the side of the Romans, but with great bloodshed on that of the enemy.

Some time before this, the censorship of Plancus and Paulus was spent in quarrelling with each other, producing neither honour to themselves nor advantage to the public; for one of them wanted the requisite capacity, the other the requisite character, for a censor. Paulus could hardly fill the office; and Plancus ought to have shrunk from it; for he could not charge young men, or hear others charge them, with any crime of which he in his old age was not guilty.

XCVI

Soon after, the death of Agrippa, who had ennobled his original obscurity by many honours, and had advanced so far as to become father-in-law to Nero, whose sons the emperor Augustus, being his own grandsons, had adopted, prefixing the names Caius and Lucius to their own, brought Nero into closer connexion with Cæsar, for Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been the wife of Agrippa, married Nero. The war in Pannonia, which had commenced in the consulate of Agrippa and Marcus Vinicius your grandfather, and which, raging with great fury, threatened Italy with imminent danger, was then conducted by Nero. The Pannonian nations, the tribes of the Dalmatians, the situations of the countries and rivers, the numbers of their people and the extent of their strength, the numerous and most glorious victories gained in that war by this consummate general, we shall describe in another place. Let this work preserve its character. In consequence of this success Nero enjoyed the honour of an ovation.

XCVII

But while all things on this side of the empire were conducted with the greatest success, a severe loss was sustained by the troops in Germany, under the command of the lieutenant-general Marcus Lollius, a man who was always more anxious to get money than to discharge his duty, and, while he

carefully concealed his vices, was extremely profligate. The loss of the eagle of the fifth legion called Cæsar from the city into Gaul. The change and management of the German war was then delegated to Claudius Drusus the brother of Nero, a youth of as many and as great virtues as human nature can cherish, or industry acquire; and of whose genius it is doubtful whether it was better adapted for the arts of war or of peace. His sweet and engaging manners, his courteous and unassuming demeanour⁷⁵ towards his friends, are said to have been inimitable. The comeliness of his person approached very near to that of his brother. But, when he had conquered a great part of Germany, after shedding a profusion of the blood of the inhabitants in various parts, the cruelty of the fates snatched him from the world while he was consul, and in the thirtieth year of his age. The burden of the war then devolved on Nero, who executed it with his usual valour and success; and, carrying his victorious arms over every part of Germany, without any loss of the troops committed to his charge, (an object always of great solicitude with this commander,) he subdued it so effectually as to reduce it nearly to the state of a tributary province. Another triumph, and another consulship, were in consequence conferred upon him.

XCVIII

While the transactions which we have mentioned passed in Pannonia and Germany, the military exertions of Lucius Piso, whom we behold at present the mildest guardian of the city's safety, suppressed a furious war that broke out in Thrace, where all the tribes of the nation had arisen in arms. As lieutenant-general to Cæsar, he carried on the war against them for three years; and partly by engagements in the field, partly by taking their towns, with great destruction on their side, he reduced those ferocious people to submission on the former terms of peace; by which achievement he restored security to Asia, and peace to Macedonia. Of this man, every one must think and acknowledge that his character is a composition of vigour and gentleness, and that it is hard to find any person, either more fond of ease, more ready to undergo the fatigue of business, or more anxious to despatch what is required of him, without any display of activity.

XCIX

Not long after, Tiberius Nero, having now enjoyed two consulships, and as many triumphs, having been raised to an equality with Augustus in the partnership of the tribunitian power, having become the most eminent of all his countrymen excepting one, and being inferior to him only because he wished to be so; the greatest of commanders, the most distinguished in fame and fortune, the second luminary and head of the Commonwealth, requested (out of a surprising, incredible, and unspeakable effort of affection, the causes of which were afterwards discovered, as he considered that Caius Cæsar had already assumed the manly gown, and that Lucius was now grown up to manhood, and apprehended that his own splendour might obstruct the progress of the rising youths,) leave of absence from his father-in-law and stepfather, that he might rest from a continual course of labours, but without discovering the true reasons for such a resolution. An account of the sentiments of the people on this occasion, of the feelings of individuals, of the tears shed by every one on taking leave of this great man, and how near his country was to insisting on his stay, must be reserved for my history at large. But one thing must be mentioned even in this hasty narration; that he spent seven years at Rhodes in such a manner, that all proconsuls and legates going into the transmarine provinces waited on him there with compliments, lowering their fasces to him always even in his private character, (if such majesty was ever private,) and acknowledging his retirement more to be respected than their high employments.

C

The whole world was sensible that Nero had withdrawn from the guardianship of the city. Not only the Parthians, renouncing their alliance of Rome, laid their hands on Armenia; but Germany, when the eyes of its conqueror were turned away, rose up in rebellion. But in the city, in that same year, (thirty from the present time,) in which the emperor Augustus, being consul with Caninius Gallus, gratified the eyes and minds of the Roman people, on occasion of dedicating a Temple to Mars, with most magnificent spectacles of gladiators and a sea-fight, a calamity disgraceful to mention, and dreadful to call to mind, fell upon his own house. His daughter Julia, utterly regardless of the dignity of her father and husband, indulged in every excess which a woman can practice or allow at the instigation of luxury and libidinousness,

measuring her license to be vicious by the eminence of her station, and pronouncing everything lawful that gratified her desires. On this occasion Julius Antonius⁷⁶, who from being a conspicuous example of Cæsar's mercy became a violator of his house, was himself the avenger of his own guilt. To this man, after the overthrow of his father, Cæsar had granted not only life, but a priest's office, a prætorship, a consulate, and the government of provinces, and had even admitted him to the closest affinity, by giving him in marriage the daughter of his own sister. And Quintius Crispinus, who covered exorbitant wickedness under a morose austerity of countenance, with Appius Claudius, Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio, and others of less note, of both orders, suffered only such punishment as they would have incurred for corrupting any ordinary person's wife; though they had defiled the daughter of Cæsar, and wife of Nero. Julia was banished to the island [of Pandataria], and thus removed from the sight of her country and her parents; though, indeed, her mother Scribonia accompanied her, and remained a voluntary sharer in her exile.

CI

A short time had intervened, when Caius Cæsar, after making a progress through other provinces to inspect their condition, was sent to Syria, and made, on his way, a visit to Tiberius Nero, paying every mark of respect to him as to a superior; but, during his stay in the province, his conduct was so variable, that neither would abundant matter be wanting to him who would praise it, nor a sufficiency to him who would censure it. This noble youth had an interview with the king of the Parthians in an island of the Euphrates, each having an equal number of attendants. This grand and memorable spectacle, of the Roman army standing on one side, and the Parthian on the other, while the most illustrious heads of the greatest empires in the world held their meeting, I had the good fortune to behold, soon after my entrance into the army, being then a military tribune. This rank I attained, Marcus Vinicius, while serving under your father and Publius Silius in Thrace and Macedonia; and having since seen Achaia, Asia, all the provinces in the east, and the mouth and both shores of the Pontic sea, I now receive much pleasure from the recollection of so many events, places, nations, and cities. The Parthian was first entertained at a banquet by Caius, on our bank; then Caius by the

king, on the bank opposite.

CII

On this occasion, some treacherous schemes, full of artifice and deceit, which had been formed by Marcus Lollius, whom Augustus had chosen director of the youth of his son, were revealed to Cæsar by the Parthian prince; and they were afterwards made public by common fame. Whether Lollius's death, which followed in a few days, was fortuitous or voluntary, I have not discovered; but the joy, which people felt at his decease, was counterbalanced by their grief for the loss of Censorinus, who died soon after in the same province, a man formed by nature to captivate the affections of mankind. Caius then marched into Armenia, and, at the beginning, conducted nearly everything well; but afterwards, in a conference near Artigera, where he had rashly exposed himself, being severely wounded by a man named Adduus, he became, in consequence, less active in body, and mentally less capable of benefiting the public. He had about him, also, a crowd of courtiers, who encouraged his vices by adulation; for flattery is always attendant on high station, and, by this means, he was so far perverted, that he wished to spend his life in the most retired and distant corner of the globe, rather than return to Rome. However, after many struggles he consented, and having reluctantly set out for Italy, he fell sick and died at a town in Lycia, which they called Limyra. His brother, Lucius Cæsar, had died a year before at Marseilles, as he was going to Spain.

CIII

But Fortune, though she had frustrated the hopes entertained of those illustrious names, had already restored to the republic its own peculiar safeguard. For before the death of either, Tiberius Nero coming home from Rhodes, in the consulate of Publius Vicinius, your father, had filled his country with incredible joy. Augustus Cæsar did not long hesitate as to his adoption; not having to seek one whom he might elect, but to elect him who was most worthy. What he had purposed, therefore, after the death of Lucius, while Caius was yet alive, but had been diverted from doing by the earnest opposition of Nero, he, on the decease of the two young men, determined to execute; and accordingly constituted Nero his partner in the tribunician

power, though the latter used many arguments against the measure, both at home and in the senate; and moreover, in the consulship of Ælius Catus and Sentius, seven hundred and fifty-seven years after the building of the city, twenty-seven from the present time, and on the twenty-seventh of June, he adopted him as his son. The joy of that day, the concourse of all ranks of men, the prayers offered by people stretching their hands, as it were, up to heaven itself, and the hopes then conceived of perpetual security, and of the eternal duration of the Roman empire, we shall scarcely be able to represent fully in our large work, much less can we attempt to do justice to them here. I must be content with observing that he was all in all to every one⁷⁷. Then shone forth to parents a certain hope of security for their children, to husbands of provision for their wives, to landowners of retaining their patrimony, and to all men, of safety, quiet, peace, and tranquillity; so that nothing further could be hoped, nor could hope have a happier prospect of fulfilment.

CIV

On the same day he adopted Marcus Agrippa, of whom Julia was delivered after Agrippa's death. But in the adoption of Nero an addition was made to the formula in these very words of Cæsar: "This I do for the good of the Commonwealth." His country did not long detain in the city the champion and guardian of its empire, but speedily sent him into Germany, where a most violent war had broken out three years before, when Marcus Vinicius, your grandfather, a man of the highest reputation, was governor there, who had engaged the enemy in some places, and in others had made an honourable defence; for which merits triumphal ornaments were decreed him, with a noble inscription reciting his performances. This year made me a soldier in the camp of Tiberius Cæsar, having previously held the office of tribune. For shortly after his adoption, being sent with him into Germany in the post of præfect of cavalry, succeeding my father in that office, I was, for nine successive years, either as præfect, or lieutenant-general, a spectator, and, as far as the mediocrity of my ability allowed, an assistant in his glorious achievements. Nor do I think that any human being can have an opportunity of enjoying another spectacle like that which I enjoyed, when, throughout the most populous part of Italy, and the whole length of the Gallic provinces, the people, on seeing again their former commander, who in merit and power was

Cæsar, before he was so in name, congratulated themselves even more warmly than they congratulated him. At the very sight of him, tears of joy sprung from the eyes of the soldiers, and there appeared in their salutations an unusual degree of spirit, a kind of exultation, and an eager wish to touch his hand. Nor could they restrain themselves from adding, “General, we see you, we once more receive you in safety;” and again, “General, I was with you in Armenia,” “I in Rhætia,” “I was rewarded by you in Vindelicia,” “I in Pannonia,” “I in Germany;” all this cannot be described in words, and perhaps will scarcely gain belief.

CV

Germany was entered without delay; the Caninefates, the Attuarii, the Bructeri, were subdued; the Cherusci were again received into submission; the river Visurgis, afterwards rendered remarkable by a disaster of our troops, was crossed; the parts beyond it were penetrated; while Cæsar assumed to himself all the most laborious and dangerous parts of the war, employing, in those which were attended with less hazard, the services of Sentius Saturninus, who was then his father’s deputy in Germany; a man of manifold virtues, diligent, active, provident, able to sustain military duties, as well as eminently skilled in them; but who, when business gave place to leisure, wasted his time in expensive indulgences, yet in such a manner, that he might rather be called splendid and gay, than luxurious or indolent. Of his meritorious and celebrated consulship we have already spoken. The campaign of that year was protracted to the month of December, and rewarded our exertions with abundant success. His filial affection drew Cæsar to Rome, though the Alps were rendered almost impassable by the winter; but in the beginning of spring the necessity of protecting the empire recalled him to Germany, in the heart of which country, at the source of the river Lupia⁷⁸, the general at his departure had fixed his winter quarters.

CVI

Good gods! For how large a volume did we achieve sufficient exploits in the following summer, under the command of Tiberius Cæsar! The whole extent of Germany was traversed by our army; nations were conquered that were almost unknown to us even in name. The tribes of the Cauchians were

reduced to submission; all their youth, infinite in number, gigantic in size, strongly guarded by the nature of the country, delivered up their weapons, and, with their leaders, surrounded by troops of our soldiers glittering in arms, prostrated themselves before the general's tribunal. The Longobardi, a nation exceeding even the Germans in fierceness, were crushed. In fine, what had never before been hoped, much less attempted, the Roman army carried its standards to the distance of four hundred miles from the Rhine, as far as the Elbe, which flows along the borders of the Semnones and Hermunduri; and, by singular good fortune, the care of the general, and a proper attention to the seasons, a fleet which had sailed round the bays of the Ocean, came from a sea, previously unheard of and unknown, up the Elbe to the same place, and, crowned with victory over many nations, and supplied with a vast abundance of all things, joined Cæsar and his army.

CVII

I cannot forbear inserting the following incident, whatever may be thought of it, among affairs of so much greater magnitude. While we were encamped on the hither bank of the last-mentioned river, and while the farther bank glittered with the armour of the enemy's troops, who, be it observed, one of the barbarians, far advanced in years, of extraordinary stature, and, as his dress indicated, of the highest dignity, embarked in a canoe formed of a tree hollowed out, such as is common among those nations; and, managing this vessel alone, he advanced as far as the middle of the stream, requesting to be allowed, without danger to himself, to land on the bank which we occupied with our army, and to see Cæsar. This request was granted. Having then brought his canoe to the shore, and contemplated Cæsar a long time in silence, he said, "Our young men are certainly mad; they worship your divinity in your absence; yet, in your presence, choose rather to dread your arms, than to trust your faith. For my part, Cæsar, I have this day, by your permission and favour, seen the gods, of whom I had before only heard, and I never in my life either wished for, or experienced, a day of greater happiness." Then, having obtained leave to touch his hand, he re-embarked in his little vessel, and continually looking back at Cæsar, sailed away to the bank occupied by his countrymen. Victorious over every nation and place that he had approached, Cæsar, with his army safe and unimpaired, for it had been only once attacked,

and then by a stratagem on the part of the enemy, and with great loss to themselves, led back his legions to winter quarters, and returned to Rome with as much haste as he had used in the preceding year.

CVIII

Nothing now remained to be conquered in Germany, except the nation of the Marcomanni, who, under the command of Maroboduus, had forsaken their original abode, and having retired into the interior parts of the country, now dwelt in plains surrounded by the Hercynian forest. No haste could be an excuse for passing this chieftain without notice. Maroboduus was of distinguished birth, of great bodily strength, of a bold, daring spirit, and though a barbarian by birth, was no barbarian in understanding. He held a sovereignty over his nation, not gained by party struggles or by chance, nor variable at the will of his subjects, but steady and firmly established; and animated by a kingly spirit, he determined to lead away his people far from the Romans, and to proceed to some place, where, being beyond the reach of more powerful arms, he might render his own supreme.

CIX

Accordingly, having taken possession of the country above mentioned, he brought all the neighbouring tribes under his dominion, either by force, or on terms of agreement. He had a guard for the protection of his person; and his army being brought, by continual practice, to a close resemblance to the discipline of the Romans, he advanced his power to such a height as to become formidable even to our empire. Towards the Romans he so conducted himself, that, though he did not attack us, he plainly showed, that if he should be attacked, he had abundance of strength and inclination to make resistance. The ambassadors, whom he sent to the Cæsars, sometimes presented his respects, as if he were their humble suppliant, and sometimes spoke for him as their equal. For nations and individuals revolting from us, there was with him a safe refuge; and he acted the part, wholly or with but little dissimulation, of a rival. His army, which he had raised to seventy thousand foot, and four thousand horse, he prepared, by constant exercise in warfare against his neighbours, for more important business than he had then in hand. He was formidable likewise on this account, that having Germany on his left and

front, Pannonia on the right, and Noricum at the back of his territory, he was dreaded by them all, as being always ready to attack them. Nor did he allow Italy to be unconcerned at the growth of his power; for the frontier of his dominions was distant little more than two hundred miles from the summit of the Alps, which form the boundary of Italy. This man and his country, Tiberius Cæsar resolved to attack in the following year, on different sides. Sentius Saturninus was accordingly directed, after cutting a passage through the Hercynian forest, to march his legions through the Catti to Boiohæmum, (so the country of Maroboduus is called,) and Cæsar himself proceeded to lead the army, which was then serving in Illyricum against the Marcomanni, by the way of Carnuntum, the nearest place in the kingdom of Noricum on that side.

CX

Fortune sometimes frustrates, sometimes retards, the purposes of men. Cæsar had already prepared winter quarters on the Danube, had brought his army within five days' march of the enemy's frontier, and had ordered Saturninus to bring up his forces, (which were at nearly an equal distance from the enemy, and were ready to form a junction with Cæsar in a few days, at the place already mentioned⁷⁹;) when the whole of Pannonia, which had become impatient of control from long enjoyment of peace, and Dalmatia, now grown up to full strength, having drawn into a confederacy all the nations of that region, took up arms in concert. The commands of necessity were consequently preferred to the call of glory; for it was not thought safe to keep the army at such a distance in the interior country, and leave Italy open to an enemy so near it. Of the states and nations which rose in insurrection, the number of men amounted to more than eight hundred thousand; two hundred thousand foot were assembled, well appointed with arms, and nine thousand horse. Of this immense multitude, commanded by very active and able leaders, one part was intended to march against Italy, which joins their country at the confines of Nauportum and Tergeste; another part had already made an irruption into Macedonia, and a third was appointed to guard their own countries. The chief command was vested in three leaders, the two Batones and Pinnes. With regard to the Pannonians, they had all some knowledge, not only of the discipline, but also of the language of the Romans;

and most of them understood something of letters, and were no strangers to exercises of the mind. No other nation ever entered on war so soon after resolving on it, or so speedily put its determinations in execution. Roman citizens were murdered, traders slain, and, in that quarter of the country most remote from the general, a vast number of soldiers⁸⁰ cut off. All Macedonia was reduced by their arms, and everything in every part wasted with fire and sword. So powerful, indeed, were the apprehensions excited by this war, that they shook and alarmed even the steady mind of Augustus Cæsar, strengthened as it was by experience in wars of such magnitude.

CXI

Troops were accordingly levied; all the veterans were everywhere called out; and not only men, but women, were compelled to furnish freedmen for soldiers, in proportion to their income. The prince was heard to say in the senate, that, unless they were on their guard, the enemy might in ten days come within sight of the city of Rome. The services of Roman senators and knights were required, according to their promises, in support of the war. But all these preparations we should have made in vain, had there been no one to direct. The Commonwealth, therefore, requested of Augustus to give the command in that war to Tiberius, as their best defender.

In this war, likewise, my humble ability found a post of honourable employment. After completing my service in the cavalry, and being appointed quæstor, and, though not yet a senator, set on an equal footing with senators, and with the tribunes of the people elect⁸¹, I led from the city a detachment of the army, intrusted to me by Augustus, to join his son. Then, in my quæstorship⁸², having given up my chance of a province, I was sent by Augustus as his legate to his son; and what prodigious armies of the enemy did we behold⁸³ in that first year! What opportunities did we improve, through the wisdom of our leader, so as to exhaust the fury of their whole force by dividing it! With what attention⁸⁴ to the convenience of the men did we see business managed, under the orders of the commander! With what wisdom were the winter quarters regulated! How laboriously was the enemy surrounded with guards of our troops, so that they might not make their way out, but, destitute of provisions, and raging in their confinement, might waste their spirit and their strength!

An exploit of Messalinus, in the first campaign of this war, happy in the issue, as well as resolute in the effort, deserves to be recorded. This man, more noble in spirit than even in birth, most worthy of having Corvinus for his father, and of leaving his surname to his brother Cotta, being appointed to command in Illyricum, and, in a sudden insurrection, being surrounded by an army of the enemy, and having with him only the twentieth legion, which had then but half its complement of men, routed and put to flight a force of twenty thousand; an achievement for which he was honoured with triumphal decorations.

So little confidence had the barbarians in their numbers, and so little reliance on their strength, that wherever Cæsar appeared, they could not be sure of making any effectual effort against him. The division of their army opposed to him, being cut off from provisions at our pleasure or convenience, and reduced to mortal famine, and neither daring to withstand us when we assailed them, nor to engage with us when we offered battle and drew up in line before them, took post at last on mount Claudius, and protected themselves with a fortification. But another division, which had poured out to meet an army brought from the transmarine provinces by Aulus Cæcina and Plautius Silvanus, both of whom had been consuls, surrounding five of our legions, with the auxiliary troops and royal cavalry, (for Rhæmetalces, king of Thrace, had joined these two generals, bringing a large body of Thracians to assist in the war,) gave them such a blow as had nearly proved fatal to them all. The king's cavalry was routed; the horse of the allies put to flight; the cohorts were forced to retreat; and even at the standards of the legions⁸⁵ some confusion took place. But the courage of the Roman soldiers, on that occasion, gained them more honour than they left to their officers, who, widely differing from the practice of the commander-in-chief, found themselves in the midst of the enemy, before they had ascertained from their scouts in which direction they lay. In this perilous emergency, (when some of the military tribunes were slain, with one prefect of the camp, and some prefects of the cohorts, the centurions, also, not having escaped, for some of the first rank were killed,) the legions, encouraging one another, made a charge upon the enemy, and, not content with standing their ground against them, broke their line, and gained an unexpected victory.

About this time, Agrippa⁸⁶, who had been adopted by his natural grandfather, on the same day with Tiberius, and had in the two last years begun to discover his real character, plunging into profligacy with extraordinary depravity of mind and feeling, alienated from himself the affection of his father by adoption, who was also his grandfather⁸⁷; and soon after, sinking every day deeper into vice, he met an end suitable to the madness of his conduct.

CXIII

You may now, Marcus Vinicius, conceive Cæsar as great in the character of a leader in war, as you see him in that of a prince in peace. When he had united his forces, those under his immediate command, and those who had joined him as auxiliaries, and had brought into one camp ten legions, more than seventy auxiliary cohorts, fourteen squadrons of horse, more than ten thousand veterans, a great number of volunteers, and the numerous cavalry of the king, (in short, so great an army, as had never been seen in one place since in the civil wars,) every one was rejoiced at the sight, feeling the utmost confidence of success from their numbers. But the general, the best judge of his own proceedings, preferring the advantageous to the showy, and, as I always saw him act in every war, pursuing what was eligible in itself, not what was generally recommended, having allowed the army that had joined him to rest a few days, to recruit the strength of the men after their march, and having decided that it rendered his force too large to be kept in order, and too unwieldy to be properly managed, he resolved to send it away; and, after accompanying it through a long and most fatiguing march, the difficulty of which can hardly be described, (in order that as none would venture to attack the whole, so the whole, each nation from apprehension for its own territories, might abstain from attacking either of the parties on their separation,) he sent it back to the parts from which it came, and returning himself to Siscia⁸⁸, in the beginning of a very severe winter, appointed lieutenant-generals, of whom I was one, to command the several divisions in winter quarters.

CXIV

His conduct was truly amazing, not ostentatious, but distinguished by real and solid virtue and usefulness, most delightful to experience, most exemplary in

its humanity. During the whole time of the German and Pannonian wars, not one of us, or of those who preceded or followed our steps, was at any time sick, but his recovery and health were promoted by Cæsar with as much care, as if his thoughts, which were obliged to attend to such an infinite variety of laborious business, had no employment but this alone. There was a carriage kept always in readiness for such as wanted it, and a litter for general use, of which I, as well as others, experienced the benefit. Physicians, too, proper kinds of food, and the warm bath, introduced for that sole purpose, contributed to the health of all. Houses and domestics, indeed, were wanting, but no accommodation that could either be afforded or desired in them. To this I shall add what every one, who was present on the occasions, will readily acknowledge to be true, as well as the other circumstances that I have mentioned. The general alone always travelled on horseback⁸⁹; he alone, with those whom he invited during the greater part of the summer campaigns, sat at meals⁹⁰. To such as forbore to follow this strict mode of living, he was very indulgent, provided they did no harm by their example; he frequently admonished and reproved, very rarely punished; acting a middle part, dissembling his knowledge of most faults, and preventing the commission of others. The winter contributed much to bring the war to a conclusion. In the following summer, all Pannonia begged for peace; so that the remains of war were confined to Dalmatia. So many thousands of brave men who had lately threatened Italy with slavery, surrendering their arms, (which they had employed at the knees of Cæsar, together with Bato and Pines, leaders of high reputation, one captive, the other submitting, formed a scene which I hope to describe at large in my regular history. In autumn, the victorious army was led back into winter quarters; and the command in chief of all the troops was given by Cæsar to Marcus Lepidus, a man in fame and fortune nearest to the Cæsars; and every one, the longer and better he knows and becomes acquainted with him, the more he loves and admires him, and acknowledges him to be a credit to the great names from which he is descended.

CXV

Cæsar now turned his thoughts and arms to the remaining part of the war in Dalmatia; in which country, how useful an assistant and lieutenant-general he found in my brother, Magius Celer Velleianus, is testified by his own and his

father's declaration; and the record of the high honours conferred on him by Cæsar at his triumph, confirms it. In the beginning of the summer, Lepidus, having drawn out the army from winter quarters, and making his way to join his general Tiberius, through nations unimpaired in strength, still free from the calamities of war, and, in consequence, daring and ferocious, he succeeded, after struggling with the difficulty of the passes, and the force of the enemy, and making great havoc of those who opposed him, cutting down their corn, burning their houses, and slaughtering their men, in reaching the quarters of Cæsar, before whom he appeared exulting with victory and laden with spoil. In reward for these services, which, if performed on his own account, would have entitled him to a triumph, he was honoured with the judgment of the princes. That summer brought this important war to a conclusion, for the Perustæ and Desitiates of Dalmatia, notwithstanding that they were almost impregably secured by their mountainous countries, by the fierceness of their temper, by their surprising military skill, and more especially by the narrow passes of their forests, were at length, after being brought to the utmost extremities, reduced to quiet, not by the orders, but by the arms and personal exertions, of Cæsar himself. In all this great war in Germany, I could observe nothing more noble, nothing more deserving of admiration, than that the general never thought any opportunity of success so attractive as to justify a squandering of the lives of his soldiers; he ever judged the safest means the most honourable, and preferred the approbation of his conscience to the acquisition of fame; nor were the counsels of the general ever swayed by the feelings of the army, but the army was always guided by the wisdom of the general.

CXVI

In the Dalmatian war, Germanicus, being sent forward into various places with difficulty and danger, exhibited great proofs of courage; and Vibius Postumius, who had been consul, and was governor of Dalmatia, obtained, by his activity and diligence in the service, the distinction of triumphal decorations; which honour, a few years before, Passienus and Cossus, men celebrated for certain virtues of opposite kinds, had attained in Africa. But Cossus converted this testimony of his success into a surname for his son⁹¹, a youth formed by nature as a pattern of every virtue. Lucius Apronius, who

shared in the actions of Postumus, merited, by his excellent conduct in that service, those honours which he afterwards obtained. I wish that it were not proved by more remarkable instances how much Fortune rules in everything; but in cases of this kind her power may be abundantly recognised; for Ælius Lamia, a man of primitive manners, who always tempered with humanity the severity of old times, failed, after discharging the most honourable employments in Germany, Illyricum, and Africa, not of deserving, but of an opportunity of obtaining triumphal honours. Aulus Licinius Nerva Silanus, too, son of Publius Silius, a man whom not even those who knew him could sufficiently admire, was prematurely snatched away by fate, (all the hopes of an excellent citizen and most upright commander being cut off,) and prevented from enjoying the fruit of the prince's distinguished friendship, and from attaining a height of exultation as lofty as that of his father. If any one shall say that I looked for a place for mentioning these men, he will but charge me with what I readily admit; for candidly to do justice, without exceeding the truth, is no subject of accusation in the eyes of the right-minded.

CXVII

Cæsar had but just concluded the war in Pannonia and Dalmatia, when, within five days after the final termination of it, mournful news [arrived⁹²] from Germany; that Varus was killed, three legions cut to pieces, as many troops of cavalry, and six cohorts; the only favour allowed to us by Fortune being, that [this calamity did not happen] while the commander-in-chief was still engaged [in the Dalmatic war, when the rebellious Germans might have formed a junction with the enemy in that country.] But the occasion, and the character of the leader, demand some attention. Quintilius Varus was born of a noble rather than illustrious family, was of a mild disposition, of sedate manners, and, being somewhat indolent as well in body as in mind, was more accustomed to ease in a camp than to action in the field. How far he was from despising money, Syria, of which he had been governor, afforded proof; for, going a poor man into that rich province, he became a rich man, and left it a poor province. Being appointed commander of the army in Germany, he imagined that the inhabitants had nothing human but the voice⁹³ and limbs, and that men who could not be tamed by the sword, might be civilised by law. With this notion, having marched into the heart of Germany, as if among

people who delighted in the sweets of peace, he spent the summer in deciding controversies, and ordering the pleadings before a tribunal.

CXVIII

But those people, though a person unacquainted with them would hardly believe it, are, while extremely savage, exquisitely artful, a race, indeed, formed by nature for deceit; and, accordingly, by sometimes prosecuting each other for pretended injuries, and then returning thanks for the decision of these suits by Roman equity, for the civilisation of their barbarous state by this new system, and for the termination by law of disputes which used to be decided by arms, they at length lulled Quintilius into such a perfect feeling of security, that he fancied himself a city prætor dispensing justice in the forum, instead of the commander of an army in the middle of Germany. It was at this time that a youth of illustrious birth, the son of Segimer, prince of that nation, named Arminius, brave in action, quick in apprehension, and of activity of mind far beyond the state of barbarism, showing in his eyes and countenance the ardour of his feelings, (a youth who had constantly accompanied our army in the former war, and had obtained the privileges of a Roman citizen, and the rank of a knight,) took advantage of the general's indolence to perpetrate an act of atrocity, not unwisely judging that no man is more easily cut off than he who feels no fear, and that security is very frequently the commencement of calamity. He communicated his thoughts at first to a few, and afterwards to more, stating to them, and assuring them, that the Romans might be cut off by surprise; he then proceeded to add action to resolution, and fixed a time for carrying a plot into effect. Notice of his intention was given to Varus by Segestes, a man of that nation, worthy of credit, and of high rank; but fate was not to be opposed by warnings, and had already darkened the mental vision of the Roman general. Such, indeed, is the nature of things, that, in general, when the gods⁹⁴ design to reverse a man's good fortune, they perplex his thoughts, and, what is most distressing, make it appear that his sufferings happen to him through his own fault, so that accident is laid to the account of guilt. Varus refused to credit the information, asserting that he felt a trust in the good-will of the people, proportioned to his kindness towards them. However, after this first premonition, there was no time left for a second.

The circumstances of this most dreadful calamity, than which none more grievous ever befel the Romans in a foreign country, since the destruction of Crassus in Parthia, I will endeavour to relate in my larger history, as has been done by others. At present we can only lament the whole. An army unrivalled in bravery, the flower of the Roman troops in discipline, vigour, and experience in war, was brought, through the supineness of its leader, the perfidy of the enemy, and the cruelty of Fortune, into a situation utterly desperate, (in which not even an opportunity was allowed the men of extricating themselves by fighting, as they wished, some being even severely punished by the general, for using Roman arms with Roman spirit,) and, hemmed in by woods, lakes, and bodies of the enemy in ambush, was entirely cut off by those foes whom they had ever before slaughtered like cattle, and of whose life and death the mercy or severity of the Romans had always been the arbitrator. The leader showed some spirit in dying, though none in fighting; for, imitating the example of his father and grandfather, he ran himself through with his sword. Of two prefects of the camp, Lucius Eggius gave as honourable an example of valour as Ceionius gave of baseness; for, after the sword had destroyed the greater part of the army, Ceionius advised a surrender, choosing to die by the hand of an executioner rather than in battle. Numonius Vala, a lieutenant-general under Varus, who in other cases conducted himself as a modest and well-meaning man, was, on this occasion, guilty of abominable treachery; for, leaving the infantry uncovered by the cavalry, he fled with the horse of the allies, and attempted to reach the Rhine. But Fortune took vengeance on his misdeed; for he did not survive his deserted countrymen, but perished in the act of desertion. The savage enemy mangled the half-burnt body of Varus; his head was cut off, and brought to Maroboduus, and being sent by him to Cæsar, was at length honoured with burial in the sepulchre of his family.

On receiving this intelligence, Cæsar hurried home to his father; and the constant patron of the Roman empire undertook its cause as usual. He was despatched to Germany, he secured the peace of Gaul, arranged the troops,

fortified garrisons, and estimating himself by his own greatness, not by the confidence of the enemy who threatened Italy with an invasion like that of the Cimbri and Teutones, crossed the Rhine with his army. He thus made war upon a nation whom his father and his country would have been satisfied with keeping at a distance; he penetrated into the interior, opened roads, wasted the lands, burned the houses, overthrew all opposition, and then, with abundance of glory, and without losing a man of those who crossed the river, returned to winter quarters. Let due credit be given to Lucius Asprenas, who, serving as lieutenant-general under his uncle Varus, saved, by his manly and active exertions, a body of two legions which he commanded, from sharing in that dreadful calamity; and by going down speedily to the lower winter quarters, confirmed the allegiance of the nations on the hither side of the Rhine, which had now begun to waver. But some people, while they allow that he saved the living, are still of opinion, that he dishonestly possessed himself of the property of those slain with Varus, and, as far as he pleased, made himself the heir of the slaughtered army. The bravery of a prefect of the camp, too, named Lucius Cæditius, and of a party with him who were surrounded by a vast multitude of Germans at Alison, is much to be praised; for, by forming their plans with judgment, using vigilant foresight, and watching their opportunity, they surmounted difficulties which want rendered insupportable, and the force of the enemy almost insuperable, and opened for themselves with the sword a passage to their friends. Hence it is evident, that Varus, in other cases certainly a man of character and of good intentions, lost himself, and that noble army, rather through want of conduct in the commander, than through deficiency of courage in the soldiery. While the Germans were venting their rage on the prisoners, an act deserving of renown was performed by Cælius Calvus, a youth who did credit to his ancient family; he took hold of a part of the chains with which he was bound, and dashed it against his head with such force, that his blood and brains gushed out together, and he immediately expired.

CXXI

The same courage and good fortune which had animated Tiberius at the beginning of his command, still continued to attend him. After he had broken down the force of the enemy in various expeditions by land and sea, and had

settled important affairs in Gaul, and composed, by coercion more than by punishment, the most violent commotions of the populace at Vienne; and after the senate and people of Rome, on a request being made by his father, that he might be invested with authority equal to his own in all the provinces and armies, had passed a decree to that effect, (for it would indeed have been unreasonable, if what he had secured should not be under his command, and if he, who was the first to bring succour, should not be thought entitled to a share of the honour,) he returned to Rome, and celebrated his triumph over Pannonia and Dalmatia, which had been long due to him, but had been deferred on account of the continuance of the wars. His triumph was magnificent, but who can be surprised at magnificence in a Cæsar? Who, however, will not admire the kindness of Fortune in this, that fame did not tell us, as was usual, that all the greatest leaders of the enemy were slain, but that the triumph displayed them to us in chains? On this occasion my brother and I had the happiness of accompanying him, among the most eminent personages, and those honoured with the principal distinctions.

CXXII

Among other instances in which the singular moderation of Tiberius Cæsar shines forth conspicuously, this claims our admiration, that although, beyond all doubt, he merited seven triumphs, he was yet satisfied with three. For who can doubt that, for reducing Armenia, fixing a king on its throne, (on whose head he placed the diadem with his own hand,) and for regulating the affairs of the east, he ought to have enjoyed a triumph? Or that, for his victories over the Rhæti and Vindelici, he deserved to enter the city in a triumphal car? And when, after his adoption, he exhausted the strength of Germany in three years of continued war, the same honour ought to have been offered him, and accepted by him. Again, after the disaster of the army of Varus, the rapid subjugation of the same Germany ought to have furnished a triumph for the same consummate general. But with respect to him you can hardly determine whether you should admire more his extraordinary exertions amid toil and danger, or his moderation with regard to honours.

CXXIII

We have now arrived at a period in which very great apprehension prevailed.

For Augustus Cæsar, having sent his grandson Germanicus to finish the remainder of the war in Germany, and intending to send his son Tiberius into Illyricum, to settle in peace what he had subdued in war, proceeded with the latter into Campania, with the design of escorting him, and at the same time to be present at the exhibition of athletic sports, which the Neapolitans had resolved to give in honour of him. Although he had before this felt symptoms of debility and declining health, yet, as the vigour of his mind withstood them, he accompanied his son, and, parting from him at Beneventum, proceeded to Nola; where, finding that his health grew worse every day, and well knowing whose presence was requisite to the accomplishment of his wish to leave all things in safety after him, he hastily recalled his son, who hurried back to the father of his country, and arrived earlier than was expected. Augustus then declared that his mind was at ease; and being folded in the embrace of Tiberius, to whom he recommended the accomplishment of his father's views and his own, he resigned himself to die whenever the fates should ordain. He was in some degree revived by the sight and conversation of the person most dear to him; but the destinies soon overpowering every effort for his recovery, and his body resolving itself into its first principles, he restored to heaven his celestial spirit, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the consulate of Pompey and Apuleius.

CXXIV

The universal apprehensions excited by this event; the alarm of the senate, the consternation of the people, the fears of the world, and the narrow line between safety and destruction on which we stood on that occasion, I have neither leisure to describe in this hasty narrative, nor can he, who has leisure, describe satisfactorily. One thing I can join with the voice of the public in declaring, that whereas we had dreaded the total ruin of the world, we did not perceive that it felt the slightest shock; and so powerful was the majesty of one man, that there was no occasion for arms, either to protect the good, or restrain the bad. Yet there was one struggle, as it may be called, in the state, between the senate and people of Rome on the one side, insisting on Cæsar's assuming his father's station, and himself on the other, desiring leave to stand on a level with his countrymen, instead of acting in the exalted character of a prince. At length he was overcome by reason, not by the attractions of honour;

because he saw that whatever he did not take under his care would be lost. His case was singular in this, that he refused the sovereignty almost as long as others fought to obtain it. After he had seen his father restored to heaven, and had paid respect to his body with human, and to his name with Divine honours, the first act of his administration was the regulation of the elections, on a plan left by the deified Augustus in his own handwriting. At this time, my brother and I had the honour, as Cæsar's candidates⁹⁵, of being elected prætors, in the places next to men of the highest rank, and the priests; and we were remarkable in being the last recommended by Augustus, and the first by Tiberius Cæsar.

CXXV

The Commonwealth quickly reaped the fruit of its determination and its wish; and we soon learned what we must have suffered if that wish had not been complied with, and how greatly we had gained by its being fulfilled. For the army which was serving in Germany under the command of Germanicus, and the legions which were in Illyricum, being both seized at the same time with a kind of outrageous fury, and a violent passion for spreading universal disorder, demanded a new leader, a new constitution, a new republic; they even had the confidence to threaten that they would give laws to the senate, and to the prince; and they attempted to fix the amount of their pay, and the period of their service. They proceeded even to use their arms; the sword was drawn; and the impunity which was allowed them broke forth almost into the extremity of violence. They wanted, indeed, a head, to lead them against their country, but there were numbers ready to follow. However, the mature wisdom of the veteran emperor, who, refusing most of their demands, promised some indulgences without lowering his dignity, soon allayed and suppressed all these outrageous proceedings; severe vengeance being inflicted on the authors of the mutiny, and milder punishment on the rest. On this occasion, as Germanicus exerted his usual activity, so Drusus, who was sent by his father expressly to extinguish the flame of this military tumult, blazing, as it was, with enormous fury, enforced the ancient and primitive discipline, and by strong measures, though not without danger to himself⁹⁶, put a stop to those excesses, so pernicious both in the act and in the example; and reduced to obedience the soldiers that pressed around him, by the aid of the very

swords with which he was beset. In these efforts he found an excellent assistant in Junius Blæsus, a man of whom it is difficult to decide whether his services were greater in the camp or in the camp. A few years after, being proconsul in Africa, he gained triumphal decorations, and the title of *imperator*. And being entrusted with the presidency of Spain, and the command of the army there, he was able, by his excellent abilities, and with the reputation which he had gained in the war with Illyricum, to keep the province in perfect peace and tranquillity; for while his fidelity to the emperor led him to adopt the most salutary measures, he had likewise ample authority to carry into execution what he planned. His care and fidelity were closely copied by Dolabella, a man of the noblest simplicity of character, when he commanded on the coast of Illyricum.

CXXVI

Of the transactions of the last sixteen years, which have passed in the view, and are fresh in the memory of all, who shall presume to give a full account? Cæsar deified his parent, not by arbitrary authority, but by paying a religious respect to his character. He did not call him a divinity, but made him one. In that time, credit has been restored to mercantile affairs, sedition has been banished from the forum, corruption from the Campus Martius, and discord from the senate-house; justice, equity, and industry, which had long lain buried in neglect, have been revived in the state; authority has been given to the magistrates, majesty to the senate, and solemnity to the courts of justice; the dissensions in the theatre⁹⁷ have been suppressed, and all men have either had a desire excited in them, or a necessity imposed on them, of acting with integrity. Virtuous acts are honoured, wicked deeds are punished. The humble respects the powerful, without dreading him; the powerful takes precedence of the humble without contemning him. When were provisions more moderate in price? When were the blessings of peace more abundant? Augustan peace, diffused over all the regions of the east and the west, and all that lies between the south and north, preserves every corner of the world free from all dread of predatory molestation. Fortuitous losses, not only of individuals, but of cities, the munificence of the prince is ready to relieve. The cities of Asia have been repaired; the provinces have been secured from the oppression of their governors. Honour promptly rewards the deserving, and the punishment of the

guilty, if slow, is certain⁹⁸. Interest gives place to justice, solicitation to merit. For the best of princes teaches his countrymen to act rightly by his own practice; and while he is the greatest in power, is still greater in example.

CXXVIII

It is seldom that men who have arrived at eminence, have not had powerful coadjutors in steering the course of their fortunes; thus the two Scipios had the two Lælii, whom they set in every respect on a level with themselves; thus the emperor Augustus had Marcus Agrippa, and after him Statilius Taurus. The newness of these men's families proved no obstruction to their attainment of many consulships and triumphs, and of sacerdotal offices in great numbers. For great affairs demand great co-operators; (in small matters⁹⁹, the smallness of assistance does not mar the proceedings;) and it is for the interest of the public, that what is necessary for business should be eminent in dignity, and that usefulness should be fortified with influence. In conformity with these examples, Tiberius Cæsar has had, and still has, Ælius Sejanus, a most excellent coadjutor in all the toils of government, a man whose father was chief of the equestrian order, and who on his mother's side is connected with some of the most illustrious and ancient families, ennobled by high preferments; who has brothers, cousins, and an uncle, of consular rank; who is remarkable for fidelity in the discharge of his duties, and for ability to endure fatigue, the constitution of his body corresponding with the vigour of his mind; a man of pleasing gravity, and of unaffected cheerfulness; appearing, in the despatch of business, like a man quite at ease; assuming nothing to himself, and hence receiving every honour; always deeming himself inferior to other men's estimation of him; calm in looks and conversation, but in mind indefatigably vigilant.

CXXVIII

In esteem for Sejanus's virtues, the judgment of the public has long vied with that of the prince. Nor is it at all new with the senate and people of Rome, to consider the most meritorious as the most noble. The man of old, before the first Punic war, three hundred years ago, exalted to the summit of dignity Titus Coruncanius, a man of no family, bestowing on him, beside other honours, the office of chief pontiff; they promoted Spurius Carvilius, a man of

equestrian birth, and afterwards Marcus Cato, another new man, (not a native citizen, but born at Tusculum,) as well as Mummius Achaicus, to consulships, censorships, and triumphs. And they who considered Caius Marius, a man of the most obscure origin, as unquestionably the first in the Roman nation, before his sixth consulship; who had so high an esteem for Marcus Tullius, that he could obtain, almost by his sole recommendation, the highest offices for whomsoever he chose; and who refused nothing to Asinius Pollio, which men of the noblest birth had to obtain with infinite labour, were certainly of opinion that he who possessed the greatest virtues, was entitled to the greatest honours. The natural imitation of other men's examples led Cæsar to make trial of Sejanus, and occasioned Sejanus to bear a share of the burdens of the prince; and induced the senate and people of Rome cheerfully to call to the guardianship of their safety him whom they saw best qualified for the charge.

CXXIX

Having exhibited a general view of the administration of Tiberius Cæsar, let us now enumerate a few particulars respecting it. With what wisdom did he bring to Rome Rhascuporis, the murderer of Cotys, his own brother's son, and partner in the kingdom, employing in that affair the services of Pomponius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, naturally inclined to all that is honourable, and by pure virtue always meriting fame, but never eagerly pursuing it! With what solemnity as a senator and a judge, not as a prince, does he * * * hear¹⁰⁰ causes in person! How speedily did he crush * * *¹⁰¹ when he became ungrateful, and attempted innovations! With what precepts did he form the mind of his Germanicus, and train him in the rudiments of war in his own camp, so that he afterwards hailed him the conqueror of Germany! What honours did he heap on him in his youth, the magnificence of his triumph corresponding to the grandeur of his exploits! How often has he honoured the people with donations! How readily has he, when he could do it with the sanction of the senate, supplied senators with property suitable to their rank, neither encouraging extravagance, nor suffering honourable poverty to be stripped of its dignity! In what an honourable style did he send his Germanicus to the transmarine provinces! With what energy, employing Drusus as a minister and coadjutor in his plans, did he force Maroboduus, who was clinging to the soil of the kingdom which he had possessed, to come

forth, like a serpent concealed in the earth, (let me speak without offence to his majesty,) by the salutary charms of his counsels! How honourably, yet how far from negligently, does he keep watch over him! How formidable a war, excited by the Gallic chief Sacrovir and Julius Florus, did he suppress, and with such amazing expedition and energy, that the Roman people learned that they were conquerors, before they knew that they were at war, and the news of the victory outstripped the news of the danger! The African war too, perilous as it was, and daily increasing in strength, was quickly terminated under his auspices and direction.

CXXX

What structures has he erected in his own name, and those of his family! With what dutiful munificence, even exceeding belief, is he building a temple to his father! With how laudable a generosity of disposition is he repairing even the buildings of Cnæus Pompey, that were consumed by fire! Whatever has been at any time conspicuously great, he regards as his own, and under his protection. With what liberality has he at all times, and particularly at the recent fire on the Cælian Mount, repaired the losses of people of all conditions out of his own property! With what perfect ease to the public does he manage the raising of troops, a business of constant and extreme apprehension, without the consternation attendant on a levy! If either nature allows us, or the humility of man may take upon itself, to make a modest complaint of such things to the gods, what has he deserved that, in the first place, Drusus Libo should form his execrable plots; and, in the next, that Silius and Piso should follow his example, one of whom he raised to dignity, the other he promoted? That I may pass to greater matters, (though he accounted even these very great,) what has he deserved, that he should lose his sons in their youth, or his grandson by Drusus? But we have only spoken of causes for sorrow, we must now come to occasions of shame. With what violent griefs, Marcus Vinicius, has he felt his mind tortured in the last three years! How long has heart been consumed with affliction, and, what is most unhappy, such as he was obliged to conceal, while he was compelled to grieve, and to feel indignation and shame, at the conduct of his daughter-in-law¹⁰² and his grandson¹⁰³! And the sorrows of this period have been aggravated by the loss of his most excellent mother, a woman who resembled the gods more than human beings; and

whose power no man ever felt but in the relief of distress or the conferring of honour.

CXXXI

Let our book be concluded with a prayer. O Jupiter Capitolinus, O Jupiter Stator! O Mars Gradivus, author of the Roman name! O Vesta, guardian of the eternal fire! O all ye deities who have exalted the present magnitude of the Roman empire to a position of supremacy over the world, guard, preserve, and protect, I entreat and conjure you, in the name of the Commonwealth, our present state, our present peace, [our present prince¹⁰⁴!] And when he shall have completed a long course on earth, grant him successors to the remotest ages, and such as shall have abilities to support the empire of the world as powerfully as we have seen him support it! All the just designs of our countrymen * * * *

ENDNOTES.

¹ The former Scipio — the latter] The former was Scipio Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal; the latter Scipio Africanus Minor, who destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and who is mentioned above, i., 15.

² Before mentioned] See i., 2.

³ Shrinking from no penalty, &c.] *Non recusando perduxit huc, &c.* The text is here so obscure that Ruhnken says, “Ego nihil hic intelligo,” and supposes that some words are lost. On Caudium, see Florus, i., 16.

⁴ II. All men were eager to secure a footing in the state] *Omnibus statum concupiscentibus.* Such is the way in which Krause and Orellius understand this phrase. Lipsius said that there was no sense in it, and conjectured *omnibus* (sc. legibus istis agrariis) *statum concutientibus*, which Gruter and Heinsius approved, and Ruhnken admitted into his text. But *concupiscentibus* seems to have been too hastily condemned by these critics. “Statum habere,” says Krause, “est vel civitatem, vel bona certa, agros scilicet, habere, et sic esse aliquid in republicâ.” So, he adds, the proscribed are said, c. 72, *nullum statum habere*.

⁵ IV. To whom Italy is but a stepmother] *Quorum noverca est Italia.* The idle and dissolute crowd that wandered the city, many of whom were not natives of the country, were not considered or valued by Italy as her children, but regarded by her with the disdain of a stepmother. The origin of the expression, as Wesseling has pointed out, is in Plato’s Menexenus. Comp. Val. Max., vi., 2, 3.

⁶ With the head veiled] *Velato capite.* “Obvoluto capite elatus est, ne livor in ore appareret.” Aurel. Vict., 58. This seems to have been customary.

⁷ VI. To transfer the privilege of being judges, &c.] See Pseudo-Sallust, first Epistle to Cæsar, c. 3, 8.

⁸ VIII. The sentence inclosed in brackets is evidently out of place, as Burman and Krause remark.

⁹ Eighteen sester tia] About 159*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

¹⁰ The Scipios] The office in which the Scipios were united was the ædileship, as Krause says, who supposes that some words to that effect have been lost out of the text.

¹¹ IX. Of Ennius] The name of Ennius has been supplied in the texts of Ruhnken and Krause

from a conjecture of Heinsius.

¹² What he invented] He was an eminent writer of the *Fabulae Atellanæ*, but not the inventor of that kind of composition. But perhaps he was the first that gave them any regularity of form.

¹³ X. Six sesteria] About 53*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

¹⁴ XI. Of strict temperance] *Vitâ sanctus*. This is, as Krause observes, evidently the sense. So Crassus, in c. 46, is said to be *sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus*. Marius is called by Sallust, Jug., c. 63, *lubidinis atque divitiarum victor*.

¹⁵ XII. From some precaution of the fates] *Ut præcaventibus fati*s. As if the fates, by uniting them together at this time, had been anxious to prevent the discord that afterwards raged between them. *Krause*.

¹⁶ Curiaë were houses of assembly for the wards (*curiaë*) of the city.

¹⁷ XV. The words inclosed in brackets are entirely out of place, like those at the beginning of c. 8.

¹⁸ XVI. Assumption of the military dress] *Ad saga iretur*. "Livy, Epit. lxxii., says, with reference to these times, *saga populus sumpsit*. This military garment, the *sagum*, the Romans assumed, by a decree of the senate, in the most alarming wars, and retained it till better fortune appeared, when they returned to the *toga*. Compare Livy, Epit. lxxiv.; Cic., Phil., xiv., 1." *Krause*.

¹⁹ XVIII. Theophanes] A native of Mitylene, and friend of Pompey, of whose acts he wrote a history.

²⁰ XIX. By a barbarian] *Ab hoste*. "A barbaro." *Krause*. *Hostis*, as opposed to *civis*.

²¹ XXI. To — the spectators] From the loss of their relatives.

²² XXII. With mortar] *Calce arenâque*. With lime and sand. Florus, iii., 21, says that Catulus died *ignis haustu*, by swallowing fire.

²³ A reward — for his own destruction] *Sui — periculi merces*. "His property being divided among those who procured his death." *Ruhnken*.

²⁴ XXIV. Procured a sentence of banishment] *Aquâ ignique iis interdixit*. See Florus, iii., 16.

²⁵ XXV. Merciful to excess] *Justissimo lenior*. The text is here defective.

²⁶ XXVI. A man of his father's spirit, though not of his father's length of life] *Vir animi magis quam ævi paterni*. "Ævum is here for *ætas*. Marius did not live as many years as his father, being killed young, as is related in c. 27." *Krause*.

²⁷ The words at the end of this chapter are so defective, that it is useless to attempt a translation of them.

²⁸ XXVII. Subterraneous passages] *Cuniculos*. "Made either for the conveyance of water, or for secret ways of exit from the city. See Strabo, v., p. 365." *Krause*.

²⁹ XXVIII. A prize for depriving him of life] *Quisque merces mortis suæ*. Comp., c. 22.

³⁰ XXX. Krause thinks there is a considerable hiatus between these two chapters.

³¹ Shameful death for himself] His treachery led to his desertion by his troops, and his defeat and death at the hands of Pompey. See Appian, B. C., i., 115; Plutarch, Sert., c. 27; Pomp., c. 20.

³² Rode through the city in his chariot] There was a law which forbade any one, who was not of consular or prætorian dignity, to have a triumph. But this was Pompey's second triumph. Hence Velleius says *hoc quoque triumpho*, "in this triumph also." See Plutarch, Pomp., c. 14, 22.

³³ XXXII. Privilege of being judges] *Judicandi munus*. See the Pseudo-Sallust's First Epistle to Cæsar, c. 7.

³⁴ Roscius Otho now restored] *Otho Roscius — restituit*. "The same word is twice used, in speaking of this law, by Cicero, pro Muræn., c. 19, so that it is probable, as Puteanus has suggested, that the *equites* had seats separate from the *plebs* before this well-known law was passed." *Ruhnken*.

³⁵ Defeated the pirates * * * in various places] *Prædonesque per multa * * * a multis locis*, &c. A defective passage. The Bipont editor reads *per multa maria multis*, &c.

³⁶ XXXIV. Noblest of new men] *Novitatis nobilissimæ*. The translation is Baker's.

³⁷ Excelled in genius by those, &c.] Viz., by the Greeks.

³⁸ XXXVI. A little before them, * * * Crassus, &c.] *Anteaque * * * Crassum*. *Anteaque* is a conjecture of Heinsius for *saneque*, the previous reading. Puteanus thinks that the name of

Antonius is wanting in the text.

³⁹ Rabirius] For *Rabirius*, Markland, Ep. Crit., p. 14, would read *Varius*. Perizonius thinks that *Horatius* should be inserted; and Burman supposes that the name of *Propertius* has dropped out of the text. But Velleius, says Krause, might have reasons for omitting both Horace and Propertius.

⁴⁰ XL. Excepting the Parthian] “He means in the East. All other kings, except those of Parthia, owed their kingdoms to the indulgence of the Romans, and were subservient to their will, chiefly by the instrumentality of Pompey.” *Krause*.

⁴¹ Excepting that of Paulus] *Præterquam à Paullo*. Vossius, Burman, Gruter, Ruhnken, and Krause concur in thinking these words spurious; for Pompey, according to Plutarch, Pomp., c. 45, brought into the treasury twenty thousand talents of gold and silver, a sum twice as great as that which was brought by Paulus Æmilius.

⁴² XLI. Watched him only with their eyes] They watched him only with their eyes, says Krause, having no mental communication with him. Had he made any alteration in his dress, they might have supposed that he was preparing for flight, and have laid hands upon him.

⁴³ XLII. Envy — baseness of spirit] *Sequebatur invidia inertiam*. Oudendorp conjectured *avaritia* for *invidia*. Ruhnken justifies *invidia* by a sentence of Seneca, De Tranq. Anim., p. 345, ed. Gronov.: *Alit enim livorem infelix inertia; et omnes destrui cupiunt, quia se non poterunt provehere*; and by another from Cicero, Phil., x., 1: *Verum esse id quod ego semper sensi, neminem alterius, qui suæ consularet, virtuti invidere*.

⁴⁴ XLV. Sent into banishment] *Aquâ et igni interdiceretur*. See c. 24.

⁴⁵ XLVI. A remarkable pair of consuls] *Invictum par consulum*. *Invictum* not being satisfactory, Lipsius and Heinsius conjectured *inclitum par*; Ruhnken *unicum par*. I have adopted the former.

⁴⁶ Most atrocious crime] The assassination of Julius Caesar.

⁴⁷ XLVIII. Ten thousand sestertia] Something more than 80,000*l*.

⁴⁸ XLIX. Lentulus saw that his own security, &c.] “He was deeply in debt, from which he could not emerge as long as the state was undisturbed.” *Krause*.

⁴⁹ Kings, tetrarchs, and petty princes] *Regumque et tetrarchum et dynastarum*. See Sall., Cat., c. 20.

⁵⁰ LII. Use a military expression — disband, &c.] The text is here corrupt and defective.

Ruhnken ridicules the notion of *dimitteret* being the *verbum militare*, as most critics have supposed, and thinks that Velleius wrote something like this: *Neque prius neque antiquius quicquam habuit quàm ut in omnes partes præcones clamantes, parce civibus, ut militari et verbo et consuetudine utar, dimitteret*. For a confirmation of this conjecture he refers to Appian, B. C., ii., p. 783; Suet. Cæs., c. 75; Flor., iv., 2. The translation which I have given is borrowed from Baker.

⁵¹ LVI. Acanthus wood] *Acantho*. The *acanthus* was a tree of the *acacia* kind, now generally supposed to be the same as the *Mimosa Nilotica* of Linnæus, or “Egyptian thorn.” See Plin., H. N., xxiv., 12; Miller’s Gardener’s Dict., Art. Acacia; Martyn on Virg. Georg., ii., 119.

⁵² Tortoise-shell] “We must suppose that the *fercula*, or frames on which the articles were carried in the procession, were inlaid with tortoise-shell, as is now the case with many articles of furniture.” *Krause*.

⁵³ Six hundred thousand sestertia] Something more than 4,800,000*l*.

⁵⁴ LIX. He himself has anticipated me] *Prævenit, et * * * ** &c. “Vossius and Bæcler rightly refer *prævenit* to Augustus himself, and his commentaries on his life mentioned by Suetonius, Aug., c. 2.” *Krause*. Some words, which introduce the account of Octavius’s father, have been lost.

⁵⁵ The orb of the sun — regularly curved, &c.] *Solis orbis — curvatus æqualiter rotundatusque, in colorem arcûs*. It is not possible to explain these words at all satisfactorily. Suetonius, in speaking of the same occurrence, Aug., c. 95, says, *circulus ad speciem cælestis arcûs orbem solis ambiit*; and Seneca, Q. N., i., 2; Dion Cassius, xlv., 4; and Plin., H. N., ii., 28, allude to the matter in a similar way. Hence Hottinger, a friend of Herelius, conjectured that we should read *curvatunt æqualiter rotundatumque versicolore arcum*, &c.

⁵⁶ LX. Seven hundred thousand sestertia] Something more than 5,650,000*l*.

⁵⁷ False insertions — in Cæsar’s registers] *Actorum ejusdem insertis falsis, civitatibusque * * * corrupti commentarii*. I have omitted the last three words. Various emendations of the passage have been suggested, but to little purpose.

⁵⁸ LXII. Laudandus et tollendus] The play on the word *tollendus* cannot be rendered. *Tollo* means not only *to raise* or *extol*, but *to take out of the way*. It is as if we should say of a man that merits hanging, that he deserves to be exalted.

⁵⁹ LXV. To revenge a father, &c.] It was more incumbent on Octavius to revenge the death of Julius Cæsar than on Antony; Cæsar being his adopted son, Antony only his friend.

⁶⁰ LXXVII. Germans, (*that is*, brothers,) &c.] *De Germanis*. A play on the Latin word *Germanus*.

⁶¹ LXXII. Whom we lately saw] *Nuper à nobis visi*. He had died a little before.

⁶² No position in the state] *Nullum habentibus statum*. See note on ii., 2.

⁶³ LXXIII. A freedman among his own freedmen] *Libertorum suorum libertus*. He lowered himself, and laid himself under obligations to them.

⁶⁴ LXXV. Daughter] By adoption into the Julian family according to the will of Augustus. Tacit. Ann., i., 8; Suet. Aug., 101.

⁶⁵ LXXVII. In his own *Carinae*] *In Carinis suis*. A pun on *carinae*, ships, which was also the name of an open place, or street, in Rome. *Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis*. Virg. Æn., viii., 361.

⁶⁶ LXXXI. Twelve hundred sester tia] About 10,000*l*.

⁶⁷ LXXXII. The commencement of this chapter, in which Krause retains the old, unintelligible reading, is translated according to the emendation of Ruhnken: *Quâ æstate Cæsar tam prospere sepelivit in Siciliâ bellum, fortuna in Cæsare et republicâ mutavit ad Orientem*. This is the best of all the corrections that have been proposed; though the words *in Cæsare et republicâ*, as a Gottingen reviewer observes, (Ephem. Lit., 1799, p. 120,) will hardly satisfy every reader.

⁶⁸ LXXXIV. Amyntas] The successor of Deiotarus in the kingdom of Galatia.

⁶⁹ Dellius] Quintus Dellius, to whom Horace addresses Od. ii., 3. He deserted from Dolabella to Cassius, from Cassius to Antony, and from Antony to Cæsar. Sen. Suasor., i. The text is here imperfect, and a few words are omitted in the translation.

⁷⁰ By her name] *Nomine*. Not saluting her as a queen, but calling her merely Cleopatra.

⁷¹ LXXXVIII. Fully contented with the narrow purple] The text has *angusti clavi pene contentus*, which is manifestly corrupt, for any trustworthy example of *contentus* with a genitive is not to be found. Ruhnken thinks that *pene* is a corruption of some substantive. The Basil editor gives *angusto clavo*. For *pene*, Krause proposes *bene* or *planè*. The *angustus clavus* was the badge of a knight.

⁷² Calpurnia — mentioned above] See c. 26.

⁷³ XCII. By primitive strictness and the greatest firmness of mind] *Priscâ severitate et summâ constantiâ*. The words which follow these, *vetere consulum more ac severitate*, are not translated, being, as Krause observes, a manifest interpolation.

⁷⁴ XCIV. Artavasdes, &c.] There is here a *hiatus* in the text. The words in brackets are a suggestion of Lipsius.

⁷⁵ XCVII. Unassuming demeanour] *Par sui æstimatio*. “Just estimation of himself.”

⁷⁶ C. Julius Antonius] Son of Mark Antony, by Fulvia.

⁷⁷ CIII. That he was all in all to every one] *Quàm in illo [omnia] omnibus fuerint*. “How much all things were in him for all.” The *omnia* is an insertion of Krause’s, borrowed by him from Lipsius’s conjecture, *quàm ille omnia omnibus fuerit*.

⁷⁸ CV. Lupia] Now called *Lippe*; a river of Westphalia, rising in the bishopric of Paderborn, and running into the Rhine near Wesel.

⁷⁹ CX. At the place already mentioned] *In prædicto loco*. Apparently Carnuntum, c. 109, *fin*.

⁸⁰ A vast number of soldiers] *Magnus numerus vexillariorum*. What the *vexillarii* were, is not quite certain. Ernesti, in his *Excursus* on the subject, subjoined to Tacitus’s *History*, thinks that they were *tirones*, and the same as the *hastati*.

⁸¹ CXI. With the tribunes of the people elect] *Designatis tribunis plebis*. According to Lipsius, the tribunes of the people were at this period chosen only from the senators. If so, some particular favour was shown to Velleius on this occasion, allowing him, though not yet a senator, to stand on an equality with the tribunes.

⁸² In my quæstorship, &c.] After taking the detachment of the army into Germany, says Krause, Velleius seems to have returned to Rome to enter upon his quæstorship; and then, during the time that he held that office, to have been again despatched to Germany by Augustus in the quality of legate, without waiting to take a province at the expiration of his quæstorship.

⁸³ Did we behold] *Vidimus*. Krause’s text has *fudimus*, a conjecture of Heinsius. Burman holds to *vidimus*, as savouring less of boastfulness.

⁸⁴ With what attention, &c.] The text is here mutilated and obscure.

⁸⁵ CXII. At the standards of the legions] *Apud signa — legionum*. Krause takes *signa* for *interior acies*. Is *apud signa* the same as *apud vexillarios*, in Ernesti’s sense of *vexillarii*? See

note on c. 110.

⁸⁶ Agrippa] See [#CIV|c. 104]], *init*.

⁸⁷ Also his grandfather] An inadvertent repetition; “natural grandfather” occurring above.

⁸⁸ CXIII. Siscia] In Pannonia, now Sissek, at the confluence of the Save and Colapis.

⁸⁹ CXIV. On horseback] “Not in any carriage, or *lectica*.” Ruhnken.

⁹⁰ Sat at meals] *Cœnavit sedens*. Not reclining on a couch.

⁹¹ CXVI. A surname for his son] He left to his son the surname *Gætulicus*.

⁹² CXVII. Arrived] The verb is wanting in the original, as well as the words inclosed in brackets below, which are suggested by Vossius.

⁹³ Nothing human but the voice, &c.] “He thought them mere brutes, and therefore undertook their transformation into men.” *Krause*.

⁹⁴ CXVIII. When the gods, &c.] A repetition of the sentiment at the end of c. 57.

⁹⁵ CXXIV. Cæsar’s candidates] *Candidatis Cæsaris*. That is, brought forward and recommended by Cæsar. See Suet. Aug., c. 56; Quintil., vi., 3.

⁹⁶ CXXV. Not without danger to himself] *Ancipitia sibi*. These words are in some way corrupt; and the sentence is otherwise defective.

⁹⁷ CXXVI. Dissensions in the theatre] These were not of so small importance as might be supposed, being sometimes attended with great bloodshed. See Suet. Tib., c. 57; Tacit. Ann., i., 77.

⁹⁸ If slow, is certain] *Sera, sed aliqua*. Lipsius would read *sed æqua*, but Gruter and others think that *aliqua* may be right; i.e. *some* punishment is sure to follow.

⁹⁹ CXXVII. In small matters, &c.] “If the words be Velleius’s, the observation is trifling, and utterly unworthy of him.” *Krause*.

¹⁰⁰ CXXIX. Does he * * * hear] *Pressius audit*. The word *pressius*, which can hardly be sound, though Perizonius tries to defend it, I have not attempted to translate.

¹⁰¹ Did he crush * * *] Whose name should fill this blank is doubtful. *Krause* thinks that of

Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

¹⁰² CXXX. Daughter-in-law] Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus.

¹⁰³ Grandson] Nero, the son of Germanicus. Velleius merely echoes the calumnies of Tiberius on both these characters.

¹⁰⁴ CXXXI. [Our present prince!] The words *hunc principem*, which the text requires, are supplied from a conjecture of Lipsius. The conclusion of the prayer is imperfect.

Compendium of Roman History (1924 translation)



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The Theatre of Pompey, Rome. Caesar was assassinated following a conspiracy by approximately 60 Roman senators, who called themselves the Liberators. Led by Gaius Cassius Longinus and Marcus Junius Brutus, they stabbed Julius Caesar to death in a location adjacent to the theatre on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 BC.



The site today



'The Death of Julius Caesar' by Vincenzo Camuccini, 1798

BOOK I.

[1] (1) Epeus, separated by a storm from Nestor, his chief, founded Metapontum. Teucer, disowned by his father Telamon because of his laxity in not avenging the wrong done to his brother, was driven to Cyprus and founded Salamis, named after the place of his birth. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, established himself in Epirus; Phidippus in Ephyra in Thesprotia. (2) Agamemnon, king of kings, cast by a tempest upon the island of Crete, founded there three cities, two of which, Mycenae and Tegea, were named after towns in his own country, and the other was called Pergamum in commemoration of his victory.

Agamemnon was soon afterwards struck down and slain by the infamous crime of Aegisthus, his cousin, who still kept up against him the feud of his house, and by the wicked act of his wife. (3) Aegisthus maintained possession of the kingdom for seven years. Orestes slew Aegisthus and his own mother, seconded in all his plans by his sister Electra, a woman with the courage of a man. That his deed had the approval of the gods was made clear by the length of his life and the felicity of his reign, since he lived ninety years and reigned seventy. Furthermore, he also took revenge upon Pyrrhus the son of Achilles in fair fight, for he slew him at Delphi because he had forestalled him in marrying Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen who had been pledged to himself.

(4) About this time two brothers, Lydus and Tyrrhenus, were joint kings in Lydia. Hard pressed by the unproductiveness of their crops, they drew lots to see which should leave his country with part of the population. The lot fell upon Tyrrhenus. He sailed to Italy, and from him the place wherein he settled, its inhabitants, and the sea received their famous and their lasting names.

After the death of Orestes his sons Penthilus and Tisamenus reigned for three years.

[2] (1) About eighty years after the capture of Troy, and a hundred and twenty after Hercules had departed to the gods, the descendants of Pelops, who, during all this time had sway in the Peloponnesus after they had driven out the descendants of Hercules, were again in turn driven out by them. The leaders in the recovery of the sovereignty were Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, the great-great-grandsons of Hercules.

It was about this time that Athens ceased to be governed by kings. The last king of Athens was Codrus the son of Melanthus, a man whose story cannot be passed over. Athens was hard pressed in war by the Lacedaemonians, and the Pythian oracle had given the response that the side whose general should be killed by the enemy would be victorious. Codrus, therefore, laying aside his kingly robes and donning the garb of a shepherd, made his way into the camp of the enemy, deliberately provoked a quarrel, and was slain without being recognized. (2) By his death Codrus gained immortal fame, and the Athenians the victory. Who could withhold admiration from the man who sought death by the selfsame artifice by which cowards seek life? His son Medon was the first archon at Athens. It was after him that the archons who followed him were called Medontidae among the people of Attica. Medon and all the succeeding archons until Charops continued to hold that office for life. The Peloponnesians, when they withdrew from Attic territory, founded Megara, a city midway between Corinth and Athens.

(3) About this time, also, the fleet of Tyre, which controlled the sea, founded in the farthest district of Spain, on the remotest confines of our world, the city of Cadiz, on an island in the ocean separated from the mainland by a very narrow strait. The Tyrians a few years later also founded Utica in Africa.

The sons of Orestes, expelled by the Heraclidae, were driven about by many vicissitudes and by raging storms at sea, and, in the fifteenth year, finally settled on and about the island of Lesbos.

[3] (1) Greece was then shaken by mighty disturbances. The Achaeans, driven from Laconia, established themselves in those localities which they occupy to-day. The Pelasgians migrated to Athens, and a warlike youth named Thessalus, of the race of the Thesprotians, with a great force of his fellow-countrymen took armed possession of that region, which, after his name, is now called Thessaly. Hitherto it had been called the state of the Myrmidones.

(2) On this account, one has a right to be surprised that writers who deal with the times of the Trojan war speak of this region as Thessaly. This is a common practice, but especially among the tragic poets, for whom less allowance should be made; for the poets do not speak in person, but entirely through mouths of characters who lived in the time referred to. But if anyone insists that the people were named Thessalians from Thessalus the son of

Hercules, he will have to explain why this people never adopted the name until the time of this second Thessalus.

(3) Shortly before these events Aletes, the son of Hippotes, descended from Hercules in the sixth generation, founded upon the isthmus the city of Corinth, the key to the Peloponnesus, on the site of the former Ephyre. There is no need for surprise that Corinth is mentioned by Homer, for it is in his own person as poet that Homer calls this city and some of the Ionian colonies by the names which they bore in his day, although they were founded long after the capture of Troy.

[4] (1) The Athenians established colonies at Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea, and the Lacedaemonians the colony of Magnesia in Asia. Not long afterwards, the Chalcidians, who, as I have already said, were of Attic origin, founded Cumae in Italy under the leadership of Hippocles and Megasthenes. According to some accounts the voyage of this fleet was guided by the flight of a dove which flew before it; according to others by the sound at night of a bronze instrument like that which is beaten at the rites of Ceres. (2) At a considerably later period, a portion of the citizens of Cumae founded Naples. The remarkable and unbroken loyalty to the Romans of both these cities makes them well worthy of their repute and of their charming situation. The Neapolitans, however, continued the careful observance of their ancestral customs; the Cumaeans, on the other hand, were changed in character by the proximity of their Oscan neighbours. The extent of their walls at the present day serves to reveal the greatness of these cities in the past.

(3) At a slightly later date a great number of young Greeks, seeking new abodes because of an excess of population at home, poured into Asia. The Ionians, setting out from Athens under the leadership of Ion, occupied the best known portion of the sea-coast, which is now called Ionia, and established the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon, Priene, Lebedus, Myus, Erythra, Clazomenae, and Phocaea, and occupied many islands in the Aegaeon and Icarian seas, namely, Samos, Chios, Andros, Tenos, Paros, Delos, and other islands of lesser note. (4) Not long afterwards the Aeolians also set out from Greece, and after long wanderings took possession of places no less illustrious and founded the famous cities of Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, Mytilene, and other cities on the island of Lesbos.

[5] (1) Then the brilliant genius of Homer burst upon the world, the greatest

beyond compare, who by virtue of the magnitude of his work and the brilliance of his poetry alone deserves the name of poet. ⁽²⁾ His highest claim to greatness is that, before his day, no one was found for him to imitate, nor after his day has one been found to imitate him. Nor shall we find any other poet who achieved perfection in the field in which he was also the pioneer, with the exception of Homer and Archilochus. ⁽³⁾ Homer lived at a period more remote than some people think from the Trojan war of which he wrote; for he flourished only about nine hundred and fifty years ago, and it is less than a thousand since his birth. It is therefore not surprising that he often uses the expression οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσιν, for by it is denoted the difference, not merely in men, but in ages as well. If any man holds to the view that Homer was born blind, he is himself lacking in all his senses.

[6] ⁽¹⁾ In the following age — about eight hundred and seventy years ago — the sovereignty of Asia passed to the medes from the Assyrians, who had held it for ten hundred and seventy years. ⁽²⁾ Indeed, it was their king Sardanapalus, a man enervated by luxurious living, whose excess of fortune was his undoing. Thirty-third, in direct succession of father and son, from Ninus and Semiramis, who had founded Babylon, he was deprived alike of his empire and of his life by Arbaces the Mede.

⁽³⁾ At this time lived Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian, one of the most illustrious personages of Greece, a man of royal descent, the author of legislation most severe and most just, and of a discipline excellently adapted for the making of men. As long as Sparta followed it, she flourished in the highest degree.

⁽⁴⁾ In this period, sixty-five years before the founding of Rome, Carthage was established by the Tyrian Elissa, by some authors called Dido. ⁽⁵⁾ About this time also Caranus, a man of royal race, eleventh in descent from Hercules, set out from Argos and seized the kingship of Macedonia. From him Alexander the Great was descended in the seventeenth generation, and could boast that, on his mother's side, he was descended from Achilles, and, on his father's side, from Hercules. ⁽⁶⁾ Aemilius Sura says in his book on the chronology of Rome: "The Assyrians were the first of all races to hold world power, then the Medes, and after them the Persians, and then the Macedonians. Then through the defeat of Kings Philip and Antiochus, of Macedonian origin, following closely upon the overthrow of Carthage, the

world power passed to the Roman people. Between this time and the beginning of the reign of Ninus king of the Assyrians, who was the first to hold world power, lies an interval of nineteen hundred and ninety-five years.”

[7] (1) To this period belonged Hesiod, separated from the age of Homer by about one hundred and twenty years. A man of an exquisite taste, famous for the soft charm of his poems, and an ardent lover of peace and quiet, he ranks next to Homer, not only in point of time, but also in the reverence in which his work is held. Avoiding the mistake which Homer made, he has indeed told us of his country and parents, but of his country, at whose hands he had suffered punishment, he speaks in the most disparaging terms.

(2) While dwelling on the history of foreign countries, I now come to an event pertaining to our own, one in which there has been much error, and in which the views of the authorities show great discrepancy. For some maintain that about this time, eight hundred and thirty years ago, Capua and Nola were founded by the Etruscans. With these I myself am inclined to agree, but the opinion of Marcus Cato is vastly different. (3) He admits that Capua, and afterwards Nola, were founded by the Etruscans, but maintains that Capua had been in existence for only about two hundred and sixty years before its capture by the Romans. (4) If this is so, as it is but two hundred and forty years since Capua was taken, it is but five hundred years since it was founded. For my own part, with all due regard for Cato’s accuracy, I can scarcely believe that the city could have had such growth, such prosperity, or could have fallen and risen again, in so short a space of time.

[8] (1) Soon afterwards the Olympic games, the most celebrated of all contests in sports, and one which was most effective in developing the qualities both of body and mind, had their beginning under the auspices of Iphitus, king of Elis. He instituted the games and the concourse eight hundred and twenty-three years before your consulship, Marcus Vinicius. (2) There is a tradition that Atreus began this sacred observance in the same place about twelve hundred and fifty years ago, when he held the funeral games in honour of his father Pelops and that at this celebration Hercules was the victor in every class of contest.

(3) It was about this time that the archons at Athens ceased to hold their office for life. Alcmaeon was the last of the life archons. The archons now began to be elected for terms of ten years. This custom continued for seventy

years, then the government was entrusted to magistrates elected annually. Charops was the first and Eryxias the last of those who held the office for ten years, and Creon was the first of the annual archons.

(4) In the sixth Olympiad, two and twenty years after the first establishment of the Olympic games, Romulus the son of Mars, after avenging the wrongs of his grandfather, founded the city of Rome on the Palatine on the day of the festival of the •Parilia. From this time to your consulship seven hundred and eighty-one years have elapsed. This event took place four hundred and thirty-seven years after the capture of Troy. (5) In the founding of Rome Romulus was assisted by the troops of his grandfather Latinus. I am glad to range myself with those who have expressed this view, since with the Veientes and other Etruscans, as well as the Sabines, in such close proximity, he could scarcely have established his new city with an unwarlike band of shepherds, even though he increased their numbers by opening an •asylum between the two hills. (6) As a council to assist him in administering affairs of state he had one hundred chosen men called patres. This is the origin of the name *patricians*. The rape of the Sabine maidens . . .

Nor at this time was Cimon, the son of Miltiades, less famous.

[9] (1) . . . than the enemy had feared. For two years Perses had kept up the struggle with the consuls with such varying fortune that he generally had the advantage in these conflicts, and succeeded in winning over a large part of Greece to ally itself with his cause. (2) Even the Rhodians, who in the past had been most loyal to the Romans, were now wavering in their fidelity, and, watching his success, seemed inclined to join the king's side. In this war King Eumenes maintained a neutral attitude, neither following the initiative of his brother nor his own established custom. (3) Then the senate and the Roman people chose as consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus, who had previously triumphed, both in his praetorship and in his consulship, a man worthy of the highest praise that can be associated with valour. He was a son of the Paulus who had met death at Cannae with a fortitude only equalled by his reluctance to begin a battle so disastrous to the republic. (4) Paulus defeated Perses in a great battle at a city in Macedonia named Pydna, put him to rout, despoiled his camp, destroyed his forces, and compelled him in his desperate plight to flee from Macedonia. Abandoning his country, Perses took refuge in the island of Samothrace, as a suppliant entrusting himself to the inviolability of

the temple. ⁽⁵⁾ There Gnaeus Octavius, the praetor in command of the fleet, reached him and persuaded him by argument rather than force to give himself up to the good faith of the Romans. Thus Paulus led in triumph the greatest and the most illustrious of kings.

In this year two other triumphs were celebrated: that of Octavius, the praetor in charge of the fleet, and that of Anicius, who drove before his triumphal chariot Gentius, King of the Illyrians. ⁽⁶⁾ How inseparable a companion of great success is jealousy, and how she attaches herself to the most eminent, may be gathered from this fact: although no one raised objections to the triumphs of Octavius and Anicius, there were those who tried to place obstacles in the way of that of Paulus. His triumph so far exceeded all former ones, whether in the greatness of King Perses himself, or in the display of statues and the amount of money borne in the procession, that Paulus contributed to the treasury two hundred million sesterces, and by reason of this vast sum eclipsed all previous triumphs by comparison.

[10] ⁽¹⁾ About this time Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria — the Antiochus who began the Olympieum at Athens — was besieging Ptolemaeus, the boy king, at Alexandria. Marcus Popilius Laenas was dispatched on an embassy to order him to desist. ⁽²⁾ He delivered his message, and when the king replied that he would think the matter over, Popilius drew a circle around the king with his staff and told him that he must give his answer before he stepped out of the circle in the sand. In this way the firmness of the Roman cut short the king's deliberations, and the order was obeyed.

⁽³⁾ Now Lucius Paulus, who won the victory in Macedonia, had four sons. The two oldest he had given by adoption, the one to Publius Scipio, the son of Africanus, who resembled his great father in nothing except in name and in his vigorous eloquence; the other to Fabius Maximus. The two younger at the time of his victory had not yesterday assumed the toga of manhood. ⁽⁴⁾ On the day before his triumph, when, in accordance with the ancient custom, he was rendering an account of his acts before an assembly of the people outside the city walls, he prayed to the gods that if any of them envied his achievements or his fortune they should vent their wrath upon himself rather than upon the state. ⁽⁵⁾ This utterance, as though prophetic, deprived him of a great part of his family, for a few days before his triumph he lost one of the two sons whom he had kept in his household, and the other a still shorter time after it.

(6) About this time occurred the censorship of Fulvius Flaccus and Postumius Albinus famed for its severity. Even Gnaeus Fulvius, who was the brother of the censor and co-heir with him in his estate, was expelled from the senate by these censors.

[11] (1) After the defeat and capture of Perses, who four years later died at Alba as a prisoner on parole, a pseudo-Philippus, so called by reason of his false claim that he was a Philip and of royal race, though he was actually of the lowest birth, took armed possession of Macedonia, assumed the insignia of royalty, but soon paid the penalty for his temerity. (2) For Quintus Metellus the praetor, who received the cognomen of Macedonicus by virtue of his valour in this war, defeated him and the Macedonians in a celebrated victory. He also defeated in a great battle the Achaeans who had begun an uprising against Rome.

(3) This is the Metellus Macedonicus who had previously built the portico about the two temples without inscriptions which are now surrounded by the portico of Octavia, and who brought from Macedonia the group of equestrian statues which stand facing the temples, and, even at the present time, are the chief ornament of the place. (4) Tradition hands down the following story of the origin of the group: that Alexander the Great prevailed upon Lysippus, a sculptor unexcelled in works of this sort, to make portrait-statues of the horsemen in his own squadron who had fallen at the river Granicus, and to place his own statue among them.

(5) This same Metellus was the first of all to build a temple of marble, which he erected in the midst of these very monuments, thereby becoming the pioneer in this form of munificence, or shall we call it luxury? One will scarcely find a man of any race, or any age, or any rank, whose happy fortune is comparable with that of Metellus. (6) For, not to mention his surpassing triumphs, the great honours which he held, his supreme position in the state, the length of his life, and the bitter struggles on behalf of the state which he waged with his enemies without damage to his reputation, he reared four sons, saw them all reach man's estate, left them all surviving him and held in the highest honour. (7) These four sons bore the bier of their dead father to its place in front of the rostra; one was an ex-consul and ex-censor, the second an ex-consul, the third was actually consul, and the fourth was then a candidate for the consulship, an office which he duly held. This is assuredly not to die,

but rather to pass happily out of life.

[12] (1) Thereafter all Achaia was aroused to war though the greater part of it had been crushed, as I have already said, by the valour and arms of this same Metellus Macedonicus. The Corinthians, in particular, were the instigators of it, going so far as to heap grave insults upon the Romans, and Mummius, the consul, was appointed to take charge of the war there.

(2) About the same time the senate resolved to destroy Carthage, rather because the Romans were ready to believe any rumour concerning the Carthaginians, than because the reports were credible. (3) Accordingly at this same time Scipio Aemilianus was elected consul, though but a candidate for the aedileship. He was a man whose virtues resembled those of his grandfather, Publius Africanus, and of his father Lucius Paulus (he was, as has been already said, the son of Paulus, and had been adopted by the son of Publius Scipio) — endowed with all the qualities essential to a good soldier and a good citizen, the most eminent man of his day both in native ability and acquired knowledge, who in his whole life was guilty of no act, word, or thought that was not praiseworthy. He had already received in Spain the mural crown, and in Africa the corona obsidionalis for his bravery, and while in Spain he had challenged and slain an enemy of great stature though himself a man of but ordinary physical strength. (4) The war against Carthage begun by the consuls two years previously he now waged with greater vigour, and destroyed to its foundations the city (5) which was hateful to the Roman name more because of jealousy of its power than because of any offence at that time. He made Carthage a monument to his valour — a city which had been a monument to his grandfather's clemency. Carthage, after standing for six hundred and seventy-two years, was destroyed in the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius, one hundred and seventy-three years from the present date. (6) This was the end of Carthage, the rival of the power of Rome, with whom our ancestors began the conflict in the consulship of Claudius and Fulvius two hundred and ninety-two years before you entered upon your consulship, Marcus Vinicius. Thus for one hundred and twenty years there existed between these two people either war, or preparations for war or a treacherous peace. (7) Even after Rome had conquered the world she could not hope for security so long as the name of Carthage remained as of a city still standing: to such an extent does hatred begotten of conflict outlast the

fear which caused it; it is not laid aside even when the foe is vanquished nor does the object of it cease to be hated until it has ceased to be.

[13] (1) Cato, the constant advocate of her destruction, died three years before the fall of Carthage, in the consulship of Lucius Censorinus and Manius Manilius. In the same year in which Carthage fell Lucius Mummius destroyed Corinth to her very foundations, nine hundred and fifty-two years after her founding by Aletes, son of Hippos. (2) The two conquerors were honoured by the names of the conquered races. The one was surnamed Africanus, the other Achaicus. Before Mummius no *new man* earned for himself a cognomen won by military glory.

(3) The two commanders differed in their characters as in their tastes. Scipio was a cultivated patron and admirer of liberal studies and of every form of learning, and kept constantly with him, at home and in the field, two men of eminent genius, Polybius and Panaetius. No one ever relieved the duties of an active life by a more refined use of his intervals of leisure than Scipio, or was more constant in his devotion to the arts either of war or peace. Ever engaged in the pursuit of arms or his studies, he was either training his body by exposing it to dangers or his mind by learning. (4) Mummius was so uncultivated that when, after the capture of Corinth, he was contracting for the transportation to Italy of pictures and statues by the hands of the greatest artists, he gave instructions that the contractors should be warned that if they lost them, they would have to replace them by new ones. Yet I do not think, Vinicius, that you would hesitate to concede that it would have been more useful to the state for the appreciation of Corinthian works of art to have remained uncultivated to the present day, than that they will be appreciated to the extent to which they now are, and that the ignorance of those days was more conducive to the public weal than our present artistic knowledge.

[14] (1) Inasmuch as related facts make more impression upon the mind and eye when grouped together than when they are given separately in their chronological sequence, I have decided to separate the first part of this work from the second by a useful summary, and to insert in this place an account, with the date, of each colony founded by order of the senate since the capture of Rome by the Gauls; for, in the case of the military colonies, their very names reveal their origins and their founders. And it will perhaps not seem out of place, if, in this connexion, we weave into our history the various

extensions of the citizenship and the growth of the Roman name through granting to others a share in its privileges.

(2) Seven years after the capture of the city by the Gauls a colony was founded at Sutrium, another a year later at Setia, and another after an interval of nine years at Nepe. Thirty-two years later the Aricians were admitted to the citizenship. Three hundred and sixty years from the present date, in the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Veturius Calvinus, the citizenship without the right of voting was given to the Campanians and a portion of the Samnites, and in the same year a colony was established at Cales. Then, after an interval of three years, the people of Fundi and of Formiae were admitted to the citizenship, in the very year of the founding of Alexandria. (4) In the following year the citizenship was granted to the inhabitants of Acerra by the censors Spurius Postumus and Philo Publilius. Three years later a colony was established at Tarracina, four years afterwards another at Luceria; others three years later at Suessa Aurunca and Saticula, and another two years after these at Interamna. (5) After that the work of colonization was suspended for ten years. Then the colonies of Sora and Alba were founded, and two years later that of Carseoli. (6) But in the fifth consulship of Quintus Fabius, and the fourth of Decius Mus, the year in which King Pyrrhus began his reign, colonists were sent to Minturnae and Sinuessa, and four years afterwards to Venusia. After an interval of two years the citizenship without the right of suffrage was given to the Sabines in the consulship of Manius Curius and Rufinus Cornelius. This event took place three hundred and twenty years ago. (7) In the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, three hundred years before the present date, colonies were established at •Cosa and Paestum. After an interval of five years, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius the Blind, colonists were sent to Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of suffrage was granted to the Sabines. (8) At the outbreak of the First Punic War Firmum and Castrum were occupied by colonies, a year later Aesernia, Aefulum and •Alsium seventeen years later, and Fregeneae two years afterward. Brundisium was established in the next year in the consulship of Torquatus and Sempronius, Spoletium three years afterwards in the year in which the •Floralia were instituted. Two years afterwards a colony was established at Valentia, and Cremona and Placentia were established just before Hannibal's arrival in Italy.

[15] (1) Thereafter, during Hannibal's stay in Italy, and in the next few years subsequent to his departure, the Romans had no leisure for the founding of colonies, since, while the war lasted, they had to find soldiers, rather than muster them out, and, after it was over, the strength of the city needed to be revived and concentrated rather than to be dispersed. (2) But, about two hundred and seventeen years ago, in the consulship of Gnaeus^o Manlius Volso and Fulvius Nobilior, a colony was established at Bononia, others four years later at Pisaurum and Potentia, others three years later still at Aquileia and •Gravisca, and another four years afterwards at Luca. (3) About the same time, although the date is questioned by some, colonists were sent to Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, and to Auximum in Picenum, one hundred and eighty-five years ago, three years before Cassius the censor began the building of a theatre beginning at the •Lupercal and facing the Palatine. But the remarkable austerity of the state and Scipio the consul successfully opposed him in its building, an incident which I regard as one of the clearest indications of the attitude of the people of that time. (4) In the consulship of Cassius Longinus and Sextius Calvinus — the Sextius who defeated the Sallues at the waters which are called Aquae Sextiae from his name — Fabrateria was founded about one hundred and fifty-three years before the present date, and in the next year Scolacium Minervium, Tarentum Neptunia, and Carthage in Africa — the first colony founded outside of Italy, as already stated. (5) In regard to Dertona the date is in question. A colony was established at Narbo Martius in Gaul about one hundred and forty-six years ago in the consulship of Porcius and Marcius. Eighteen years later Eporedia was founded in the country of the Bagienni in the consulship of Marius, then consul for the sixth time, and Valerius Flaccus.

It would be difficult to mention any colony founded after this date, except the military colonies.

[16] (1) Although this portion of my work has already, as it were, outgrown my plan, and although I am aware that in my headlong haste — which, just like a revolving wheel or a down-rushing and eddying stream, never suffers me of stop — I am almost obliged to omit matters of essential importance rather than to include unessential details, yet I cannot refrain from noting a subject which has often occupied my thoughts but has never been clearly reasoned out. (2) For who can marvel sufficiently that the most distinguished

minds in a branch of human achievement have happened to adopt the same form of effort, and to have fallen within the same narrow space of time? Just as animals of different species when shut in the same pen or other enclosure still segregate themselves from those which are not of their kind, and gather together each in its own group, so the minds that have had the capacity for distinguished achievement of each kind have set themselves apart from the rest by doing like things in the same period of time. ⁽³⁾ A single epoch, and that only of a few years' duration, gave lustre to tragedy through three men of divine inspiration, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. So, with Comedy, a single age brought to perfection that early form, the Old Comedy, through the agency of Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis; while Menander, and Philemon and Diphilus, his equals in age rather than in performance, within the space of a very few years invented the New Comedy and left it to defy imitation. ⁽⁴⁾ The great philosophers, too, who received their inspiration from the lips of Socrates — their names we gave a moment ago — how long did they flourish after the death of Plato and of Aristotle? ⁽⁵⁾ What distinction was there in oratory before Isocrates, or after the time of his disciples and in turn of their pupils? So crowded were they into a brief epoch that there were no two worthy of mention who could not have seen each other.

[17] ⁽¹⁾ This phenomenon occurred among the Romans as well as among the Greeks. For, unless one goes back to the rough and crude beginnings, and to men whose sole claim to praise is that they were the pioneers, Roman tragedy centres in and about Accius; and the sweet pleasantry of Latin humour reached its zenith in practically the same range under Caecilius, Terentius, and Afranius. ⁽²⁾ In the case of the historians also, if one adds Livy to the period of the older writers, a single epoch, comprised within the limits of eighty years, produced them all, with the exception of Cato and some of the old and obscure authors. Likewise the period which was productive of poets does not go back to an earlier date or continue to a later. ⁽³⁾ Take oratory and the forensic art at its best, the perfected splendour of eloquence in prose, if we again except Cato — and this I say with due respect to Publius Crassus, Scipio, Laelius, the Gracchi, Fannius, and Servius Galba — eloquence, I say, in all its branches burst into flower under Cicero, its chief exponent, so that there are few before his day whom one can read with pleasure, and none whom one can admire, except men who had either seen Cicero or had been

seen by him. ⁽⁴⁾ One will also find, if he follows up the dates closely, that the same thing holds true of the grammarians, the workers in clay, the painters, the sculptors, and that pre-eminence in each phase of art is confined within the narrowest limits of time.

⁽⁵⁾ Though I frequently search for the reasons why men of similar talents occur exclusively in certain epochs and not only flock to one pursuit but also attain like success, I can never find any of whose truth I am certain, though I do find some which perhaps seem likely, and particularly the following. ⁽⁶⁾ Genius is fostered by emulation, and it is now envy, now admiration, which enkindles imitation, and, in the nature of things, that which is cultivated with the highest zeal advances to the highest perfection; but it is difficult to continue at the point of perfection, and naturally that which cannot advance must recede. ⁽⁷⁾ And as in the beginning we are fired with the ambition to overtake those whom we regard as leaders, so when we have despaired of being able either to surpass or even to equal them, our zeal wanes with our hope; it ceases to follow what it cannot overtake, and abandoning the old field as though pre-empted, it seeks a new one. Passing over that in which we cannot be pre-eminent, we seek for some new object of our effort. It follows that the greatest obstacle in the way of perfection in any work is our fickle way of passing on at frequent intervals to something else.

[18] ⁽¹⁾ From the part played by epochs our wonder and admiration next passes to that played by individual cities. A single city of Attica blossomed with more masterpieces of every kind of eloquence than all the rest of Greece together — to such a degree, in fact, that one would think that although the bodies of the Greek race were distributed among the other states, their intellects were confined within the walls of Athens alone. ⁽²⁾ Nor have I more reason for wonder at this than that not a single Argive or Theban or Lacedaemonian was esteemed worthy, as an orator, of commanding influence while he lived, or of being remembered after his death. ⁽³⁾ These cities, otherwise distinguished, were barren of such literary pursuits with the single exception of the lustre which Pindar gave to Thebes; for, in the case of Alcman, the claim which the Laconians lay to him is spurious.

BOOK II.

[1] (1) The first of the Scipios opened the way for the world power of the Romans; the second opened the way for luxury. For, when Rome was freed of the fear of Carthage, and her rival in empire was out of her way, the path of virtue was abandoned for that of corruption, not gradually, but in headlong course. The older discipline was discarded to give place to the new. The state passed from vigilance to slumber, from the pursuit of arms to the pursuit of pleasure, from activity to idleness. (2) It was at this time that there were built, on the Capitol, the porticoes of Scipio Nasica, the porticoes of Metellus already mentioned, and, in the Circus, the portico of Gnaeus Octavius, the most splendid of them all; and private luxury soon followed public extravagance.

(3) Then followed a war that was disaster and disgraceful to the Romans, the war in Spain with Viriathus, a guerilla chief. The fortunes of this war during its progress shifted constantly and were, more frequently than not, adverse to the Romans. On the death of Viriathus through the perfidy rather than the valour of Servilius Caepio, there broke out in Numantia a war that was more serious still. (4) Numantia city was never able to arm more than ten thousand men of its own; but, whether it was owing to her native valour, or to the inexperience of our soldiers, or to the mere kindness of fortune, she compelled first other generals, and then Pompey, a man of great name (he was the first of his family to hold the consulship) to sign disgraceful treaties, and forced Mancinus Hostilius to terms no less base and hateful. (5) Pompey, however, escaped punishment through his influence. As for Mancinus his sense of shame, in that he did not try to evade the consequences, caused him to be delivered to the enemy by the fetial priests, naked, and with his hands bound behind his back. The Numantines, however, refused to receive him, following the example of the Samnites at an earlier day at Caudium, saying that a national breach of faith should not be atoned for by the blood of one man.

[2] (1) The surrender of Mancinus aroused in the state a quarrel of vast proportions. Tiberius Gracchus, the son of Tiberius Gracchus, an illustrious and eminent citizen, and the grandson, on his mother's side, of Scipio Africanus, had been quaestor in the army of Mancinus and had negotiated the

treaty. Indignant, on the one hand, that any of his acts should be disavowed, and fearing the danger of a like trial or a like punishment, he had himself elected tribune of the people. (2) He was a man of otherwise blameless life, of brilliant intellect, of upright intentions, and, in a word, endowed with the highest virtues of which a man is capable when favoured by nature and by training. In the consulship of Publius Mucius Scaevola and Lucius Calpurnius (one hundred and sixty-two years ago), he split with the party of the nobles, promised the citizenship to all Italy, (3) and at the same time, by proposing agrarian laws which all immediately desired to see in operation, turned the state topsyturvy, and brought it into a position of critical and extreme danger. He abrogated the power of his colleague Octavius, who defended the interests of the state, and appointed a commission of three to assign lands and to found colonies, consisting of himself, his father-in-law the ex-consul Appius, and his brother Gaius, then a very young man.

[3] (1) At this crisis Publius Scipio Nasica appeared. He was the grandson of the Scipio who had been adjudged by the senate the best citizen of the state, the son of the Scipio who, as censor, had built the porticoes on the Capitol, and great-grandson of Gnaeus Scipio, that illustrious man who was the paternal uncle of Publius Scipio Africanus. Although he was a cousin of Tiberius Gracchus, he set his country before all ties of blood, choosing to regard as contrary to his private interests everything that was not for the public weal, a quality which earned for him the distinction of being the first man to be elected pontifex maximus *in absentia*. He held no public office at this time and was clad in the toga. Wrapping the fold of his toga about his left forearm he stationed himself on the topmost steps of the Capitol and summoned all those who wished for the safety of the state to follow him. (2) Then the optimates, the senate, the larger and better part of the equestrian order, and those of the plebs who were not yet infected by pernicious theories rushed upon Gracchus as he stood with his hands in the area of the Capitol and was haranguing a throng assembled from almost every part of Italy. As Gracchus fled, and was running down the steps which led from the Capitol, he was struck by the fragment of a bench, and ended by an untimely death the life which he might have made a glorious one. (3) This was the beginning in Rome of civil bloodshed, and of the licence of the sword. From this time on right was crushed by might, the most powerful now took precedence in the

state, the disputes of the citizens which were once healed by amicable agreements were now settled by arms, and wars were now begun not for good cause but for what profit there was in them. Nor is this to be wondered at; (4) for precedents do not stop where they begin, but, however narrow the path upon which they enter, they create for themselves a highway whereon they may wander with the utmost latitude; and when once the path of right is abandoned, men are hurried into wrong in headlong haste, nor does anyone think a course is base for himself which has proven profitable to others.

[4] (1) While these events were taking place in Italy King Attalus had died, bequeathing Asia in his will to the Roman people, as Bithynia was later bequeathed to them by Nicomedes, and Aristonicus, falsely claiming to be a scion of the royal house, had forcibly seized the province. Aristonicus was subdued by Marcus Perpenna and was later led in triumph, but by Manius Aquilius. He paid with his life the penalty for having put to death at the very outset of the war the celebrated jurist Crassus Mucianus, proconsul of Asia, as he was leaving his province.

(2) After all the defeats experienced at Numantia, Publius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, was a second time elected consul and then dispatched to Spain, where he confirmed the reputation for good fortune and for valour which he had earned in Africa. Within a year and three months after his arrival in Spain he surrounded Numantia with his siege works, destroyed the city and levelled it to the ground. (3) No man of any nationality before his day had immortalized his name by a more illustrious feat of destroying cities; for by the destruction of Carthage and Numantia he liberated us, in the one case from fear, in the other from a reproach upon our name. (4) This same Scipio, when asked by Carbo the tribune what he thought about the killing of Tiberius Gracchus, replied that he had been justly slain if his purpose had been to seize the government. When the whole assembly cried out at this utterance he said, "How can I, who have so many times heard the battle shout of the enemy without feeling fear, be disturbed by the shouts of men like you, to whom Italy is only a stepmother?" (5) A short time after Scipio's return to Rome, in the consulship of Manius Aquilius and Gaius Sempronius — one hundred sixty years ago — this man who had held two consulships, had celebrated two triumphs, and had twice destroyed cities which had brought terror to his country, was found in the morning dead in his

bed with marks as though of strangulation upon his throat. ⁽⁶⁾ Great man though he was, no inquest was held concerning the manner of his death, and with covered head was borne to the grave the body of him whose services had enabled Rome to lift her head above the whole world. Whether his death was due to natural causes as most people think, or was the result of a plot, as some historians state, the life he lived was at any rate so crowded with honours that up to this time it was surpassed in brilliance by none, excepting only his grandsire. He died in his fifty-sixth year. ⁽⁷⁾ If anyone questions this let him call to mind his first consulship, to which he was elected in his thirty-eighth year, and he will cease to doubt.

[5] ⁽¹⁾ In Spain, even before the destruction of Numantia, Decimus Brutus had conducted a brilliant campaign in which he penetrated to all the peoples of the country, took a great number of men and cities and, by extending his operations to regions which hitherto had scarcely been heard of, earned for himself the cognomen of Gallaecus.

⁽²⁾ A few years before in this same country Quintus Macedonicus had exercised command as general with a discipline of remarkable rigour. For instance, in an assault upon a Spanish town called Contrebia he ordered five legionary cohorts, which had been driven down from a steep escarpment, forthwith to march up it again. ⁽²⁾ Though the soldiers were making their wills on the battlefield, as though they were about to march to certain death, he was not deterred, but afterwards received the men, whom he sent forth to die, back in camp victorious. Such was the effect of shame mingled with fear, and of a hope born of despair. Macedonicus won renown in Spain by the uncompromising bravery of this exploit; Fabius Aemilianus, following the example of Paulus on the other hand, by the severity of his discipline.

[6] ⁽¹⁾ After an interval of ten years the same madness which had possessed Tiberius Gracchus now seized upon his brother Gaius, who resembled him in his general virtues as well as in his mistaken ambition, but far surpassed him in ability and eloquence. ⁽²⁾ Gaius might have been the first man in the state had he held his spirit in repose; but, whether it was with the object of avenging his brother's death or of paving the way for kingly power, he followed the precedent which Tiberius had set and entered upon the career of a tribune. His aims, however, were far more ambitious and drastic. He was for giving the citizenship to all Italians, extending it almost to the Alps, ⁽³⁾

distributing the public domain, limiting the holdings of each citizen to five hundred acres as had once been provided by the Licinian law, establishing new customs duties, filling the provinces with new colonies, transferring the judicial powers from the senate to the equites, and began the practice of distributing grain to the people. He left nothing undisturbed, nothing untouched, nothing unmolested, nothing, in short, as it had been. Furthermore he continued the exercise of his office for a second term.

(4) The consul, Lucius Opimius, who, as praetor, had destroyed Fregellae, hunted down Gracchus with armed men and put him to death, slaying with him Fulvius Flaccus, a man who, though now entertaining the same distorted ambitions, had held the consulship and had won a triumph. Gaius had named Flaccus triumvir in the place of his brother Tiberius and had made him his partner in his plans for assuming kingly power. (5) The conduct of Opimius was execrable in this one respect, that he had proposed a reward to be paid for the head, I will not say of a Gracchus, but of a Roman citizen, and had promised to pay it in gold. (6) Flaccus, together with his elder son, was slain upon the Aventine while summoning to battle his armed supporters. Gracchus, in his flight, when on the point of being apprehended by the emissaries of Opimius, offered his neck to the sword of his slave Euporus. Euporus then slew himself with the same promptness with which he had given assistance to his master. On the same day Pomponius, a Roman knight, gave remarkable proof of his fidelity to Gracchus; for, after holding back his enemies upon the bridge, as Cocles had done of yore, he threw himself upon his sword. The body of Gaius, like that of Tiberius before him, was thrown into the Tiber by the victors, with the same strange lack of humanity.

[7] (1) Such were the lives and such the deaths of the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, and the grandsons of Publius Scipio Africanus, and their mother Cornelia, the daughter of Africanus, still lived to witness their end. An ill use they made of their excellent talents. Had they but coveted such honours as citizens might lawfully receive, the state would have conferred upon them through peaceful means all that they sought to obtain by unlawful agitations.

(2) To this atrocity was added a crime without precedent. The son of Fulvius Flaccus, a youth of rare beauty who had not yet passed his eighteenth year and was in no way involved in the acts of his father, when sent by his father as an envoy to ask for terms, was put to death by Opimius. An Etruscan soothsayer,

who was his friend, seeing him dragged weeping to prison, said to him, “Why not rather do as I do?” At these words he forthwith dashed out his brains against the stone portal of the prison and thus ended his life.

(3) Severe investigations, directed against the friends and followers of the Gracchi, followed. But when Opimius, who during the rest of his career had been a man of sterling and upright character, was afterwards condemned by public trial, his conviction aroused no sympathy on the part of the citizens because of the recollection of his cruelty in this instance. (4) Rupilius and Popilius, who, as consuls, had prosecuted the friends of Tiberius Gracchus with the utmost severity, deservedly met at a later date with the same mark of popular disapproval at their public trials.

I shall insert here a matter hardly relevant to these important events. (5) It was this same Opimius from whose consulship the famous Opimian wine received its name. That none of this wine is now in existence can be inferred from the lapse of time, since it is one hundred and fifty years, Marcus Vinicius, from his consulship to yours.

(6) The conduct of Opimius met with a greater degree of disapproval because it was a case of seeking revenge in a private feud, and this act of revenge was regarded as having been committed rather in satisfaction of a personal animosity than in defence of the rights of the state.

(7) In the legislation of Gracchus I should regard as the most pernicious his planting of colonies outside of Italy. This policy the Romans of the older time had carefully avoided; for they saw how much more powerful Carthage had been than Tyre, Massilia than Phocaea, Syracuse than Corinth, Cyzicus and Byzantium than Miletus, — all these colonies, in short, than their mother cities — and had summoned all Roman citizens from the provinces back to Italy that they might be enrolled upon the census lists. (8) The first colony to be founded outside of Italy was Carthage. Shortly afterwards the colony of Narbo Martius was founded, in the consulship of Porcius and Marcius.

[8] (1) I must next record the severity of the law courts in condemning for extortion in Macedonia Gaius Cato, an ex-consul, the grandson of Marcus Cato, and son of the sister of Africanus, though the claim against him amounted to but four thousand sesterces. But the judges of that day looked rather at the purpose of the culprit than at the measure of the wrong, applying to actions the criterion of intention and weighing the character of the sin and

not the extent of it.

(2) About the same time the two brothers Marcus and Gaius Metellus celebrated their triumphs on one and the same day. A coincidence equally celebrated which still remains unique, was the conjunction in the consulship of the sons of Fulvius Flaccus, the general who had conquered Capua, but one of these sons, however, had passed by adoption into the family of Acidinus Manlius. As regards the joint censorship of the two Metelli, they were cousins, not brothers, a coincidence which had happened to the family of the Scipios alone.

(3) At this time the Cimbri and Teutons crossed the Rhine. These peoples were soon to become famous by reason of the disasters which they inflicted upon us and we upon them. About the same time took place the famous triumph over the Scordisci of Minucius, the builder of the porticoes which are famous even in our day.

[9] (1) At this same period flourished the illustrious orators Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius, Sergius Galba, the two Gracchi, Gaius Fannius, and Carbo Papirius. In this list we must not pass over the names of Metellus Numidicus and Scaurus, and above all of Lucius Crassus and Marcus Antonius. (2) They were followed in time as well as in talents by Gaius Caesar Strabo and Publius Sulpicius. As for Quintus Mucius, he was more famous for his knowledge of jurisprudence than, strictly speaking, for eloquence.

(3) In the same epoch other men of talent were illustrious: Afranius in the writing of native comedy, in tragedy Pacuvius and Accius, a man who rose into competition even with the genius of the Greeks, and made a great place for his own work among theirs, with this distinction, however, that, while they seemed to have more polish, Accius seemed to possess more real blood. (4) The name of Lucilius was also celebrated; he had served as a knight in the Numantine war under Publius Africanus. At the same time, Jugurtha and Marius, both still young men, and serving under the same Africanus, received in the same camp the military training which they were later destined to employ in opposing camps. (5) At this time Sisenna, the author of the Histories, was still a young man. His works on the Civil Wars and the Wars of Sulla were published several years later, when he was a relatively old man. (6) Caelius was earlier than Sisenna, while Rutilius, Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias were his contemporaries. Let us not forget that at this period

lived Pomponius, famed for his subject matter, though untutored in style, and noteworthy for the new kind of composition which he invented.

[10] (1) Let us now go on to note the severity of the censors Cassius Longinus and Caepio, who summoned before them the augur Lepidus Aemilius for renting a house at six thousand sesterces. This was a hundred and fifty-three years ago. Nowadays, if any one takes a residence at so low a rate he is scarcely recognized as a senator. Thus does nature pass from the normal to the perverted, from that to the vicious, and from the vicious to the abyss of extravagance.

(2) At the same period took place the notable victory of Domitius over the Arverni, and of Fabius over the Allobroges. Fabius, who was the grandson of Paulus, received the cognomen of Allobrogicus in commemoration of his victory. I must also note the strange fortune which distinguished the family of the Domitii, the more remarkable in view of the limited number of the family. Before the present Gnaeus Domitius, a man of notable simplicity of life, there have been seven Domitii, all only sons, but they all attained to the consulate and priesthoods and almost all to the distinction of a triumph.

[11] (1) Then followed the Jugurthan war waged under the generalship of Quintus Metellus, a man inferior to no one of his time. His second in command was Gaius Marius, whom we have already mentioned, a man of rustic birth, rough and uncouth, and austere in his life, as excellent a general as he was an evil influence in time of peace, a man of unbounded ambition, insatiable, without self-control, and always an element of unrest. (2) Through the agency of the tax-gatherers and others who were engaged in business in Africa he criticized the delays of Metellus, who was now dragging on the war into its third year, charging him with the haughtiness characteristic of the nobility and with the desire to maintain himself in military commands. Having obtained a furlough he went to Rome, where he succeeded in procuring his election as consul and had the chief command of the war placed in his own hands, although the war had already been practically ended by Metellus, who had twice defeated Jugurtha in battle. The triumph of Metellus was none the less brilliant, and the cognomen of Numidicus earned by his valour was bestowed upon him. (3) As I commented, a short time ago, on the glory of the family of the Domitii, let me now comment upon that of the Caecilii. Within the compass of about twelve years during this period, the Metelli were

distinguished by consulships, censorships, or triumph more than twelve times. Thus it is clear that, as in the case of cities and empires, so the fortunes of families flourish, wane, and pass away.

[12] (1) Gaius Marius, even at this time, had Lucius Sulla associated with him as quaestor, as though the fates were trying to avoid subsequent events. He sent Sulla to King Bocchus and through him gained possession of Jugurtha, about one hundred and thirty-four years before the present time. He returned to the city as consul designate for the second time, and on the kalends of January, at the inauguration of his second consulship, he led Jugurtha in triumph. (2) Since, as has already been stated, an immense horde of the German races called the Cimbri and the Teutons had defeated and routed the Consuls Caepio and Manlius in Gaul, as before them Carbo and Silanus, had scattered their armies, and had put to death Scaurus Aurelius an ex-consul, and other men of renown, the Roman people was of the opinion that no general was better qualified to repel these mighty enemies than Marius. (3) His consulships then followed each other in succession. The third was consumed in preparation for this war. In this year Gnaeus Domitius, the tribune of the people, passed a law that the priests, who had previously been chosen by their colleagues, should now be elected by the people. (4) In his fourth consulship Marius met the Teutons in battle beyond the Alps in the vicinity of Aquae Sextiae. More than a hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy were slain by him on that day and the day after, and the race of the Teutons was exterminated. (5) In his fifth consulship the consul himself and the proconsul Quintus Lutatius Catulus fought a most successful battle on this side of the Alps on the plain called the Raudian Plain. More than a hundred thousand of the enemy were taken or slain. By this victory Marius seems to have earned some claim upon his country that it should not regret his birth and to have counterbalanced his bad by his good deeds. (6) A sixth consulship was given him in the light of a reward for his services. He must not, however, be deprived of the glory of this consulship, for during this term as consul he restrained by arms the mad acts of Servilius Glaucia and Saturninus Apuleius who were shattering the constitution by continuing in office, and were breaking up the elections with armed violence and bloodshed, and caused these dangerous men to be put to death in the Curia Hostilia.

[13] (1) After an interval of a few years Marcus Livius Drusus entered the

tribunate, a man of noble birth, of eloquent tongue and of upright life; but in all his acts, his success was not in keeping with his talents or his good intentions. ⁽²⁾ It was his aim to restore to the senate its ancient prestige, and again to transfer the law courts to that order from the knights. The knights had acquired this prerogative through the legislation of Gracchus, and had treated with severity many noted men who were quite innocent, and, in particular, had brought to trial on a charge of extortion and had condemned, to the great sorrow of all the citizens, Publius Rutilius, one of the best men not only of his age, but of all time. But in these very measures which Livius undertook on behalf of the senate he had an opponent in the senate itself, which failed to see that the proposals he also urged in interest of the plebs were made as a bait and a sop to the populace, that they might, by receiving lesser concessions, permit the passage of more important measures. ⁽³⁾ In the end it was the misfortune of Drusus to find that the senate gave more approval to the evil measures of his colleagues than to his own plans, however excellent, and that it spurned the dignity which he would confer it only to accept tamely the real slights levelled against it by the others, tolerating the mediocrity of his colleagues while it looked with jealous eyes upon his own distinction.

[14] ⁽¹⁾ Since his excellent programme had fared so badly, Drusus turned his attention to granting the citizenship to the Italians. While he was engaged in this effort, and was returning from the forum surrounded by the large and unorganized crowd which always attended him, he was stabbed in the area before his house and died in a few hours, the assassin leaving the weapon in his side. ⁽²⁾ As he breathed his last and gazed at the throng of those who stood weeping about him, he uttered the words, most expressive of his own feelings: "O my relatives and friends, will my country ever have another citizen like me?" Thus ended the life of this illustrious man. One index of his character should not be passed over. ⁽³⁾ When he was building his house on the Palatine on the site where now stands the house which once belonged to Cicero, and later to Censorinus, and which now belongs to Statilius Sisenna, the architect offered to build it in such a way that he would be free from the public gaze, safe from all espionage, and that no one could look down into it. Livius replied, "If you possess the skill you must build my house in such a way that whatever I do shall be seen by all."

[15] ⁽¹⁾ The long smouldering fires of an Italian war were now fanned into

flame by the death of Drusus. One hundred and twenty years ago, in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Publius Rutilius, all Italy took up arms against the Romans. The rebellion began with the people of Asculum, who had put to death the praetor Servilius and Fonteius, his deputy; it was then taken up by the Marsi, and from them it made its ways into all the districts of Italy. (2) The fortune of the Italians was as cruel as their cause was just; for they were seeking citizenship in the state whose power they were defending by their arms; every year and in every war they were furnishing a double number of men, both of cavalry and of infantry, and yet were not admitted to the rights of citizens in the state which, through their efforts, had reached so high a position that it could look down upon men of the same race and blood as foreigners and aliens.

(3) This war carried off more than three hundred thousand of the youth of Italy. On the Roman side in this war the most illustrious commanders were Gnaeus Pompeius, father of Pompeius Magnus, Gaius Marius, already mentioned, Lucius Sulla, who in the previous year had filled the praetorship, and Quintus Metellus, son of Metellus Numidicus, who had deservedly received the cognomen of Pius, (4) for when his father had been exiled from the state by Lucius Saturninus, the tribune of the people, because he alone refused to observe the laws which the tribune had made, the son had effected his restoration through his own devotion, aided by the authority of the senate and the unanimous sentiment of the whole state. Numidicus earned no greater renown by his triumphs and public honours than he earned by the cause of his exile, his exile, and the manner of his return.

[16] (1) On the Italian side the most celebrated generals were Silo Popaedi-
us, Herius Asinius, Insteius Cato, Gaius Pontidius, Telesinus Pontius, Marius
Ignatius, and Papius Mutilus; (2) nor ought I, through excess of modesty, to
deprive my own kin of glory, especially when that which I record is the truth;
for much credit is due to the memory of my great-grandfather Minatius
Magius of Aeculanum, grandson of Decius Magius, leader of the Campanians,
of proven loyalty and distinction. Such fidelity did Minatius display towards
the Romans in this war that, with a legion which he himself had enrolled
among the Hirpini, he took Herculaneum in conjunction with Titus Didius,
was associated with Lucius Sulla in the siege of Pompeii, and occupied
Compsa. (3) Several historians have recorded his services, but the most

extensive and clearest testimony is that of Quintus Hortensius in his *Annals*. The Romans abundantly repaid his loyal zeal by a special grant of the citizenship to himself, and by making his sons praetors at a time when the number elected was still confined to six.

(4) So bitter was this Italian war, and such its vicissitudes, that in two successive years two Roman consuls, first Rutilius and subsequently Cato Porcius, were slain by the enemy, the armies of the Roman people were routed in many places, and the Romans were compelled to resort to military dress and to remain long in that garb. The Italians chose Corfinium as their capital, and named it Italica. Then little by little the strength of the Romans was recruited by admitting to the citizenship those who had not taken arms or had not been slow to lay them down again, and Pompeius, Sulla, and Marius restored the tottering power of the Roman people.

[17] (1) Except for the remnants of hostility which lingered at Nola the Italian war was now in large measure ended, the Romans, themselves exhausted, consenting to grant the citizenship individually to the conquered and humbled states in preference to giving it to them as a body when their own strength was still unimpaired. This was the year in which Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Cornelius Sulla entered upon the consulship. Sulla was a man to whom, up to the conclusion of his career of victory, sufficient praise can hardly be given, and for whom, after his victory, no condemnation can be adequate. (2) He was sprung of a noble family, the sixth in descent from the Cornelius Rufinus who had been one of the famous generals in the war with Pyrrhus. As the renown of his family had waned, Sulla acted a long while as though he had no thought of seeking the consulship. (3) Then, after his praetorship, having earned distinction not only in the Italian war but also, even before that, in Gaul, where he was second in command to Marius, and had routed the most eminent leaders of the enemy, encouraged by his successes, he became a candidate for the consulship and was elected by an almost unanimous vote of the citizens. But this honour did not come to him until the forty-ninth year of his age.

[18] (1) It was about this time that Mithridates, king of Pontus, seized Asia and put to death all Roman citizens in it. He was a man about whom one cannot speak except with concern nor yet pass by in silence; he was ever eager for war, of exceptional bravery, always great in spirit and sometimes in achievement, in strategy a general, in bodily prowess a soldier, in hatred to the

Romans a Hannibal. (2) He had sent messages to various cities of Asia in which he had held out great promises of reward, ordering that all Romans should be massacred on the same day and hour throughout the province. (3) In this crisis none equalled the Rhodians either in courageous opposition to Mithridates or in loyalty to the Romans. Their fidelity gained lustre from the perfidy of the people of Mytilene, who handed Manius Aquilius and other Romans over to Mithridates in chains. The Mytilenians subsequently had their liberty restored by Pompey solely in consideration of his friendship for Theophanes. When Mithridates was now regarded as a formidable menace to Italy herself, the province of Asia fell to the lot of Sulla, as proconsul.

(4) Sulla departed from the city, but was still lingering in the vicinity of Nola, since that city, as though regretting its exceptional loyalty so sacredly maintained in the Punic war, still persisted in maintaining armed resistance to Rome and was being besieged by a Roman army. (5) While he was still there Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the people, a man of eloquence and energy, who had earned situation by his wealth, his influence, his friendships, and by the vigour of his native ability and his courage, and had previously won great influence with the people by honourable means, now, as if regretting his virtues, and discovering that an honourable course of conduct brought him only disappointment, (6) made a sudden plunge into evil ways, and attached himself to Marius, who, though he had passed his seventieth year, still coveted every position of power and every province. Along with other pieces of pernicious and baleful legislation intolerable in a free state, he proposed a bill to the assembly of the people abrogating Sulla's command, and entrusting the Mithridatic war to Gaius Marius. He even went so far as to cause, through emissaries of his faction, the assassination of a man who was not only son of Quintus Pompeius the consul but also son-in-law of Sulla.

[19] (1) Thereupon Sulla assembled his army, returned to the city, took armed possession of it, drove from the city the twelve persons responsible for these revolutionary and vicious measures — among them Marius, his son, and Publius Sulpicius — and caused them by formal decree to be declared exiles. Sulpicius was overtaken by horsemen and slain in the Laurentine marshes, and his head was raised aloft and exhibited on the front of the rostra as a presage of the impending proscription. (2) Marius, who had held six consulships and was now more than seventy years of age, was dragged, naked

and covered with mud, his eyes and nostrils alone showing above the water, from a reed-bed near the marsh of Marica, where he had taken refuge when pursued by the cavalry of Sulla. A rope was cast about his neck and he was led to the prison of Minturnae on the order of its duumvir. ⁽³⁾ A public slave of German nationality was sent with a sword to put him to death. It happened that this man had been taken a prisoner by Marius when he was commander in the war against the Cimbri; when he recognized Marius, giving utterance with loud outcry to his indignation at the plight of this great man, he threw away his sword and fled from the prison. ⁽⁴⁾ Then the citizens, taught by a foreign enemy to pity one who had so short a time before been the first man in the state, furnished Marius with money, brought clothing to cover him, and put him on board a ship. Marius, overtaking his son near Aenaria, steered his course for Africa, where he endured a life of poverty in a hut amid the ruins of Carthage. There Marius, as he gazed upon Carthage, and Carthage as she beheld Marius, might well have offered consolation the one to the other.

[20] (1) In this year the hands of Roman soldiers were first stained with the blood of a consul. Quintus Pompeius, the colleague of Sulla, was slain by the army of Gnaeus Pompeius the proconsul in a mutiny which their general himself had stirred up.

(2) Cinna was a man as lacking in restraint as Marius and Sulpicius. Accordingly, although the citizenship had been given to Italy with the proviso that the new citizens should be enrolled in but eight tribes, so that their power and numbers might not weaken the prestige of the older citizens, and that the beneficiaries might not have greater power than the benefactors, Cinna now promised to distribute them throughout all the tribes. With this object he had brought together into the city a great multitude from all parts of Italy. ⁽³⁾ But he was driven from the city by the united strength of his college and the optimates, and set out for Campania. His consulship was abrogated by the authority of the senate and Lucius Cornelius Merula, priest of Jupiter, was chosen consul in his place. This illegal act was more appropriate in the case of Cinna than it was a good precedent. ⁽⁴⁾ Cinna was then received by the army at Nola, after corrupting first the centurions and tribunes and then even the private soldiers with promises of largesse. When they all had sworn allegiance to him, while still retaining the insignia of the consulate he waged war upon his country, relying upon the enormous number of new citizens, from whom

he had levied more than three hundred cohorts, thus raising the number of his troops to the equivalent of thirty legions. ⁽⁵⁾ But his party lacked the backing of strong men; to remedy this defect he recalled Gaius Marius and his son from exile, and also those who had been banished with them.

[21] (1) While Cinna was waging war against his country, the conduct of Gnaeus Pompeius, the father of Pompeius Magnus, was somewhat equivocal. As I have already told, the state had made use of his distinguished services in the Marsian war, particularly in the territory of Picenum; he had taken Asculum, in the vicinity of which, though armies were scattered in other regions also, seventy-five thousand Roman citizens and more than sixty thousand Italians had met in battle on a single day. ⁽²⁾ Foiled in his hope of a second term in the consulship, he maintained a doubtful and neutral attitude as between the two parties, so that he seemed to be acting entirely in his own interest and to be watching his chance, turning with his army now to one side and now to the other, according as each offered a greater promise for power for himself. ⁽³⁾ In the end, however, he fought against Cinna in a great and bloody battle. Words almost fail to express how disastrous to combatants and spectators alike was the issue of this battle, which began and ended beneath the walls and close to the very hearths of Rome. ⁽⁴⁾ Shortly after this battle, while pestilence was ravaging both armies, as though their strength had not been sapped enough by the war, Gnaeus Pompeius died. The joy felt at his death almost counterbalanced the feeling of loss for the citizens who had perished by sword or pestilence, and the Roman people vented upon his dead body the hatred it had owed him while he lived.

⁽⁵⁾ Whether there were two families of the Pompeii or three, the first of that name to be consul was Quintus Pompeius, who was colleague of Gnaeus Servilius, about one hundred and sixty-seven years ago.

⁽⁶⁾ Cinna and Marius both seized the city after conflicts which caused much shedding of blood on both sides, but Cinna was the first to enter it, whereupon he proposed a law authorizing the recall of Marius.

[22] (1) Then Gaius Marius entered the city, and his return was fraught with calamity for the citizens. No victory would ever have exceeded his in cruelty had Sulla's not followed soon afterwards. Nor did the licence of the sword play havoc among the obscure alone; the highest and most distinguished men in the state were made the victims of many kinds of vengeance. ⁽²⁾ Amongst

these Octavius the consul, a man of the mildest temper, was slain by the command of Cinna. Merula, however, who had abdicated his consulship just before the arrival of Cinna, opened his veins and, as his blood drenched the altars, he implored the gods to whom, as priest of Jupiter, he had formerly prayed for safety of the state, to visit their wrath upon Cinna and his party. Thus did he yield up the life which had served the state so well. (3) Marcus Antonius, the foremost statesman and orator of Rome, was struck down, at the order of Marius and Cinna, by the swords of soldiers, though he caused even these to hesitate by the power of his eloquence. Then there was Quintus Catulus, renowned for his virtues in general and for the glory, (4) which he had shared with Marius, of having won the Cimbrian war; when he was being hunted down for death, he shut himself in a room that had lately been plastered with lime and sand; then he brought fire that it might cause a powerful vapour to issue from the plaster, and by breathing the poisonous air and then holding his breath he died a death according rather with his enemies' wishes than with their judgement.

(5) The whole state was now plunging headlong into ruin; and yet no one had so far appeared who either dared to offer for pillage the goods of a Roman citizen, or could bring himself to demand them. Later, however, even this extreme was reached, and avarice furnished a motive for ruthlessness; the magnitude of one's crime was determined by the magnitude of his property; he who possessed riches became a malefactor and was in each case the prize set up for his own murder. In short nothing was regarded as dishonourable that brought profit.

[23] (1) Cinna then entered upon his second consulship, and Marius upon his seventh, only to bring dishonour upon his former six. An illness which came upon Marius at the very beginning of his year of office ended the life of this man, who, impatient as he was of tranquillity, was as dangerous to his fellow-citizens in peace as he had been in war to Rome's enemies. (2) In his place was chosen as consul suffectus Valerius Flaccus, the author of a most disgraceful law, by which he had ordained that one-fourth only of a debt should be paid to the creditors, an act for which a well-deserved punishment overtook him within two years. (3) During this time, while Cinna held the reins of power in Italy, a large proportion of the nobles took refuge with Sulla in Achaea, and afterwards in Asia.

In the meantime Sulla fought with the generals of Mithridates at Athens, in Boeotia, and in Macedonia with such success that he recovered Athens, and, after surmounting many difficulties in overcoming the manifold fortifications of Piraeus, slew more than two hundred thousand of the enemy and made prisoners of as many more. (4) If anyone regards this period of rebellion, during which Athens suffered siege at the hands of Sulla, as a breach of good faith on the part of the Athenians, he shows a strange ignorance of the facts of history; for so constant was the loyalty of the Athenians towards the Romans that always and invariably, whenever the Romans referred to any act of unqualified loyalty, they called it an example of "Attic faith." (5) But at this time, overwhelmed as they were by the arms of Mithridates, the Athenians were in a most unhappy plight. Held in subjection by their enemies and besieged by their friends, although in obedience to necessity they kept their bodies within the walls, their hearts were outside their fortifications. (6) After the capture of Athens Sulla crossed into Asia, where he found Mithridates submissive to all his demands and in the attitude of a suppliant. He compelled him, after paying a fine in money and giving up half his fleet, to evacuate Asia and all the other provinces which he had seized; he also secured the return of all prisoners, inflicted punishment upon deserters and others who had been in any way culpable, and obliged Mithridates to be satisfied with the boundaries of his inheritance, that is to say, with Pontus.

[24] (1) Before the arrival of Sulla, Gaius Flavius Fimbria, prefect of horse, had put to death Valerius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, had taken command of his army, by which he was saluted as imperator, and had succeeded in defeating Mithridates in battle. Now, on the eve of Sulla's arrival, he took his own life. He was a young man who, however reprehensible his bold designs might be, at any rate executed them with bravery. (2) In the same year Publius Laenas, tribune of the people, threw Sextus Lucilius, tribune of the previous year, from the Tarpeian rock. When his colleagues, whom he also indicted, fled in fear to Sulla, he had a decree of banishment passed against them.

(3) Sulla had now settled affairs across the sea. There came to him ambassadors of the Parthians — he was the first of the Romans to be so honoured — and among them some wise men who, from the marks on his body, foretold that his life and his fame would be worthy of a god. Returning

to Italy he landed at Brundisium, having not more than thirty thousand men to face more than two hundred thousand of the enemy. (4) Of all the exploits of Sulla there is nothing that I should consider more noteworthy than that, during the three years in which the party of Marius and Cinna were continuously masters of Italy, he never hid from them his intention to wage war on them, but at the same time he did not interrupt the war which he then had on his hands. He considered that his duty was to crush the enemy before taking vengeance upon citizens, and that after he had repelled the menace of the foreigner and won a victory in this way abroad, he should then prove himself the master in a war at home. (5) Before Lucius^o Sulla's arrival Cinna was slain in a mutiny of his army. He was a man who deserved to die by the sentence of his victorious enemies rather than at the hands of his angry soldiers. Of him one can truly say that he formed daring plans, such as no good citizen would have conceived, and that he accomplished what none but a most resolute man could have accomplished, and that he was foolhardy enough in the formulation of his plans, but in their execution a man. Carbo remained sole consul throughout the year without electing a colleague in the place of Cinna.

[25] (1) One would think that Sulla had come to Italy, not as the champion of war but as the establisher of peace, so quietly did he lead his army through Calabria and Apulia into Campania, taking unusual care not to inflict damage on crops, fields, men, or cities, and such efforts did he make to end the war on just terms and fair conditions. But peace could not be to the liking of men whose cause was wicked and whose cupidity was unbounded. (2) In the meantime Sulla's army was daily growing, for all the better and saner citizens flocked to his side. By a fortunate issue of events he overcame the consuls Scipio and Norbanus near Capua. Norbanus was defeated in battle, while Scipio, deserted and betrayed by his army, was allowed by Sulla to go unharmed. (4) So different was Sulla the warrior from Sulla the victor that, while his victory was in progress he was mild and more lenient than was reasonable, but after it was won his cruelty was unprecedented. For instance, as we have already said, he disarmed the consul and let him go, and after gaining possession of many leaders including Quintus Sertorius, so soon to become the firebrand of a great war, he dismissed them unharmed. The reason, I suppose, was that we might have a notable example of a double and utterly contradictory personality in one and the same man.

It was while Sulla was ascending Mount Tifata that he had encountered Gaius Norbanus. After his victory over him he paid a vow of gratitude to Diana, to whom that region is sacred, and consecrated to the goddess the waters renowned for their salubrity and water to heal, as well as all the lands in the vicinity. The record of this pleasing act of piety is witnessed to this day by an inscription on the door of the temple, and a bronze tablet within the edifice.

[26] (1) Carbo now became consul for the third time, in conjunction with Gaius Marius, now aged twenty-six, the son of a father who had been seven times consul. He was a man who showed his father's spirit, though not destined to reach his years, who displayed great fortitude in the many enterprises he undertook, and never belied the name. Defeated by Sulla at Sacriportus he retired with his army to Praeneste, which town, though already strong by nature, he had strengthened by a garrison.

(2) In order that nothing should be lacking to the calamities of the state, in Rome, a city in which there had already been rivalry in virtues, there was now a rivalry in crimes, and that man now regarded himself as the best citizen who had formerly been the worst. While the battle was being fought at Sacriportus, within the city the praetor Damasippus murdered in the Curia Hostilia, as supposed partisans of Sulla, Domitius, a man of consular rank; Scaevola Mucius, pontifex maximus and famous author of works on religious and civil law; Gaius Carbo, a former praetor, and brother of the consul, and Antistius, a former aedile. (3) May Calpurnia, the daughter of Bestia and wife of Antistius, never lose the glory of a noble deed; for, when her husband was put to death, as I have just said, she pierced her own breast with the sword. What increment has his glory and fame received through this brave act of a woman! and yet his own name is by no means obscure.

[27] (1) While Carbo and Marius were still consuls, one hundred and nine years ago, on the Kalends of November, Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite chief, brave in spirit and in action and hating to the core the very name of Rome, having collected about him forty thousand of the bravest and most steadfast youth who still persisted in retaining arms, fought with Sulla, near the Colline gate, a battle so critical as to bring both Sulla and the city into the gravest peril. (2) Rome had not faced a greater danger when she saw the camp of Hannibal within the third milestone, than on this day when Telesinus went

about from rank to rank exclaiming: "The last day is at hand for the Romans," and in a loud voice exhorted his men to overthrow and destroy their city, adding: "These wolves that made such ravages upon Italian liberty will never vanish until we have cut down the forest that harbours them." (3) It was only after the first hour of the night that the Roman army was able to recover its breath, and the enemy retired. The next day Telesinus was found in a half-dying condition, but with the expression of a conqueror upon his face rather than that of a dying man. Sulla ordered his severed head to be fixed upon a spear point and carried around the walls of Praeneste.

(4) The young Marius, now at last despairing of his cause, endeavoured to make his way out of Praeneste through the tunnels, wrought with great engineering skill, which led into the fields in different directions; but, on emerging from the exit, he was cut off by men who had been stationed there for that purpose. (5) Some authorities have asserted that he died by his own hand, some that he died in company with the younger brother of Telesinus, who was also besieged and was endeavouring to escape with him, and that each ran upon the other's sword. Whatever the manner of his death, his memory is not obscured even to-day by the great figure of his father. Sulla's estimate of the young man is manifest; for it was only after he was slain that he took the name of Felix, a name which he would have been completely justified in assuming had his life ended with his victory.

(6) The siege of Marius in Praeneste was directed by Ofella Lucretius, who had been a general on the Marian side but had deserted to Sulla. Sulla commemorated the great good fortune which fell to him on this day by instituting an annual festival of games held in the circus, which are still celebrated as the games of Sulla's victory.

[28] (1) Shortly before Sulla's victory at Sacriportus, several leaders of his party had routed the enemy in successful engagements; the two Servilii at Clusium, Metellus Pius at Faventia, and Marcus Lucullus in the vicinity of Fidentia.

(2) The terrors of the civil war seemed nearly at an end when they received fresh impetus from the cruelty of Sulla. Being made dictator (the office had been obsolete for one hundred and twenty years, and had been last employed in the year after Hannibal's departure from Italy; it is therefore clear that the fear which caused the Roman people to feel the need of a dictator was

outweighed by the fear of his excessive power) Sulla now wielded with unbridled cruelty the powers which former dictators had employed only to save their country in times of extreme danger. (3) He was the first to set the precedent for proscription — would that he had been the last! The result was that in the very state in which an actor who had been hissed from the stage has legal redress for wilful abuse, a premium for the murder of a citizen was now publicly announced; that the richest man was he who had slain the greatest number; that the bounty for slaying an enemy was no greater than that for slaying a citizen; and that each man became the prize set up for his own death. (4) Nor was vengeance wreaked upon those alone who had borne arms against him, but on many innocents as well. In addition the goods of the proscribed were sold, and their children were not only deprived of their fathers' property but were also debarred from the right of seeking public office, and to cap the climax of injustice, the sons of senators were compelled to bear the burdens and yet lose the rights pertaining to their rank.

[29] (1) Just before the arrival of Lucius Sulla in Italy, Gnaeus Pompeius, the son of the Gnaeus Pompeius who, as has already been mentioned, won such brilliant successes in the Marsian war during his consulship, though but twenty-three years of age — it was one hundred and thirteen years ago — on his own initiative and with his own private funds conceived and brilliantly executed a daring plan. To avenge his country and restore her dignity he raised a strong army from the district of Picenum which was filled with the retainers of his father. (2) To do justice to the greatness of this man would require many volumes, but the brief compass of my work compels me to limit my description to a few words.

On the side of his mother Lucilia he was of senatorial stock. He was distinguished by a personal beauty, not of the sort which gives the bloom of youth its charm, but stately and unchanging, as befitted the distinction and good fortune of his career, and this beauty attended him to the last day of his life. He was a man of exceptional purity of life, of great uprightness of character, (3) of but moderate oratorical talent, ambitious of such power as might be conferred upon him as a mark of honour, but not that which had to be forcibly usurped. In war a resourceful general, in peace a citizen of temperate conduct except when he feared a rival, constant in his friendships, easily placated when offended, loyal in re-establishing terms of amity, very

ready to accept satisfaction, never or at least rarely abusing his power, (4) Pompey was free from almost every fault, unless it be considered one of the greatest of faults for a man to chafe at seeing anyone his equal in dignity in a free state, the mistress of the world, where he should justly regard all citizens as his equals. (5) From the day on which he had assumed the toga he had been trained to military service on the staff of that sagacious general, his father, and by a singular insight into military tactics had so developed his excellent native talent, which showed great capacity to learn what was best, that, while Sertorius bestowed the greater praise upon Metellus, it was Pompey he feared the more strongly.

[30] (1) Shortly afterwards Marcus Perpenna, an ex-praetor, one of those who had been proscribed, a man more distinguished for his birth than for his character, assassinated Sertorius at Osca at a banquet. By this wicked deed he ensured success to the Romans, and destruction to his own faction, and for himself a death of extreme dishonour. Metellus and Pompey won triumphs for their victories in Spain. (2) Pompey, who even at the time of his triumph was still a Roman knight, entered the city in his triumphal car on the day before his entrance upon his consulate. (3) Who is there who does not feel surprise that this man, who owed his elevation to the highest position in the state to so many extraordinary commands, should have taken it ill that the senate and the Roman people were willing to consider Gaius Caesar as a candidate for the consulship a second time, though suing for it *in absentia*? So common a failing is it for mankind to overlook every irregularity in their own case, but to make no concessions to others, and to let their discontent with conditions be vented upon suspected motives and upon persons instead of the real cause. (4) In this consulship Pompey restored the power of the tribunes, of which Sulla had left the shadow without the substance.

(5) While war was being waged against Sertorius in Spain sixty-four runaway slaves, escaping from a gladiatorial school in Capua, seized swords in that city, and at first took refuge on Mount Vesuvius; then, as their number increased daily, they afflicted Italy with many serious disasters. (6) Their number grew to such an extent that in the last battle which they fought they confronted the Roman army with ninety thousand men. The glory of ending this war belongs to Marcus Crassus, who was soon by unanimous consent to be regarded as the first citizen in the state.

[31] (1) The personality of Pompey had now turned the eyes of the world upon itself, and in all things he was now regarded as more than a mere citizen. As consul he made the laudable promise, which he also kept, that he would not go from that office to any province. (2) But, two years afterwards, when the pirates were terrifying the world, not as heretofore by furtive marauding expeditions but with fleets of ships in the manner of regular warfare, and had already plundered several cities of Italy, Aulus Gabinius, a tribune, proposed an enactment to the effect that Gnaeus Pompeius should be sent to crush them, and that in all the provinces he should have a power equal to that of the proconsular governors to a distance of fifty miles from the sea. By this decree the command of almost the entire world was being entrusted to one man. (3) Seven years before, it is true, like power had been decreed to Marcus Antonius as praetor. (4) But sometimes the personality of the recipient of such power, just as it renders the precedent more or less dangerous, increases or diminishes its invidiousness. In the case of Antonius people had looked upon his position with no concern. For it is not often that we begrudge honours to those whose power we do not fear. On the other hand men shrink from conferring extraordinary powers upon those who seem likely to retain them or lay them aside only as they themselves choose, and whose inclinations are their only check. The optimates advised against the grant to Pompey, but sane advice succumbed to impulse.

[32] (1) The sterling character of Quintus Catulus and his modesty on this occasion are worthy of record. Opposing the law before the assembled people he had said that Pompey was without question a great man, but that he was now becoming too great for a free republic, and that all powers ought not to be reposed in one man. "If anything happens to Pompey," he added, "whom will you put in his place?" The people shouted with one accord, "You, Catulus." Then, yielding to the unanimous desire of the people for the proposed law and to this honourable tribute of his fellow-citizens, he left the assembly. (2) At this point one would fain express admiration for the modesty of the man and the fairness of the people; in the case of Catulus, because he ceased his opposition, and, in the case of the people, because it was unwilling to withhold from one who was speaking against the measure in opposition to them this real evidence of their esteem.

(3) About the same time Cotta divided service upon the juries equally

between the senatorial and equestrian orders. Gaius Gracchus had taken this privilege from the senate and given it to the knights, while Sulla had again transferred it from the knights to the senate. Otho Roscius by his law restored to the knights their places in the theatre.

(4) Meanwhile Gnaeus Pompey enlisted the services of many illustrious men, distributed detachments of the fleet to all the recesses of the sea, and in a short time with an invincible force he freed the world from the menace of piracy. Near the Cilician coast he delivered his final attack upon the pirates, who had already met with frequent defeats in many other places, and completely routed them. Then, in order that he might the more quickly put an end to a war that spread over so wide an area, (5) he collected the remnants of the pirates and established them in fixed abodes in cities far from the sea. (6) Some criticize him for this; but although the plan is sufficiently recommended by its author, it would have made its author great whoever he might have been; for, by giving the pirates the opportunity to live without brigandage, he restrained them from brigandage.

[33] (1) When the war with the pirates was drawing to a close, Pompey was assigned to the command against Mithridates in place of Lucius Lucullus. Seven years before this, Lucullus, at the conclusion of his consulship, had obtained the proconsulship of Asia, and had been placed in command against Mithridates. In this post he had performed some great and notable exploits, having defeated Mithridates several times in different regions, freed Cyzicus by a brilliant victory, and conquered Tigranes, the greatest of kings, in Armenia. That he had not put an end to the war was due, one might say, to lack of inclination rather than of ability; for although in all other respects he was a man of laudable character and in war had scarcely ever been defeated, he was a victim to the love of money. He was still engaged in carrying on the same struggle when Manilius, tribune of the people, a man of venal character always, and ready to abet the ambitions of others, proposed a law that Pompey should be given the chief command in the Mithridatic war. (2) The law was passed, and the two commanders began to vie with each other in recriminations, Pompey charging Lucullus with his unsavoury greed for money, and Lucullus taunting Pompey with his unbounded ambition for military power. Neither could be convicted of falsehood in his charge against the other. (3) In fact Pompey, from the time when he first took part in public

life, could not brook an equal at all. In undertakings in which he should have been merely the first he wished to be the only one. No one was ever more indifferent to other things or possessed a greater craving for glory; he knew no restraint in his quest for office, though he was moderate to a degree in the exercise of his powers. Entering upon each new office with the utmost eagerness, he would lay them aside with unconcern, and, although he consulted his own wishes in attaining what he desired, he yielded to the wishes of others in resigning it. (4) As for Lucullus, who was otherwise a great man, he was the first to set the example for our present lavish extravagance in building, in banquets, and in furnishings. Because of the massive piles which he built in the sea, and of his letting the sea in upon the land by digging through mountains, Pompey used to call him, and not without point, the Roman Xerxes.

[34] (1) During the same period the island of Crete was brought under the sovereignty of the Roman people by Quintus Metellus. For three years this island, under the leadership of Panares and Lasthenes who had collected a force of twenty-four thousand men, swift in their movements, hardened to the toils of war, and famous in their use of the bow, had worn out the Roman armies. (2) Gnaeus Pompeius could not refrain from coveting some of this glory also, and sought to claim a share in his victory. But the triumphs, both of Lucullus and of Metellus, were rendered popular in the eyes of all good citizens not only by the distinguished merits of the two generals themselves but also by the general unpopularity of Pompey.

(3) At this time the conspiracy of Sergius Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and other men of both the equestrian and senatorial orders was detected by the extraordinary courage, firmness, and careful vigilance of the consul Marcus Cicero, a man who owed his elevation wholly to himself, who had ennobled his lowly birth, who was as distinguished in his life as he was great in genius, and who saved us from being vanquished in intellectual accomplishments by those whom we had vanquished in arms. (4) Catiline was driven from the city by fear of the authority of the consul; Lentulus, a man of consular rank and twice a praetor, Cethegus, and other men of illustrious family were put to death in prison on the order of the consul, supported by the authority of the senate.

[35] (1) The meeting of the senate at which this action had been taken raised

the character of Marcus Cato, ⁽²⁾ which had already shone forth conspicuously in other matters, to a lofty pinnacle. Descended from Marcus Cato, the first of the Porcian house, who was his great-grandfather, he resembled Virtue herself, and in all his acts he revealed a character nearer to that of gods than of men. He never did a right action solely for the sake of seeming to do the right, but because he could not do otherwise. To him that alone seemed reasonable which was likewise just. Free from all the failings of mankind he always kept fortune subject to his control. ⁽³⁾ At this time, though he was only tribune elect and still quite a young man, while others were urging that Lentulus and the other conspirators should be placed in custody in the Italian towns, Cato, though among the very last to be asked for his opinion, inveighed against the conspiracy with such vigour of spirit and intellect and such earnestness of expression that he caused those who in their speeches had urged leniency to be suspected of complicity in the plot. ⁽⁴⁾ Such a picture did he present of the dangers which threatened Rome, by the burning and destruction of the city and the subversion of the constitution, and such a eulogy did he give of the consul's firm stand, that the senate as a body changed to the support of his motion and voted the imposition of the death penalty upon the conspirators, and a large number of the senators escorted Cicero to his home.

⁽⁵⁾ As for Catiline, he proceeded to carry out his criminal undertaking with as much energy as he had shown in planning it. Fighting with desperate courage, he gave up in battle the life which he had forfeited to the executioner.

[36] ⁽¹⁾ No slight prestige is added to the consulship of Cicero by the birth in that year — ninety-two years ago — of the emperor Augustus, who was destined by his greatness to overshadow all men of all races.

⁽²⁾ It may now seem an almost superfluous task to indicate the period at which men of eminent talent flourished. For who does not know that at this epoch, separated only by differences in their ages, there flourished Cicero and Hortensius; a little earlier Crassus, Cotta, and Sulpicius; a little later Brutus, Calidius, Caelius, Calvus, and Caesar, who ranks next to Cicero; next to them, and, as it were, their pupils, come Corvinus and Pollio Asinius, Sallust, the rival of Thucydides, the poets Varro and Lucretius, and Catullus, who ranks second to none in the branch of literature which he undertook. ⁽³⁾ It is almost folly to proceed to enumerate men of talent who are almost beneath our eyes,

among whom the most important in our age are Virgil, the prince of poets, Rabirius, Livy, who follows close upon Sallust, Tibullus, and Naso, each of whom achieved perfection in his own branch of literature. As for living writers, while we admire them greatly, a critical list is difficult to make.

[37] (1) While these occurrences were taking place in the city and in Italy, Gnaeus Pompeius carried on a notable campaign against Mithridates, who after the departure of Lucullus had again prepared a new army of great strength. (2) The king was defeated and routed, and after losing all his forces sought refuge in Armenia with his son-in-law Tigranes, the most powerful king of his day, though his power had been somewhat broken by Lucullus. (3) Pompey accordingly entered Armenia in pursuit of both kings at once. First a son of Tigranes, who was at variance with his father, came to Pompey. (4) Then the king in person, and, in the guise of a suppliant, placed himself and his kingdom under the jurisdiction of Pompey, prefacing this act with the statement that he would not have submitted himself to the alliance of any man but Gnaeus Pompeius, whether Roman or of any other nationality; that he would be ready to bear any condition, favourable or otherwise, upon which Pompey might decide; that there was no disgrace in being beaten by one whom it would be a sin against the gods to defeat, and that there was no dishonour in submitting to one whom fortune had elevated above all others. (5) The king was permitted to retain the honours of royalty, he was compelled to pay a large sum of money, all of which, as was Pompey's practice, was remitted to the quaestor and listed in the public accounts. Syria and the other provinces which Mithridates had seized were wrested from him. Some were restored to the Roman people, and others were then for the first time brought under its sway — Syria, for instance — which first became a tributary province at this time. The sovereignty of the king was now limited to Armenia.

[38] (1) It does not seem out of keeping with the plan which I have set before me in my work to give a brief synopsis of the races and nations which were reduced to provinces and made tributary to Rome, and by what generals. Thus it will be easier to see at a glance when grouped together, the facts already given in detail.

(2) Claudius the consul was the first to cross into Sicily with an army, but it was only after the capture of Syracuse, fifty years later, that it was converted

into a province by Marcellus Claudius. Regulus was the first to invade Africa, in the ninth year of the First Punic war. It was one hundred and nine years later, one hundred and seventy-three years ago, that Publius Scipio Aemilianus destroyed Carthage and reduced Africa to the form of a province. Sardinia finally became subject to the yoke in the interval between the First and Second Punic War, through the agency of Titus Manlius the consul. ⁽³⁾ It is a strong proof of the warlike character of our state that only three times did the closing of the temple of the double-faced Janus give proof of unbroken peace: once under the kings, a second time in the consulship of the Titus Manlius just mentioned, and a third time in the reign of Augustus. ⁽⁴⁾ The two Scipios, Gnaeus and Publius, were the first to lead armies into Spain, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, two hundred and fifty years ago; from that time on we alternately acquired and lost portions of it until under Augustus the whole of it became tributary. ⁽⁵⁾ Paulus conquered Macedonia, Mummius Achaea, Fulvius Nobilior Aetolia, Lucius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, wrested Asia from Antiochus, but, by the gift of the senate and the Roman people, it soon afterwards passed to the ownership of the Attalids. It was made a tributary province by Marcus Perpenna after the capture of Aristonicus. ⁽⁶⁾ No credit for the conquest of Cyprus can be assigned to any general, since it was by a decree of the Senate, carried out by Cato, that it became a province on the death of its king, self-inflicted in consciousness of guilt. Crete was punished by Metellus by the termination of the liberty which she had long enjoyed. Syria and Pontus are monuments to the valour of Gnaeus Pompeius.

[39] ⁽¹⁾ Domitius and Fabius, son of Paulus, who was surnamed Allobrogicus, first entered the Gauls with an army; later these provinces cost us much blood in our attempts at conquest alternating with our loss of them. In all these operations the work of Caesar is the most brilliant and most conspicuous. Reduced under his auspices and generalship, they pay almost as much tribute into the treasury as the rest of the world. ⁽²⁾ Caesar also made Numidia a province, from which Metellus had long before won by his valour the cognomen of Numidicus.

Isauricus conquered Cilicia, and Vulso Manlius Gallograecia after the war with Antiochus. Bithynia, as has been already said, was bequeathed to the Romans by the will of Nicomedes. Besides Spain and other countries whose

names adorn his Forum, Augustus made Egypt tributary, thereby contributing nearly as much revenue to the treasury as his father had brought to it from the Gauls. (3) Tiberius Caesar extorted from the Illyrians and Dalmatians a definite confession of submission such as that which Augustus had wrested from Spain. He also added to our empire as new provinces Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and the Scordisci. These he conquered by arms. Cappadocia he made tributary to the Roman people through the mere prestige of his name. But let us now return to the order of events.

[40] (1) Then followed the military exploits of Gnaeus Pompeius, in regard to which it would be difficult to say whether the glory they earned or labour they cost was the greater. Media, Albania, and Iberia were invaded with victorious arms. Then he changed the direction of his march to the regions of the interior, to the right of the Black Sea — the Colchians, the Heniochi, and the Achaei. Mithridates was crushed, the last of the independent kings except the rulers of the Parthians, through the treachery of his son Pharnaces, it is true, but during the period of Pompey's command. (2) Then, after conquering all the races in his path, Pompey returned to Italy, having achieved a greatness which exceeded both his own hopes and those of his fellow-citizens, and having, in all his campaigns, surpassed the fortune of a mere mortal. It was owing to this impression that his return created such favourable comment; for the majority of his countrymen had insisted that he would not enter the city without his army, and that he would set a limit upon public liberty according to his own caprice. (3) The return of so great a general as an ordinary citizen was all the more welcome because of the apprehensions which had been entertained. For, dismissing his whole army at Brundisium, and retaining none of his former power except the title of imperator, he returned to the city with only the retinue which regularly attended him. There he celebrated, for a period of two days, a most magnificent triumph over the many kings whom he had conquered, and from the spoils he contributed to the treasury a far larger sum of money than any other general had ever done except Paulus.

(4) In Pompey's absence the tribunes of the people, Titus Ampius and Titus Labienus, proposed a law that at the games of the circus Pompey should be permitted to wear a golden crown and the full dress of the triumphator, and at the theatre the purple-bordered toga and the golden crown. But he forbore to use this honour more than once, and indeed that was itself too often. This man

was raised by fortune to the pinnacle of his career by great leaps, first triumphing over Africa, then over Europe, then over Asia, and the three divisions of the world thus became so many monuments of his victory. Greatness is never without envy. (5) Pompey met with opposition from Lucullus and from Metellus Creticus, who did not forget the slight he had received (indeed he had just cause for complaint in that Pompey had robbed him of the captive generals who were to have adorned his triumph), and from a section of the optimates who sought to prevent the fulfilment of Pompey's promises to the various cities and the payment of rewards in accordance with his wishes to those who had been of service to him.

[41] (1) Then followed the consulship of Gaius Caesar, who now lays hold upon my pen and compels, whatever my haste, to linger a while upon him. Sprung from the noble family of the Julii, and tracing his descent from Venus and Anchises, a claim conceded by all investigators of antiquity, he surpassed all his fellow-citizens in beauty of person. He was exceedingly keen and vigorous of mind, lavish in his generosity, and possessed a courage exceeding the nature, and even the credence, of man. In the magnitude of his ambitions, in the rapidity of his military operations, and in his endurance of danger, he closely resembled Alexander the Great, but only when Alexander was free from the influence of wine and master of his passions (2) for Caesar, in a word, never indulged in food or in sleep except as they ministered, not to pleasure, but to life. To Gaius Marius he was closely related by blood; he was also the son-in-law of Cinna, whose daughter no consideration of fear would induce him to divorce, whereas Marcus Piso, a man of consular rank, had divorced Annia, who had been the wife of Cinna, in order to win Sulla's favour. Caesar was only about eighteen years of age at the time of Sulla's dictatorship; and when a search was made for him with a view to putting him to death, not, it is true, by Sulla himself, but by his minions and partisans, he escaped from the city at night by assuming a disguise which effectually concealed his rank. (3) Later, but when still quite a young man, he was captured by pirates and so conducted himself during the entire period of his detention as to inspire in them to an equal degree both fear and respect. Neither by day nor by night did he remove his shoes or loosen his girdle — for why should a detail of the greatest significance be omitted merely because it cannot be adorned in imposing language? — lest the slightest change in his usual garb might cause

him to be suspected by his captors, who guarded him only with their eyes.

[42] (1) It would take too long to tell of his many bold plans for the punishment of the pirates, or how obstinately the timid governor of Asia refused to second them. The following story, however, may be told as a presage of his future greatness. (2) On the night following the day on which his ransom was paid by the cities of Asia — he had, however, compelled the pirates before payment to give hostages to these cities — although he was but a private citizen without authority, and his fleet had been collected on the spur of the moment, he directed his course to the rendezvous of the pirates, put to flight part of their fleet, sank part, and captured several ships and many men. (3) Well satisfied with the success of his night expedition he returned to his friends and, after handing his prisoners into custody, went straight to Bithynia to Juncus, the proconsul — for the same man was governor of Bithynia as well as of Asia — and demanded his sanction for the execution of his captives. When Juncus, whose former inactivity had now given way to jealousy, refused, and said that he would sell the captives as slaves, Caesar returned to the coast with incredible speed and crucified all his prisoners before anyone had had time to receive a dispatch from the consul in regard to the matter.

[43] (1) Not long afterwards he was hastening to Italy to enter upon the priestly office of pontifex to which he had been elected in his absence in place of the ex-consul Cotta. Indeed, while still little more than a boy he had already been made priest of Jupiter by Marius and Cinna, but all their acts had been annulled in consequence of Sulla's victory, and Caesar had thus lost this priesthood. On the journey just mentioned, wishing to escape the notice of the pirates who then infested all the seas and by this time had good reasons for being hostile to him, he took two friends and ten slaves and embarked in a four-oared boat, and in this way crossed the broad expanse of the Adriatic Sea. (2) During the voyage, sighting, as he thought, some pirate vessels, he removed his outer garments, bound a dagger to his thigh, and prepared himself for any event; but soon he saw that his eyes had deceived him and that the illusion had been caused by a row of trees in the distance (3) which looked like masts and yards.

As for the rest of his acts after his return to the city, they stand in less need of description, since they are better known. I refer to his famous prosecution

of Gnaeus Dolabella, to whom the people showed more favour than is usually exhibited to men under impeachment; to the well-known political contests with Quintus Catulus and other eminent men; to his defeat of Quintus Catulus, the acknowledged leader of the Senate, for the office of pontifex maximus, before he himself had even been praetor; (4) to the restoration in his aedileship of the monuments of Gaius Marius in the teeth of the opposition of the nobles; to the reinstatement of the children of proscribed persons in the rights pertaining to their rank; and to his praetorship and quaestorship passed in Spain, in which he showed wonderful energy and valour. He was quaestor under Vetus Antistius, the grandfather of our own Vetus, the consular and pontiff, himself the father of two sons who have held the consulship and the priesthood and a man whose excellence reaches our highest conception of human integrity.

[44] (1) But to resume. It was in Caesar's consulship that there was formed between himself, Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus the partnership in political power which proved so baleful to the city, to the world, and, subsequently at different periods to each of the triumvirs themselves. (2) Pompey's motive in the adoption of this policy had been to secure through Caesar as consul the long delayed ratification of his acts in the provinces across the seas, to which, as I have already said, many still raised objections; Caesar agreed to it because he realized that in making this concession to the prestige of Pompey he would increase his own, and that by throwing on Pompey the odium for their joint control he would add to his own power; while Crassus hoped by the influence of Pompey and the power of Caesar he might achieve a place of pre-eminence in the state which he had not been able to reach single-handed. (3) Furthermore, a tie of marriage was cemented between Caesar and Pompey, in that Pompey now wedded Julia, Caesar's daughter.

(4) In this consulship, Caesar, with Pompey's backing, passed a law authorizing a distribution to the plebs of the public domain in Campania. And so about twenty thousand citizens were established there, and its rights as a city were restored to Capua one hundred and fifty-two years after she had been reduced to a prefecture in the Second Punic War. Bibulus, Caesar's colleague, with the intent rather than the power of hindering Caesar's acts, confined himself to his house for the greater part of the year. By this conduct,

whereby he hoped to increase his colleague's unpopularity, he only increased his power. At this time the Gallic provinces were assigned to Caesar for a period of five years.

[45] (1) About the same time Publius Clodius, a man of noble birth, eloquent and reckless, who recognized no limits either in speech or in act except his own caprice, of ill-repute as the debaucher of his own sister, and accused of adulterous profanation of the most sacred rites of the Roman people, having conceived a violent hatred against Marcus Cicero — for what friendship could there be between men so unlike? — caused himself to be transferred from a patrician into a plebeian family and, as tribune, proposed a law that whoever put to death a Roman citizen without trial should be condemned to exile. Although Cicero was not expressly named in the wording of the bill, it was aimed at him alone. (2) And so this man, who had earned by his great services the gratitude of his country, gained exile as his reward for saving the state. Caesar and Pompey were not free from the suspicion of having had a share in the fall of Cicero. Cicero seemed to have brought upon himself their resentment by refusing to be a member of the commission of twenty charged with the distribution of lands in Campania. (3) Within two years Cicero was restored to his country and to his former status, thanks to the interest of Gnaeus Pompeius — somewhat belated, it is true, but effective when once exerted — and thanks to the prayers of Italy, the decrees of the senate, and the zealous activity of Annius Milo, tribune of the people. Since the exile and return of Numidicus no one had been banished amid greater popular disapproval or welcomed back with greater enthusiasm. As for Cicero's house, the maliciousness of its destruction by Clodius was now compensated for by the magnificence of its restoration by the senate.

(4) Publius Clodius in his tribunate also removed Marcus Cato from the state, under the pretence of an honourable mission. For he proposed a law that Cato should be sent to the island of Cyprus in the capacity of quaestor, but with the authority of a praetor and with a quaestor as his subordinate, with instructions to dethrone Ptolemaeus, who by reason of his unmitigated viciousness of character well deserved this humiliation. (5) However, just before the arrival of Cato, Ptolemy took his own life. Cato brought home from Cyprus a sum of money which greatly exceeded all expectations. To praise Cato's integrity would be sacrilege, but he can almost be charged with

eccentricity in the display of it; for, in spite of the fact that all the citizens, headed by the consuls and the senate, poured out of the city to meet him as he ascended the Tiber, he did not disembark and greet them until he arrived at the place where the money was to be put ashore.

[46] (1) Meanwhile, in Gaul, Gaius Caesar was carrying on his gigantic task, which could scarcely be covered in many volumes. Not content with his many fortunate victories, and with slaying or taking as prisoners countless thousands of the enemy, he even crossed into Britain, as though seeking to add another world to our empire and to that which he had himself won. Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus, who had once been consuls together, now entered upon their second consulship, which office they not only won by unfair means, but also administered without popular approval. (2) In a law which Pompey proposed in the assembly of the people, Caesar's tenure of office in his provinces was continued for another five years, and Syria was decreed to Crassus, who was now planning to make war upon Parthia. Although Crassus was, in his general character, entirely upright and free from base desires, in his lust for money and his ambition for glory he knew no limits, and accepted no bounds. On his departure for Asia the tribunes of the people made ineffectual efforts to detain him by the announcement of baleful omens. (3) If the curses which they called down upon him had affected Crassus alone, the loss of the commander would not have been without advantage to the state, had but the army been saved. (4) He had crossed the Euphrates and was now marching toward Seleucia when he was surrounded by King Orodes with his innumerable bands of cavalry and perished together with the greater part of his army. Remnants of the legions were saved by Gaius Cassius — (he was later the perpetrator of a most atrocious crime, but was at that time quaestor) — who not only retained Syria in its allegiance to the Roman people, but succeeded, by a fortunate issue of events, in defeating and putting to rout the Parthians when they crossed its borders.

[47] (1) During this period, including the years which immediately followed and those of which mention has already been made, more than four hundred thousand of the enemy were slain by Gaius Caesar and a greater number were taken prisoners. Many times had he fought in pitched battles, many times on the march, many times as besieger or besieged. Twice he penetrated into Britain, and in all his nine campaigns there was scarcely one which was not

fully deserving of a triumph. His feats about Alesia were of a kind that a mere man would scarcely venture to undertake, and scarcely anyone but a god could carry through.

(2) About the fourth year of Caesar's stay in Gaul occurred the death of Julia, the wife of Pompey, the one tie which bound together Pompey and Caesar in a coalition which, because of each one's jealousy of the other's power, held together with difficulty even during her lifetime; and, as though fortune were bent upon breaking all the bonds between the two men destined for so great a conflict, Pompey's little son by Julia also died a short time afterwards. Then, inasmuch as agitation over the elections found vent in armed conflicts and civil bloodshed, (3) which continued indefinitely and without check, Pompey was made consul for the third time, now without a colleague, with the assent even of those who up to that time had opposed him for that office. The tribute paid him by this honour, which seemed to indicate his reconciliation with the optimates, served more than anything else to alienate him from Caesar. Pompey, however, employed his whole power during this consulship in curbing election abuses.

(4) It was at this time that Publius Clodius was slain by Milo, who was a candidate for the consulship, in a quarrel which arose in a chance meeting at Bovillae; a bad precedent, but in itself a service to the state. Milo was brought to trial and convicted quite as much through the influence of Pompey as on account of the odium aroused by the deed. (5) Cato, it is true, declared for his acquittal in an opinion openly expressed. Had his vote been cast earlier, men would not have been lacking to follow his example and approve the slaying of a citizen as pernicious to the republic and as hostile to all good citizens as any man who had ever lived.

[48] (1) It was not long after this that the first sparks of civil war were kindled. All fair-minded men desired that both Caesar and Pompey should disband their armies. Now Pompey in his second consulship had caused the provinces of Spain to be assigned to him, and though he was actually absent from them, administering the affairs of the city, he continued to govern them for three years through his lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, the former of consular and the latter of praetorian rank; and while he agreed with those who insisted that Caesar should dismiss his army, he was opposed to those who urged that he should also dismiss his own. (2) Had Pompey only died two years

before the outbreak of hostilities, after the completion of his theatre and the other public buildings with which he had surrounded it, at the time when he was attacked by a serious illness in Campania and all Italy prayed for his safety as her foremost citizen, fortune would have lost the opportunity of overthrowing him and he would have borne to the grave unimpaired all the qualities of greatness that had been his in life. ⁽³⁾ It was Gaius Curio, however, a tribune of the people, who, more than anyone else, applied the flaming torch which kindled the civil war and all the evils which followed for twenty consecutive years. Curio was a man of noble birth, eloquent, reckless, prodigal alike of his own fortune and chastity and of those of other people, a man of the utmost cleverness in perversity, who used his gifted tongue for the subversion of the state. ⁽⁴⁾ No wealth and no pleasures sufficed to satiate his appetites. He was at first on the side of Pompey, that is to say, as it was then regarded, on the side of the republic. Then he pretended to be opposed both to Pompey and Caesar, but in his heart he was for Caesar. Whether his conversion was spontaneous or due to a bribe of ten million sesterces, as is reported, we shall leave undetermined. ⁽⁵⁾ Finally, when a truce was on the point of being concluded on terms of the most salutary character, terms which were demanded in a spirit of the utmost fair-mindedness by Caesar and accepted by Pompey without protest, it was in the end broken and shattered by Curio in spite of Cicero's extraordinary efforts to preserve harmony in the state.

As to the order of these events, and of those which have been mentioned before, the reader is referred to the special works of other historians, and I myself hope some day to give them in full. ⁽⁶⁾ But at the present time it will be consistent with the general plan of this briefer narrative if I merely stop to congratulate Quintus Catulus, the two Luculli, Metellus, and Hortensius, who, after flourishing in public life without envy and rising to pre-eminence without danger to themselves, in the course of nature died a peaceful or at least a not untimely death before the outbreak of the civil wars.

[49] (1) In the consulship Lentulus and Marcellus, seven hundred and three years after the founding of the city and seventy-eight before your consulship, Marcus Vinicius, the civil war burst into flame. The one leader seemed to have the better cause, the other the stronger; (2) on the one was the appearance, on the other the reality of power; Pompey was armed with the authority of the

senate, Caesar with the devotion of the soldiers. The consuls and the senate conferred the supreme authority not on Pompey but on his cause. (3) No effort was omitted by Caesar that could be tried in the interest of peace, but no offer of his was accepted by the Pompeians. Of the two consuls, one showed more bitterness than was fair, the other, Lentulus, could not save himself from ruin without bringing ruin upon the state, while Marcus Cato insisted that they should fight to the death rather than allow the republic to accept a single dictate from a mere citizen. The stern Roman of the old-fashioned type would praise the cause of Pompey, the politic would follow the lead of Caesar, recognizing that while there was on the one side greater prestige, the other was the more formidable.

(4) When at last, rejecting all the demands of Caesar, who was content to retain the title to the province, with but a single legion, the senate decreed that he should enter the city as a private citizen and should as such, submit himself to the votes of the Roman people in his candidacy for the consulship, Caesar concluded that war was inevitable and crossed the Rubicon with his army. Gnaeus Pompeius, the consuls, and the majority of the senate abandoned first the city, then Italy, and crossed the sea to Dyrrachium.

[50] (1) Caesar, on his side, having got into his power Domitius and the legions that were with him at Corfinium, immediately released this commander and all others who so wished, and allowed them to join Pompey, whom he now followed to Brundisium, making it clear that he preferred to put an end to the war while the state was uninjured and negotiation still possible, rather than to crush his fleeing enemy. (2) Finding that the consuls had crossed the sea he returned to the city, and after rendering to the senate and also to the assembly of the people an account of his motives and of the deplorable necessity of his position, in that he had been driven to arms by others who had themselves resorted to arms, he resolved to march on Spain.

(3) The rapidity of his march was delayed for some time by the city of Massilia, which with more honesty of intention than with wise discretion assumed the unseasonable rôle of arbiter between the two armed leaders, an intervention suited only to those who are in a position to coerce the combatant refusing obedience. (4) Next, the army, commanded by Afranius, an ex-consul, and Petreius, an ex-praetor, taken off its guard by Caesar's energy and the lightning speed of his arrival, surrendered to him. Both the commanders and

all others, of whatever rank, who wished to follow them were allowed to return to Pompey.

[51] (1) The next year found Dyrrachium and its vicinity occupied by the camp of Pompey, who by summoning legions from all the provinces beyond the sea, together with auxiliary troops of foot and horse, and the forces of kings, tetrarchs, and other subject rulers, had in this way collected a formidable army, and had with his fleets established, as he thought, a successful blockade upon the sea to prevent Caesar from transporting his legions across the Adriatic. (2) But Caesar, relying upon his usual rapidity of action and his famous luck, allowed nothing to prevent him or his army from crossing and landing at any port he pleased, and at first pitched his camp almost touching that of Pompey, and then proceeded to surround the latter by entrenchments and siege works. But lack of provisions was a more serious matter to the besiegers than to the besieged. (3) It was at this time that Balbus Cornelius, at incredible risk, entered the camp of the enemy and held several conferences with the consul Lentulus, whose only doubt was what price to put upon himself. It was by stages such as this that Balbus, who was not even the son of a Roman citizen born in Spain but actually a Spaniard, paved the way for his later rise to the pontificate and to a triumph, and from the rank of private citizen to that of a consul. Conflicts followed, with shifting fortunes. One of these battles was much more favourable to the Pompeians, and Caesar's troops were severely repulsed.

[52] (1) Then Caesar marched with his army into Thessaly, destined to be the scene of his victory. Pompey, in spite of the contrary advice of others, followed his own impulse and set out after the enemy. (2) Most of his advisers urged him to cross into Italy — nor indeed was there any course more expedient for his party — others advised him to prolong the war, which, by reason of the esteem in which the party was held, was daily becoming more favourable to them.

(3) The limits set to a work of this kind will not permit me to describe in detail the battle of Pharsalia, that day of carnage so fatal to the Roman name, when so much blood was shed on either side, the clash of arms between the two heads of the state, the extinction of one of the two luminaries of the Roman world, and the slaughter of so many noble men on Pompey's side. (4) One detail, however, I cannot refrain from noting. When Gaius Caesar saw

that Pompey's army was defeated he made it his first and foremost concern to send out orders to grant quarter — if I may use the habitual military expression. (5) Ye immortal gods! What a reward did this merciful man afterwards receive for his kindness to Brutus! (6) There is nothing more marvellous about that victory, nothing more magnificent, nothing more glorious, than that our country did not mourn the loss of any citizen save those who had fallen in battle. But his offer of clemency was set at nought by the stubbornness of his opponents, since the victor was more ready to grant life than the vanquished to accept it.

[53] (1) Pompey fled with the two Lentuli, both ex-consuls, his own son Sextus, and Favonius, a former praetor, friends whom chance had gathered about him as his companions. Some advised him to take refuge with the Parthians, others in Africa, where he had in King Juba a most loyal partisan; but, remembering the favours which he had conferred upon the father of Ptolemy, who, though still between boyhood and manhood, was now reigning at Alexandria, he decided to repair to Egypt. (2) But, in adversity who remembers past services? Who considers that any gratitude is due to those who have met disaster? When does change of fortune fail to shift allegiance? Envoys were sent by the king at the instance of Theodotus and Achilles to receive Pompey at his arrival — he was now accompanied in his flight by his wife Cornelia, who had been taken on board at Mytilene — and to urge him to change from the merchant ship to the vessel which had come out to meet him. Having accepted the invitation, the first of the citizens of Rome was stabbed to death by the order and dictation of an Egyptian vassal, the year of his death being the consulship of Gaius Caesar and Publius Servilius. (3) So died in his fifty-eighth year, on the very eve of his birthday, that upright and illustrious man, after holding three consulships, celebrating three triumphs, conquering the whole world, and attaining to a pinnacle of fame beyond which it is impossible to rise. Such was the inconsistency of fortune in his case, that he who but a short time before had found no more lands to conquer now found none for his burial.

(4) As regards Pompey's age, what excuse, other than that of excessive preoccupation, shall I make for those who have made an error of five years in the age of one who was not only a great man but who almost belongs to our century, especially as it is so easy to reckon from the consulship of Caius

Atilius and Quintus Servilius? I have added this remark not for the sake of criticizing others, but to avoid criticism of myself.

[54] (1) The loyalty of the king, and of those by whose influence he was controlled, was no greater towards Caesar than it had been toward Pompey. For, upon Caesar's arrival in Egypt, they assailed him with plots and subsequently dared to challenge him in open warfare. By suffering death they paid to both of these great commanders, the living and the dead, a well-deserved atonement.

(2) Pompey the man was no more, but his name still lived everywhere. For the strong support his party had in Africa had stirred up in that country a war in which the moving spirits were King Juba and Scipio, a man of consular rank, (3) whom Pompey had chosen for his father-in-law two years before his death. Their forces were augmented by Marcus Cato, who, in spite of the great difficulty of the march, and the lack of supplies in the regions traversed, succeeded in conducting his legions to them. Cato, although offered the supreme command by the soldiers, preferred to take orders from Scipio, his superior in rank.

[55] (1) Fidelity to my promise of brevity reminds me how rapidly I must pass over the details of my narrative. Caesar, following up his success, passed over to Africa, of which the Pompeian armies now held possession since the death of Gaius Curio, the leader there of the Caesarian party. At first his armies were attended by a varying fortune, but later by his usual luck the forces of the enemy were routed. (2) Here again he showed no less clemency toward the vanquished than to those whom he had defeated in the previous war.

Caesar, victorious in Africa, was now confronted by a more serious war in Spain (for the defeat of Pharnaces may be passed over, since it added but little to his renown). This great and formidable war had been stirred up by Gnaeus Pompeius, the son of Pompeius Magnus, a young man of great energy in war, and reinforcements flowed in from all parts of the world from among those who still followed his father's great name. (3) Caesar's usual fortune followed him to Spain; but no battle in which he ever engaged was more bitterly fought or more dangerous to his cause. Once, indeed, when the fight was now more than doubtful, he leapt from his horse, placed himself before his lines, now beginning to give way, and, after upbraiding fortune for saving him for such an end, announced to his soldiers that he would not retreat a step. He asked

them to consider who their commander was and in what a pass they were about to desert him. ⁽⁴⁾ It was shame rather than valour that restored their wavering line, and the commander showed more courage than his men. Gnaeus Pompeius, badly wounded, was discovered on a pathless waste and put to death. Labienus and Varus met their death in battle.

[56] (1) Caesar, victorious over all his enemies, returned to the city, and pardoned all who had borne arms against him, an act of generosity almost passing belief. He entertained the city to repletion with the magnificent spectacle of a gladiatorial show, a sham battle of ships, mock battles of cavalry, infantry, and even mounted elephants, and the celebration of a public banquet which was continued through several days. ⁽²⁾ He celebrated five triumphs. The emblems in his Gallic triumph were of citrus wood; in his Pontic of acanthus; in his Alexandrian triumph of tortoise-shell, in his African of ivory, and in his Spanish of polished silver. The money borne in his triumphs, realized from the sale of spoils, amounted to a little more than six hundred million sesterces.

(3) But it was the lot of this great man, who behaved with such clemency in all his victories, that his peaceful enjoyment of supreme power should last but five months. For, returning to the city in October, he was slain on the ides of March. Brutus and Cassius were the leaders of the conspiracy. He had failed to win the former by the promise of the consulship, and had offended the latter by the postponement of his candidacy. There were also in the plot to compass his death some of the most intimate of all his friends, who owed their elevation to the success of his party, namely Decimus Brutus, Gaius Trebonius, and others of illustrious name. (4) Marcus Antonius, his colleague in the consulship, ever ready for acts of daring, had brought great odium upon Caesar by placing a royal crown upon his head as he sat on the •rostra at the •Lupercalia. Caesar put the crown from him, but in such a way that he did not seem to be displeased.

[57] (1) In the light of experience due credit should be given to the counsel of Pansa and Hirtius, who had always warned Caesar that he must hold by arms the position which he had won by arms. But Caesar kept reiterating that he would rather die than live in fear, and while he looked for a return for the clemency he had shown, he was taken off his guard by men devoid of gratitude, (2) although the gods gave many signs and presages of the threatened danger. For the soothsayers had warned him beforehand carefully to beware the Ides of March; his wife Calpurnia, terrified by a dream, kept begging him to remain at home on that day; and notes warning him of the conspiracy were handed him, but he neglected to read them at the time. But verily the power of destiny is inevitable; (3) it confounds the judgement of him whose fortune it has determined to reverse.

[58] (1) Brutus and Cassius were praetors, and Decimus Brutus was consul designate in the year in which they perpetrated this deed. (2) These three, with the remainder of the group of conspirators, escorted by a band of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus, seized the capitol. Thereupon Antonius, as consul, summoned the senate. Cassius had been in favour of slaying Antony as well as Caesar, and of destroying Caesar's will, but Brutus had opposed him, insisting that citizens ought not to seek the blood of any but the "tyrant" — for to call Caesar "tyrant" placed his deed in a better light. (3) Dolabella, whom Caesar had named for the consulship, with the intention of putting him in his own place, had already seized the fasces and the insignia of that office.

Having summoned the senate, Antonius, acting as the guarantor of peace, sent his own sons to the capitol as hostages and thus gave his assurance to the slayers of Caesar that they might come down in safety. ⁽⁴⁾ On the motion of Cicero the famous precedent of the Athenians granting amnesty for past acts was approved by decree of the senate.

[59] ⁽¹⁾ Caesar's will was then opened, by which he adopted Gaius Octavius, the grandson of his sister Julia. Of the origin of Octavius I must now say a few words, even if the account comes before its proper place. Gaius Octavius, his father, though not of patrician birth, ⁽²⁾ was descended from a very prominent equestrian family, and was himself a man of dignity, of upright and blameless life, and of great wealth. Chosen praetor at the head of the poll among a list of candidates of noble birth, this distinction won for him a marriage alliance with Atia, a daughter of Julia. After he had filled the office of praetor, the province of Macedonia fell to his lot, where he was honoured with the title of imperator. He was returning thence to sue for the consulship when he died on the way, leaving a son still in his early teens. ⁽³⁾ Though he had been reared in the house of his stepfather, Philippus, Gaius Caesar, his great-uncle, loved this boy as his own son. At the age of eighteen Octavius followed Caesar to Spain in his campaign there, and Caesar kept him with him thereafter as his companion, allowing him to share the same roof and ride in the same carriage, and though he was still a boy, honoured him with the pontificate. ⁽⁴⁾ When the civil war was over, with a view to training his remarkable talents by liberal studies, he sent him to Apollonia to study, with the intention of taking him with him as his companion in his contemplated wars with the Getae and the Parthians. ⁽⁵⁾ At the first announcement of his uncle's death, although the centurions of the neighbouring legions at once proffered their own services and those of their men, and Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him to accept the offer, he made such haste to arrive in the city that he was already at Brundisium when he learned the details of the assassination and the terms of his uncle's will. ⁽⁶⁾ As he approached Rome an enormous crowd of his friends went out to meet him, and at the moment of his entering the city, men saw above his head the orb of the sun with a circle about it, coloured like the rainbow, seeming thereby to place a crown upon the head of one destined soon to greatness.

[60] ⁽¹⁾ His mother Atia and Philippus his stepfather disliked the thought of

his assuming the name of Caesar, whose fortune had aroused such jealousy, but the fates that preside over the welfare of the commonwealth and of the world took into their own keeping the second founder and preserver of the Roman name. (2) His divine soul therefore spurned the counsels of human wisdom, and he determined to pursue the highest goal with danger rather than a lowly estate and safety. He preferred to trust the judgement concerning himself of a great-uncle who was Caesar, rather than that of a stepfather, saying that he had no right to think himself unworthy of the name of which Caesar had thought him worthy. (3) On his arrival, Antony, the consul, received him haughtily — out of fear, however, rather than contempt — and grudgingly gave him, after he had secured admission to Pompey's gardens, a few moments' conversation with himself; and it was not long before Antony began wickedly to insinuate that an attempt had been made upon his life through plots fostered by Octavius. In this matter, however, the untrustworthiness of the character of Antony was disclosed, to his discredit. (4) Later the mad ambition of Antony and Dolabella, the consuls, for the attainment of an unholy despotism, burst into view. The seven hundred thousand sestertia deposited by Gaius Caesar in the temple of Ops were seized by Antony; the records of his acts were tampered with by the insertion of forged grants of citizenship and immunity; and all his documents were garbled for money considerations, the consul bartering away the public interests. (5) Antony resolved to seize the province of Gaul, which had been assigned by decree to Decimus Brutus, the consul designate, while Dolabella had the provinces beyond the sea assigned to himself. Between men by nature so unlike and with such different aims there grew up a feeling of hatred, and in consequence, the young Gaius Caesar was the object of daily plots on the part of Antony.

[61] (1) The state languished, oppressed by the tyranny of Antony. All felt resentment and indignation, but no one had the power to resist, until Gaius Caesar, who had just entered his nineteenth year, with marvellous daring and supreme success, showed by his individual sagacity a courage in the state's behalf which exceeded that of the senate. (2) He summoned his father's veterans first from Calatia then from Casilinum; other veterans followed their example, and in a short time they united to form a regular army. Not long afterwards, when Antony had met the army which he had ordered to assemble

at Brundisium from the provinces beyond the sea, two legions, the Martian and the fourth, learning of the feeling of the senate and the spirit shown by this courageous youth, took up their standards and went over to Caesar. (3) The senate honoured him with an equestrian statue, which is still standing upon the rostra and testifies to his years by its inscription. This is an honour which in three hundred years had fallen to the lot of Lucius Sulla, Gnaeus Pompeius, and Gaius Caesar, and to these alone. The senate commissioned him, with the rank of *propraetor*, to carry on the war against Antony in conjunction with Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls designate. (4) Now in his twentieth year, he conducted the war at Mutina with great bravery, and the siege of Decimus Brutus there was raised. Antony was compelled to abandon Italy in undisguised and disgraceful flight. Of the two consuls, the one died upon the field of battle, and the other of his wound a few days afterwards.

[62] (1) Before the defeat of Antony the senate, chiefly on the motion of Cicero, passed all manner of resolutions complimentary to Caesar and his army. But, now that their fears had vanished, their real feelings broke through their disguise, and the Pompeian party once more took heart. (2) By vote of the senate, Brutus and Cassius were now confirmed in possession of the provinces which they had seized upon their own authority without any decree of the senate; the armies which had gone over to them were formally commended; (3) and Brutus and Cassius were given all authority and jurisdiction beyond the sea. It is true that these two men had issued manifestoes — at first in real fear of armed violence at the hands of Antony, and later to increase Antony's unpopularity, with the pretence of fear — manifestos in which they declared that for the sake of ensuring harmony in the republic they were even ready to live in perpetual exile, that they would furnish no grounds for civil war, and that the consciousness of the service they had rendered by their act was ample reward. But, when they had once left Rome and Italy behind them, by deliberate agreement and without government sanction they had taken possession of provinces and armies, and under the pretence that the republic existed wherever they were, they had gone so far as to receive from the *quaestors*, with their own consent, it is true, the moneys which these men were conveying to Rome from the provinces across the sea. (4) All these acts were now included in the decrees of the senate and formally ratified. Decimus Brutus was voted a triumph, presumably because, thanks to another's

services, he had escaped with his life. Hirtius and Pansa were honoured with a public funeral. ⁽⁵⁾ Of Caesar not a word was said. The senate even went so far as to instruct its envoys, who had been sent to Caesar's army, to confer with the soldiers alone, without the presence of their general. But the ingratitude of the senate was not shared by the army; for, though Caesar himself pretended not to see the slight, the soldiers refused to listen to any orders without the presence of their commander. ⁽⁶⁾ It was at this time that Cicero, with his deep-seated attachment for the Pompeian party, expressed the opinion, which said one thing and meant another, to the effect that Caesar "should be commended and then — elevated."

[63] (1) Meanwhile Antony in his flight had crossed the Alps, and at first made overtures to Marcus Lepidus which were rejected. Now Lepidus had surreptitiously been made pontifex in Caesar's place, and, though the province of Spain had been assigned to him, was still lingering in Gaul. Later, however, Antony showed himself several times to the soldiers of Lepidus, and being, when sober, better than most commanders, whereas none could be worse than Lepidus, he was admitted by the soldiers through a breach which they made in the fortifications in the rear of the camp. Antony still permitted Lepidus to hold the nominal command, while he himself held the real authority. ⁽²⁾ At the time when Antony entered the camp, Juventius Laterensis, who had strongly urged Lepidus not to ally himself with Antony now that he had been declared an enemy of the state, finding his advice of no avail ran himself through with his own sword, consistent unto death. Later Plancus and Pollio both handed over their armies to Antony. ⁽³⁾ Plancus, with his usual loose idea of loyalty, after a long debate with himself as to which party to follow, and much difficulty in sticking to his resolutions when formed, now pretended to co-operate with his colleague, Decimus Brutus, the consul designate, thus seeking to ingratiate himself with the senate in his dispatches, and again betrayed him. But Asinius Pollio, steadfast in his resolution, remained loyal to the Julian party and continued to be an adversary of the Pompeians.

[64] (1) Decimus Brutus, first abandoned by Plancus, and later actually the object of his plots, deserted little by little by his army, and now a fugitive, was slain by the emissaries of Antony in the house of a noble named Camelus with whom he had taken refuge. He thus met his just deserts and paid the penalty of his treason to Gaius Caesar by whom he had been treated so well. ⁽²⁾ He

who had been the foremost of all Caesar's friends became his assassin, and while he threw upon Caesar the odious responsibility for the fortune of which he himself had reaped the benefits, he thought it fair to retain what he had received at Caesar's hands, and for Caesar, who had given it all, to perish.

(3) This is the period when Cicero in a series of speeches branded the memory of Antony for all time to come. Cicero assailed Antony with his brilliant and god-given tongue, whereas Cannutius the tribune tore him to pieces with the ravening of a mad dog. Each paid with his life for his defence of liberty. (4) The proscription was ushered in by the slaying of the tribune; it practically ended with the death of Cicero, as though Antony were now sated with blood. Lepidus was now declared by the senate an enemy of the state, as Antony had been before him.

[65] (1) Then began an interchange of letters between Lepidus, Caesar, and Antony, and terms of agreement were suggested. Antony reminded Caesar how hostile to him the Pompeian party was, to what a height they had now risen, and how zealously Cicero was extolling Brutus and Cassius. Antony threatened to join forces with Brutus and Cassius, who had now control of seventeen legions, if Caesar rejected this friendly gesture, and said that Caesar was under greater obligations to avenge a father than he to avenge a friend. (2) Then began their partnership in political power, and, on the urgent advice and entreaty of the armies, a marriage alliance was also made between Antony and Caesar, in which Antony's stepdaughter was betrothed to Caesar. Caesar, with Quintus Pedius as colleague, entered on the consulship one day before the completion of his twentieth year on the twenty-second of September, seven hundred and nine years after the founding of the city and seventy-two, Marcus Vinicius, before the beginning of your consulship.

(3) This year saw Ventidius joining the robes of the consular office to those of praetor in the very city in which he had been led in triumph among the Picentine captives. He also lived to celebrate a triumph of his own.

[66] (1) Then the vengeful resentment of Antony and Lepidus — for each of them had been declared public enemies, as has already been stated, and both preferred to hear accounts of what they had suffered, rather than of what they had deserved, at the hands of the senate — renewed the horror of the Sullan proscription. Caesar protested, but without avail, being but one against two. (2) The climax of the shame of this time was that Caesar should be forced to

proscribe any one, or that any one should proscribe the name of Cicero. By the crime of Antony, when Cicero was beheaded the voice of the people was severed, nor did anyone raise a hand in defence of the man who for so many years had protected the interests both of the state and of the private citizen. (3) But you accomplished nothing, Mark Antony — for the indignation that surges in my breast compels me to exceed the bounds I have set for my narrative — you accomplished nothing, I say, by offering a reward for the sealing of those divine lips and the severing of that illustrious head, and by encompassing with a death-fee the murder of so great a consul and of the man who once had saved the state. (4) You took from Marcus Cicero a few anxious days, a few senile years, a life which would have been more wretched under your domination than was his death in your triumvirate; but you did not rob him of his fame, the glory of his deeds and words, nay you but enhanced them. (5) He lives and will continue to live in the memory of the ages, and so long as this universe shall endure — this universe which, whether created by chance, or by divine providence, or by whatever cause, he, almost alone of all the Romans, saw with the eye of his mind, grasped with his intellect, illumined with his eloquence — so long shall it be accompanied throughout the ages by the fame of Cicero. All posterity will admire the speeches that he wrote against you, while your deed to him will call forth their execrations, and the race of man shall sooner pass from the world than the name of Cicero be forgotten.

[67] (1) No one has even been able to deplore the fortunes of this whole period with such tears as the theme deserves, much less can one now describe it in words. One thing, however, demands comment, that (2) toward the proscribed their wives showed the greatest loyalty, their freedmen not a little, their slaves some, their sons none. So hard is it for men to brook delays in the realization of their ambitions, whatever they might be. (3) That no sacred tie might escape inviolate, and, as it were, as an inducement and invitation to such atrocities, Antony had Lucius Caesar, his uncle, placed upon the list, and Lepidus his own brother Paulus. Plancus also had sufficient influence to cause his brother Plancus Plotius to be enrolled among the proscribed. (4) And so the troops who followed the triumphal car of Lepidus and Plancus kept repeating among the soldiers' jests, but amid the execrations of the citizens, the following line:

68 (1) Let me now relate a matter which I omitted in its proper place, for the person involved does not permit the deed to rest in obscurity. This person is Marcus Caelius, a man closely resembling Curio in eloquence and in spirit, though more than his peer in either, and quite as clever in his worthlessness. Being quite as bankrupt in property as in character and unable to save himself by paying even a reasonable proportion of his debts, (2) he came forward in his praetorship, at the time when Caesar was fighting for the control of affairs on the field of Pharsalus, as the author of a law for the cancellation of debts, nor could he be deterred from his course by the authority of either the senate or the consul. Calling to his aid Milo Annius, who was hostile to the Caesarian party because he had failed to secure from them his recall, he stirred up a sedition in the city, and openly raised armed bands in the country. He was first banished from the state and was later overcome at Thurii by the army of the consul, on the order of the senate. (3) A like fortune attended a similar attempt by Milo. While besieging Compsa, a city of the Hirpini, he was struck by a stone, and thus the restless man, too reckless to be called brave, paid the penalty he owed to Publius Clodius and to his country, against which he was bearing arms.

(4) While engaged in supplying omissions I should note the intemperate and untimely display of independence shown towards Caesar by Marullus Epidius and Flavius Caesetius, tribunes of the people, who in charging him with the desire for the kingship, came near feeling the effects of his absolute power. Though Caesar was constantly provoked by them, (5) the only outcome of his wrath was that he was satisfied to brand them through the employment of his power as censor, and refrained from punishing them as dictator by banishing them from the state; and he expressed his great regret that he had no alternative but to depart from his customary clemency or suffer loss of dignity. But I must now return to the regular order of my narrative.

[69] (1) Meanwhile in Asia, Dolabella, who succeeded Gaius Trebonius as governor, had surprised the latter at Smyrna and had put him to death, a man who had showed the basest ingratitude in return for Caesar's kindness, and had shared in the murder of him to whom he owed his advancement to the consulship. Dolabella had already occupied Asia and had passed over into Syria when Gaius Cassius, taking over their strong legions from Statius Murcus and

Crispus Marcius, both praetorians who had been saluted as imperator by their troops, shut him up in Laodicea and by taking that city had caused his death; for Dolabella had promptly offered his neck to the sword of his own slave. Cassius also gained control of ten legions in that part of the empire. Marcus Brutus had raised his strength to seven legions by wresting their troops, by voluntary transfer of allegiance, ⁽³⁾ from Gaius Antonius, the brother of Marcus Antonius, in Macedonia, and from Vatinius in the vicinity of Dyrrachium. Brutus had been obliged to offer battle to Antony, but Vatinius he had overwhelmed by the weight of his own reputation, since Brutus was preferable to any general, while no man could rank lower than Vatinius, ⁽⁴⁾ whose deformity of body was rivalled to such an extent by the baseness of his character, that his spirit seemed to be housed in an abode that was thoroughly worthy of it.

⁽⁵⁾ By the Pedian law, proposed by Pedius, Caesar's colleague in the consulship, a decree of banishment was passed upon all the assassins of Caesar. At this time Capito, my uncle, a man of senatorial rank, assisted Agrippa in securing the condemnation of Gaius Cassius. ⁽⁶⁾ While all this was taking place in Italy, Cassius in a vigorous and successful campaign had taken Rhodes, an undertaking of great difficulty. Brutus had meanwhile conquered the Lycians. The armies of both then crossed into Macedonia, where Cassius, contrary to his nature, uniformly outdid even Brutus in clemency. One will hardly find men who were ever attended by a more favourable fortune than Brutus and Cassius, or who were more quickly deserted by her, as though she were weary.

[70] ⁽¹⁾ Then Caesar and Antonius transported their armies to Macedonia, and met Brutus and Cassius in battle near the city of Philippi. The wing under the command of Brutus, after defeating the enemy, captured Caesar's camp; for Caesar was performing his duties as commander although he was in the poorest of health, and had been urged not to remain in camp by Artorius his physician, who had been frightened by a warning which had appeared to him in his sleep. On the other hand, the wing commanded by Cassius had been routed and roughly handled, and had retreated with much loss to higher ground. ⁽²⁾ Then Cassius, judging his colleague's success by his own fortune, sent a veteran with instructions to report to him what was the large force of men which was now bearing down in his direction. As the orderly was slow in

reporting, and the force approaching at a run was now close, while their identity and their standards could not be recognized for the dust, imagining that the troops rushing on him were those of the enemy, he covered his head with his military cloak and undismayed presented his neck to the sword of his freedman. (3) The head of Cassius had scarcely fallen when the orderly arrived with the report that Brutus was victorious. But when he saw his commander lying prostrate, he uttered the words, "I shall follow him whose death my tardiness has caused," and fell upon his sword.

(4) A few days later Brutus met the enemy, and was beaten in battle. In retreat he withdrew at nightfall to a hill, and there prevailed upon Strato of Aegaeae, one of his household, to lend him his hand in his resolve to die. (5) Raising his left arm above his head, and with his right holding the point of Strato's sword he brought it close to the left nipple, at the place where the heart beats, and throwing himself upon the sword he died at once, transfixed by the stroke.

[71] (1) Messalla, a young man of brilliant parts, was next in authority to Brutus and Cassius in their camp. Although there were those who urged him to take command, he preferred to owe his safety to the kindness of Caesar than to try once again the doubtful hope of arms. Caesar, on his side, found no greater pleasure in his victories than in granting life to Corvinus, nor was there ever a better example of loyal gratitude than that shown by Corvinus to Caesar. No other war cost the blood of so many illustrious men. In that battle the son of Cato fell; (2) the same fortune carried off Lucullus and Hortensius, the sons of eminent citizens. Varro, when about to die, in mockery of Antony, with the utmost freedom of speech prophesied for Antony the death he deserved, a prophecy which came true. Drusus Livius, the father of Julia Augusta, and Quintilius Varus, without making any appeal for mercy, ended their lives. Livius died by his own hand in his tent; Varus first covered himself with the insignia of his offices and then forced his freedman to commit the deed.

[72] (1) This was the end reserved by fortune for the party of Marcus Brutus. He was in his thirty-seventh year, and had kept his soul free from corruption until this day, which, through the rashness of a single act, bereft him, together with his life, of all his virtuous qualities. (2) Cassius was as much the better general as Brutus was the better man. Of the two, one would rather have

Brutus as a friend, but would stand more in fear of Cassius as an enemy. The one had more vigour, the other more virtue. As it was better for the state to have Caesar rather than Antony as emperor, so, had Brutus and Cassius been the conquerors, it would have been better for is to be ruled by Brutus rather than by Cassius.

(3) Gnaeus Domitius, father of Lucius Domitius our late contemporary, a man of eminent and noble simplicity, and grandfather of Gnaeus Domitius, a young man of distinction in our own day, seized a number of ships, and relying on himself to lead his party, accompanied by a large number of companions who followed his lead, entrusted himself to the fortunes of flight.

(4) Statius Murcus, who had had charge of the fleet and the patrolling of the seas, sought Sextus Pompey, son of Pompeius Magnus, with that portion of the army and of the fleet which had been entrusted to him. Pompey had returned from Spain and seized Sicily. (5) The proscribed whom fortune had spared, at least from immediate peril, now flocked to him from the camp of Brutus, from Italy, and from other parts of the world. For men who had now no legal status any leader would do, since fortune gave them no choice, but held out a place of refuge, and as they fled from the storm of death any shelter served as a harbour.

[73] (1) Sextus was a young man without education, barbarous in his speech, vigorous in initiative, energetic and prompt in action as he was swift in expedients, in loyalty a marked contrast to his father, the freedman of his own freedmen and slave of his own slaves, envying those in high places only to obey those in the lowest. (2) The senate, which still consisted almost entirely of Pompeians, in the period which followed the flight of Antony from Mutina, and at the very time at which it had assigned to Brutus and Cassius the provinces across the sea, had recalled Sextus for Spain — where Pollio Asinius the praetorian had distinguished himself in his campaigns against him — restored him to his father's property, and had entrusted to him the guarding of the coast. (3) Seizing Sicily, as we have said, and admitting into his army slaves and runaways, he had raised his legions to their full complement. He supported himself and his army on plunder, and through the agency of Menas and Menecrates, his father's freedmen, who were in charge of his fleet, he infested the seas by predatory and piratical expeditions; nor was he ashamed thus to infest with piracy and its atrocities the sea which had been freed from

it by his father's arms and leadership.

[74] (1) After the defeat of the party of Brutus and Cassius, Antony remained behind with the intention of visiting the provinces beyond the sea. Caesar returned to Italy, which he found in a much more troubled condition than he had expected. (2) Lucius Antonius, the consul, who shared the faults of his brother but possessed none of the virtues which he occasionally showed, by making charges against Caesar before the veterans at one moment, and at the next inciting to arms those who had lost their farms when the division of lands was ordered and colonists assigned, had collected a large army. In another quarter Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had nothing of the woman in her except her sex, was creating general confusion by armed violence. (3) She had taken Praeneste as her base of operations; Antonius, beaten on all sides by the forces of Caesar, had taken refuge in Perusia; Plancus, who abetted the faction of Antony, offered the hope of assistance, rather than gave actual help. Thanks to his own valour and his usual good fortune, Caesar succeeded in storming Perusia. He released Antonius unharmed; and the cruel treatment of the people of Perusia was due rather to the fury of the soldiery than to the wish of their commander. The city was burned. The fire was begun by Macedonicus, a leading man of the place who, after setting fire to his house and contents, ran himself through with his sword and threw himself into the flames.

[75] (1) At the same period war broke out in Campania at the instigation of the ex-praetor and pontiff, Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius Caesar, and a man of noble character and high intellectual training, who now came forward as the protector of those who had lost their lands. This war also was quickly extinguished and its embers scattered by the arrival of Caesar.

(2) Who can adequately express his astonishment at the changes of fortune, and the mysterious vicissitudes in human affairs? Who can refrain from hoping for a lot different from that which he now has, or from dreading the one that is the opposite of what he expects? (3) Take for example Livia. She, the daughter of the brave and noble Drusus Claudianus, most eminent of Roman women in birth, in sincerity, and in beauty, she, whom we later saw as the wife of Augustus, and as his priestess and daughter after his deification, was then a fugitive before the arms and forces of the very Caesar who was soon to be her husband, carrying in her bosom her infant of two years, the present emperor Tiberius Caesar, destined to be the defender of the Roman

empire and the son of this same Caesar. Pursuing by-paths that she might avoid the swords of the soldiers, and accompanied by but one attendant, so as the more readily to escape detection in her flight, she finally reached the sea, and with her husband Nero made her escape by ship to Sicily.

[76] (1) I shall not deprive my own grandfather of the honourable mention which I should give to a stranger. Gaius Velleius, chosen to a most honourable position among the three hundred and sixty judges by Gnaeus Pompey, prefect of engineers under Pompey, Marcus Brutus, and Tiberius Nero, and a man second to none, on the departure from Naples of Nero, whose partisan he had been on account of his close friendship, finding himself unable to accompany him on account of his age and infirmities, (2) ran himself through with his sword in Campania.

Caesar allowed Fulvia to depart from Italy unharmed, and with her Plancus who accompanied the woman in her flight. As for Pollio Asinius, after he with his seven legions had long kept Venetia under the control of Antony, and after he had accomplished several brilliant exploits in the vicinity of Altinum and other cities of that region, when he was on his way to join Antony with these legions he won Domitius over to the cause of Antony by his counsel and by the pledge of immunity. Up to this time Domitius, who, as we have already said, had quitted the camp of Brutus after that leader's death and had established himself in command of a fleet of his own, had remained at large. (3) In view of this act of Pollio any fair judge will see that he rendered as great a service to Antony as Antony rendered to him. The return of Antony to Italy and Caesar's preparations against him gave rise to fears of war, but a peace was arranged at Brundisium.

(4) It was at this time that the criminal designs of Rufus Salvidienus were revealed. This man, sprung from the most obscure origin, was not satisfied with having received the highest honours in the state, and to have been the first man of equestrian rank after Gnaeus Pompey and Caesar himself to be elected consul, but aspired to mount to a height where he might see both Caesar and the republic at his feet.

[77] (1) Then in response to a unanimous demand on the part of the people, who were now pinched by the high price of grain because the sea was infested by pirates, a peace was arranged with Pompey also, in the neighbourhood of Misenum. Pompey entertained Caesar and Antony at dinner on board his ship,

on which occasion he remarked, not without point, that he was giving the dinner on “his own keels,” thereby recalling the name of the quarter in which stood his father’s house, now in the possession of Antony. (2) By the terms of this treaty it was agreed that Sicily and Achaea should be conceded to Pompey, but his restless soul would not let him abide by the agreement. There was only one benefit which he rendered to his country by attending the conference, namely, the stipulation that all those who had been proscribed, or who for any other reason had taken refuge with him, should be granted a safe return. Among other illustrious men, Nero Claudius, Marcus Silanus, Sentius Saturninus, Arruntius and Titius were thereby restored to the state. As to Statius Murcus, however, who had doubled Pompey’s forces by joining him with his strong fleet, Pompey had already put him to death in Sicily as the result of false accusations which had been brought against him, Menas and Menecrates having expressed a dislike for such a man as their colleague.

[78] (1) It was during this period that Marcus Antonius espoused Octavia, the sister of Caesar. Pompey had now returned to Sicily, and Antony to the provinces across the sea, which Labienus had thrown into a panic in consequence of the great movements he had set on foot; for he had gone from the camp of Brutus to the Parthians, had led a Parthian army into Syria, and had slain a lieutenant of Antony. Thanks to the courageous generalship of Ventidius, Labienus perished in the battle and with him the forces of the Parthians, including the most distinguished of their young men, Pacorus, son of the Parthian king.

(2) During this time Caesar, wishing to keep his soldiers from being spoiled by idleness, the great enemy of discipline, was making frequent expeditions in Illyricum and Dalmatia and thus hardening his army by endurance of danger and experience in warfare. (3) At this time also Calvinus Domitius, who, after filling the consulship, was now governor of Spain, executed a rigorous act of discipline comparable with the severity of the older days, in that he caused a chief centurion by the name of Vibillius to be beaten to death for cowardly flight from the line of battle.

[79] (1) As Pompey’s fleet was growing daily, and his reputation as well, Caesar resolved to take up the burden of this new war. Marcus Agrippa was charged with constructing the ships, collecting soldiers and rowers, and familiarizing them with naval contests and manoeuvres. He was a man of

distinguished character, unconquerable by toil, loss of sleep or danger, well disciplined in obedience, but to one man alone, yet eager to command others; in whatever he did he knew no such thing as delay, but with him action went hand in hand with conception. (2) Building an imposing fleet in lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, by daily drills he brought the soldiers and the oarsmen to a thorough knowledge of fighting on land and at sea. With this fleet Caesar made war on Pompey in Sicily, after he had espoused Livia, who was given to him in marriage by her former husband under circumstances which augured well for the state. (3) But this man, unconquerable by human power, received at this time a heavy blow at the hands of fortune, since the greater part of his fleet was wrecked and scattered in the vicinity of Velia and Cape Palinurus by a violent scirocco. This delayed finishing the war, which, however, was subsequently carried on with shifting and sometimes doubtful fortune. (4) For Caesar's fleet was again buffeted by a storm in the same locality, and although the issue was favourable in the first naval battle, at Mylae, under the leadership of Agrippa, a serious defeat was received near Tauromenium beneath the very eyes of Caesar, in consequence of the unexpected arrival of Pompey's fleet, and Caesar's own person was endangered. The legions which were with Cornificius, Caesar's lieutenant, came near being crushed by Pompey as soon as they landed. (5) But fortune's caprice at this critical period was soon amended by bravery in action; when the fleets on both sides had been drawn up for battle, Pompey lost almost all his ships, and fled to Asia, where, wavering between the rôle of general and suppliant, now endeavouring to retain his dignity and now pleading for his life, he was slain by Titius on the orders of Marcus Antonius, whose aid he had sought. (6) The hatred which Titius brought upon himself by this act lasted for a long time; indeed, afterwards, when he was celebrating games in Pompey's theatre, he was driven amid the execrations of the people from the spectacle which he himself was giving.

[80] (1) While engaged in his war with Pompey, Caesar had summoned Lepidus from Africa with twelve legions of half the usual strength. This man, the most fickle of mankind, who had not earned the long-continued kindness of fortune through any qualities of his own, being nearer to the army of Pompey, annexed it to his own, though it was following not his orders but Caesar's, and owned loyalty to him. (2) His numbers now swollen to twenty

legions, he went to such lengths of madness that, though but a useless partner in another's victory, a victory which he had long delayed in refusing to agree to Caesar's plans and always insisting upon something different from that which suited others, ⁽³⁾ he claimed the victory as entirely his own and had the effrontery to order Caesar out of Sicily. The Scipios and the other Roman generals of the olden time never dared or carried out a braver act than did Caesar at this juncture. For although he was unarmed and dressed in his travelling cloak, carrying nothing except his name, he entered the camp of Lepidus, and, avoiding the weapons which were hurled at him by the orders of that scoundrel, though his cloak was pierced by a lance, he had the courage to carry off the eagle of a legion. ⁽⁴⁾ Then could one know the difference between the two commanders. Though armed, the soldiers followed Caesar who was unarmed, while Lepidus, in the tenth year after arriving at a position of power which his life had done nothing to deserve, now deserted both by his soldiers and by fortune, wrapping himself in a dark cloak and lurking in the rear of the crowd that thronged to Caesar, thus threw himself at Caesar's feet. He was granted his life and the control of his own property, but was shorn of the high position which he had shown himself unable to maintain.

[81] (1) There followed a sudden mutiny of the army; for it happens not infrequently that when soldiers observe their own numbers they break discipline and do not endure to ask for what they think they can exact. ⁽²⁾ The mutiny was broken up partly by severity, partly by liberality on the part of the emperor, and considerable additions were at the same time made to the Campanian colony by placing veterans on the lands of that colony which had been left public. Lands in Crete were given in return for these, which yielded a richer revenue of a million two hundred thousand sesterces, and an aqueduct was promised which is to-day a remarkable agency of health as well as an ornament to the landscape.

⁽³⁾ In this war Agrippa by his remarkable services earned the distinction of a naval crown, with which no Roman had as yet been decorated. Caesar, on his victorious return to the city, made the announcement that he meant to set apart for public use certain houses which he had secured by purchase through his agents in order that there might be a free area about his own residence. He further promised to build a temple of Apollo with a portico about it, a work which he constructed with rare munificence.

[82] (1) In the summer in which Caesar so successfully ended the war in Sicily, fortune, though kind in the case of Caesar and the republic, vented her anger in the east. For Antony with thirteen legions after passing through Armenia and then through Media, in an endeavour to reach Parthia by this route, found himself confronted by their king. (2) First of all he lost two legions with all their baggage and engines, and Statianus his lieutenant; later he himself with the greatest risk to his entire army, on several occasions encountered perils from which he dared not hope that escape was possible. After losing not less than a fourth part of his soldiers, he was saved through the fidelity and by the suggestion of a captive, who was nevertheless a Roman. This man had been made prisoner in the disaster to the army of Crassus, but had not changed his allegiance with his fortune. He came by night to a Roman outpost and warned them not to pursue their intended course but to proceed by a detour through the forest. (3) It was this that saved Marcus Antonius and his many legions; and yet, even so, not less than a fourth part of these soldiers and of his entire army was lost, as we have already stated, and of the camp-followers and slaves a third, while hardly anything of the baggage was saved. Yet Antonius called this flight of his a victory, because he had escaped with his life! Three summers later he returned to Armenia, obtained possession of the person of Artavasdes its king by deceit, and bound him with chains, which, however, out of regard for the station of his captive, were of gold. (4) Then as his love for Cleopatra became more ardent and his vices grew upon him — for these are always nourished by power and licence and flattery — he resolved to make war upon his country. He had previously given orders that he should be called the new Father Liber, and indeed in a procession at Alexandria he had impersonated Father Liber, his head bound with the ivy wreath, his person enveloped in the saffron robe of gold, holding in his hand the thyrsus, wearing the buskins, and riding in the Bacchic chariot.

[83] (1) In the midst of these preparations for war Plancus went over to Caesar, not through any conviction that he was choosing the right, nor from any love of the republic or of Caesar, for he was always hostile to both, but because treachery was a disease with him. He had been the most grovelling flatterer of the queen, a client with less self-respect than a slave; he had also been a secretary to Antony and was the author or the abettor of his vilest acts;

(2) for money he was ready to do all things for all men; and at a banquet he had played the role of Glaucus the Nereid, performing a dance in which his naked body was painted blue, his head encircled with reeds, at the same time wearing a fish's tail and crawling upon his knees. Now, inasmuch as he had been coldly treated by Antony because of unmistakable evidence of his venal rapacity, he deserted to Caesar. Afterwards he even went so far as to interpret the victor's clemency as a proof of his own merit, claiming that Caesar had approved that which he had merely pardoned. It was the example of this man, his uncle, that Titius soon afterwards followed. (3) The retort of Coponius, who was the father-in-law of Publius Silius and a dignified praetorian, was not so far from the mark when he said, as Plancus in the senate fresh from his desertion was heaping upon the absent Antony many unspeakable charges, "By Hercules, Antony must have done a great many things before *you* left him."

[84] (1) Then, in the consulship of Caesar and Messala Corvinus, the decisive battle took place at Actium. The victory of the Caesarian party was a certainty long before the battle. On the one side commander and soldiers alike were full of ardour, on the other was general dejection; on the one side the rowers were strong and sturdy, on the other weakened by privations; on the one side ships of moderate size, not too large for speed, on the other vessels of a size that made them more formidable in appearance only; no one was deserting from Caesar to Antony, while from Antony to Caesar someone or other was deserting daily; (2) and King Amyntas had embraced the better and more advantageous side. As for Dellius, consistent to his habit, he now went over from Antony to Caesar as he had deserted from Dolabella to Cassius and from Cassius to Antony. The illustrious Gnaeus Domitius, who was the only one of the party of Antony who refused to salute the queen except by name, went over to Caesar at great and imminent risk to himself. Finally, before the eyes of Antony and his fleet, Marcus Agrippa had stormed Leucas, had captured Patrae, had seized Corinth, and before the final conflict had twice defeated the fleet of the enemy.

[85] (1) Then came the day of the great conflict, on which Caesar and Antony led out their fleets and fought, the one for the safety, the other for the ruin, of the world. (2) The command of the right wing of Caesar's fleet was entrusted to Marcus Lurius, of the left to Arruntius, while Agrippa had full charge of the

entire conflict at sea. Caesar, reserving himself for that part of the battle to which fortune might summon him, was present everywhere. The command of Antony's fleet was entrusted to Publicola and Sosius. On the land, moreover, the army of Caesar was commanded by Taurus, that of Antony by Canidius. (3) When the conflict began, on the one side was everything — commander, rowers, and soldiers; on the other, soldiers alone. Cleopatra took the initiative in the flight; Antony chose to be the companion of the fleeing queen rather than of his fighting soldiers, and the commander whose duty it would have been to deal severely with deserters, now became a deserter from his own army. Even without their chief (4) his men long continued to fight bravely, and despairing of victory they fought to the death. Caesar, desiring to win over by words those whom he might have slain with the sword, kept shouting and pointing out to them that Antony had fled, and kept asking them for whom and with whom they were fighting. (5) But they, after fighting long for their truant commander, reluctantly surrendered their arms and yielded the victory, Caesar having promised them pardon and their lives before they could bring themselves to sue for them. It was evident that the soldiers had played the part of the good commander while the commander had played that of the cowardly soldier, (6) so that one might question whether in case of victory he would have acted according to Cleopatra's will or his own, since it was by her will that he had resorted to flight. The land army likewise surrendered when Canidius had hurried after Antony in precipitate flight.

[86] (1) Who is there who, in the compass of so brief a work, would attempt to state what blessings this day conferred upon the world, or to describe the change which took place in the fortunes of the state? (2) Great clemency was shown in the victory; no one was put to death, and but few banished who could not bring themselves even to become suppliants. From this display of mercy on the part of the commander it may be inferred how moderate a use Caesar would have made of the victory, had he been allowed to do so, whether at the beginning of his triumvirate or on the plain of Philippi. But, in the case of Sosius, it was the pledged word of Lucius Arruntius, a man famous for his old-time dignity, that saved him; later, Caesar preserved him unharmed, but only after long resisting his general inclination to clemency. (3) The remarkable conduct of Asinius Pollio should not be passed by nor the words which he uttered. For although he had remained in Italy after the peace

of Brundisium, and had never seen the queen nor taken any active part in Antony's faction after this leader had become demoralized by his passion for her, when Caesar asked him to go with him to the war at Actium he replied: "My services to Antony are too great, and his kindness to me too well known; accordingly I shall hold aloof from your quarrel and shall be the prize of the victor."

[87] (1) The following year Caesar followed Cleopatra and Antony to Alexandria and there put the finishing touch upon the civil wars. Antony promptly ended his life, thus by his death redeeming himself from the many charges of lack of manhood. As for Cleopatra, baffling the vigilance of her guards she caused an asp to be smuggled in to her, and ended her life by its venomous sting untouched by a woman's fears. (2) It was in keeping with Caesar's fortune and his clemency that not one of those who had borne arms against him was put to death by him, or by his order. It was the cruelty of Antony that ended the life of Decimus Brutus. In the case of Sextus Pompey, though Caesar was his conqueror, it was likewise Antony who deprived him of his life, even though he had given his word that he would not degrade him from his rank. (3) Brutus and Cassius, without waiting to discover the attitude of their conquerors, died voluntary deaths. Of the end of Antony and Cleopatra we have already told. As for Canidius, he showed more fear in the face of death than was consistent with his lifelong utterances. The last of Caesar's assassins to pay the penalty of death was Cassius of Parma, as Trebonius had been the first.

[88] (1) While Caesar was engaged in giving the finishing touch to the war at Actium and Alexandria, Marcus Lepidus, a young man whose good looks exceeded his prudence — son of the Lepidus who had been one of the triumvirs for the re-establishment of order in the state and of Junia the sister of Brutus — had formed plans for the assassination of Caesar as soon as he should return to the city. (2) The guards of the city were at that time under the charge of Gaius Maecenas, of equestrian rank, but none the less of illustrious lineage, a man who was literally sleepless when occasion demanded, and quick to foresee what was to be done and skilful in doing it, but when any relaxation was allowed him from business cares would almost outdo a woman in giving himself up to indolence and soft luxury. He was not less loved by Caesar than Agrippa, though he had fewer honours heaped upon him, since he

lived thoroughly content with the narrow stripe of the equestrian order. He might have achieved a position no less high than Agrippa, but had not the same ambition for it. ⁽³⁾ Quietly and carefully concealing his activity he unearthed the plans of the hot-headed youth, and by crushing Lepidus with wonderful swiftness and without causing disturbance to either men or things he extinguished the portentous beginnings of a new and reviving civil war. Lepidus himself paid the penalty for his ill-advised plot. Servilia his wife must be placed on a parity with the wife of Antistius already mentioned, for by swallowing live coals she compensated for her untimely death by the lasting memory of her name.

[89] (1) As for Caesar's return to Italy and to Rome — the procession which met him, the enthusiasm of his reception by men of all classes, ages, and ranks, and the magnificence of his triumphs and of the spectacles which he gave — all this it would be impossible adequately to describe even within the compass of a formal history, to say nothing of a work so circumscribed as this. There is nothing that man can desire from the gods, ⁽²⁾ nothing that the gods can grant to a man, nothing that wish can conceive or good fortune bring to pass, which Augustus on his return to the city did not bestow upon the republic, the Roman people, and the world. ⁽³⁾ The civil wars were ended after twenty years, foreign wars suppressed, peace restored, the frenzy of arms everywhere lulled to rest; validity was restored to the laws, authority to the courts, and dignity to the senate; the power of the magistrates was reduced to its former limits, with the sole exception that two were added to the eight existing praetors. The old traditional form of the republic was restored. ⁽⁴⁾ Agriculture returned to the fields, respect to religion, to mankind freedom from anxiety, and to each citizen his property rights were now assured; old laws were usefully emended, and new laws passed for the general good; the revision of the senate, while not too drastic, was not lacking in severity. The chief men of the state who had won triumphs and had held high office were at the invitation of Augustus induced to adorn the city. In the case of the consulship only, Caesar was not able to have his way, ⁽⁵⁾ but was obliged to hold that office consecutively until the eleventh time in spite of his frequent efforts to prevent it; but the dictatorship which the people persistently offered him, he as stubbornly refused. To tell of the wars waged under his command, of the pacification of the world by his victories, ⁽⁶⁾ of his many works at home

and outside of Italy would weary a writer intending to devote his whole life to this one task. As for myself, remembering the proposed scope of my work, I have confined myself to setting before the eyes and minds of my readers a general picture of his principate.

[90] (1) When the civil wars had been extinguished, as we have already told, and the rent limbs of the state itself began to heal, the provinces, also, torn asunder by the long series of wars began to knit together. Dalmatia, in rebellion for one hundred and twenty years, was pacified to the extent of definitely recognizing the sovereignty of Rome. The Alps, filled with wild and barbarous tribes, were subdued. The provinces of Spain were pacified after heavy campaigns conducted with varied success now by Caesar in person, now by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the emperor had raised to a third consulship and soon afterwards to a share in the emperor's tribunician power.

(2) Roman armies had been sent into these provinces for the first time in the consulship of Scipio and Sempronius Longus, in the first year of the Second Punic war, two hundred and fifty years ago, under the command of Gnaeus Scipio, the uncle of Africanus. For a period of two hundred years the struggle was kept up with so much bloodshed on both sides that the Roman people, by the loss of its commanders and armies, often suffered disgrace, and sometimes its empire was really endangered. (3) These, namely, were the provinces that brought death to the Scipios; that taxed the endurance of our ancestors in the disgraceful ten years' war under Viriathus; that shook the Roman people with the panic of the Numantine war; here occurred the disgraceful surrender of Quintus Pompeius, whose terms the senate disavowed, and the more shameful capitulation of Mancinus, which was also disavowed, and its maker ignominiously handed over to the enemy; it was Spain that destroyed so many commanders who were consulars or praetorians, and which in the days of our fathers raised Sertorius to such a height of power that for a period of five years it was not possible to decide whether there was greater strength in the arms of the Spaniard or the Roman, and which of the two peoples was destined to obey the other. (4) These, then, were the provinces, so extensive, so populous, and so warlike, which Caesar Augustus, about fifty years ago, brought to such a condition of peace, that whereas they had never before been free from serious wars, they were now, under the governorship of Gaius Antistius and then of Publius Silius and of their successors, exempt even from

brigandage.

[91] (1) While the pacification of the west was going on, in the east the Parthian king restored to Augustus the Roman standards which Orodes had taken at the time of Crassus' disaster, and those which his son Phraates had captured on the defeat of Antony. This title of Augustus was deservedly given him on the motion of Plancus with the unanimous acclaim of the entire senate and the Roman people. (2) Yet there were those who did not like this prosperous state of affairs. For example, Lucius Murena and Fannius Caepio had entered into a plot to assassinate Caesar, but were seized by state authority and themselves suffered by law what they had wished to accomplish by violence. They were two men quite diverse in character, for Murena, apart from this act, might have passed as a man of good character, while Caepio, even before this, had been of the worst. (3) Shortly afterwards a similar attempt was made by Rufus Egnatius, a man who in all respects resembled a gladiator rather than a senator. Securing the favour of the people in his aedileship by putting out fires with his own gang of slaves, he increased it daily to such an extent that the people gave him the praetorship immediately after the aedileship. It was not long before he dared to become a candidate for the consulship, but he was overwhelmed by the general knowledge of his shameless deeds and crimes, and the state of his property came to be as desperate as his mind. Therefore, collecting about him men of his own kind, he resolved to assassinate Caesar in order that he might die after getting rid of him whose existence was not compatible with his own. (4) Such men are so constituted that each would prefer to fall in a general cataclysm than to perish alone, and, though suffering the same fate in the end, to be less conspicuous in dying. He, however, was not more successful than the rest in concealing his designs, and after being thrust into prison with his fellow conspirators, died the death his life richly deserved.

[92] (1) The remarkable conduct of an excellent man, Gaius Sentius Saturninus, who was consul about this time, must not be cheated of its due record. Caesar was absent from the city engaged in regulating the affairs of Asia and of the orient, (2) and in bringing to the countries of the world by his personal presence the blessings of Augustan peace. On this occasion Sentius, chancing thus to be sole consul with Caesar absent, adopting the rigorous regime of the older consuls, pursued a general policy of old-fashioned severity

and great firmness, bringing to light the fraudulent tricks of the tax-collectors, punishing their avarice, and getting the public moneys into the treasury. But it was particularly in holding the elections that he played the consul. (3) For in the case of candidates for the quaestorship whom he thought unworthy, he forbade them to offer their names, and when they insisted upon doing so, he threatened them with the exercise of his consular authority if they came down to the Campus Martius. (4) Egnatius, who was now at the height of popular favour, and was expecting to have his consulship follow his praetorship as his praetorship had followed his aedileship, he forbade to become a candidate, and failing in this, he swore that, even if Egnatius were elected consul by the votes of the people, he would refuse to report his election. (5) This conduct I consider as comparable with any of the celebrated acts of the consuls of the olden days. But we are naturally more inclined to praise what we have heard than what has occurred before our eyes; we regard the present with envy, the past with veneration, and believe that we are eclipsed by the former, but derive instruction from the latter.

[93] (1) Some three years before the plot of Egnatius was exposed, about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio, fifty years from the present date, Marcus Marcellus died, the son of Octavia, sister of Augustus, after giving a magnificent spectacle to commemorate his aedileship and while still quite a youth. People thought that, if anything should happen to Caesar, Marcellus would be his successor in power, at the same time believing, however, that this would not fall to his lot without opposition from Marcus Agrippa. He was, we are told, a young man of noble qualities, cheerful in mind and disposition, and equal to the station for which he was being reared.

(2) After his death Agrippa, who had set out for Asia on the pretext of commissions from the emperor, but who, according to current gossip, had withdrawn, for the time being, on account of his secret animosity for Marcellus, now returned from Asia and married Julia the daughter of Caesar, who had been the wife of Marcellus, a woman whose many children were to be blessings neither to herself nor to the state.

[94] (1) At this period Tiberius Claudius Nero, in his nineteenth year, began his public life as quaestor. I have already told how, when he was three years of age, his mother Livia, the daughter of Drusus Claudianus, had become the wife of Caesar, her former husband, Tiberius Nero, himself giving her in

marriage to him. (2) Nurtured by the teaching of eminent praeceptors, a youth equipped in the highest degree with the advantages of birth, personal beauty, commanding presence, an excellent education combined with native talents, (3) Tiberius gave early promise of becoming the great man he now is, and already by his look revealed the prince. Now, acting on the orders of his stepfather, he so skilfully regulated the difficulties of the grain supply and relieved the scarcity of corn^o at Ostia and in the city that it was apparent from his execution of this commission how great he was destined to become. (4) Shortly afterwards he was sent by his stepfather with an army to visit the eastern provinces and restore them to order, and in that part of the world gave splendid illustration of all his strong qualities. Entering Armenia with his legions, he brought it once more under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and gave the kingship to Artavasdes. Even the king of the Parthians, awed by the reputation of so great a name, sent his own children as hostages to Caesar.

[95] (1) On Nero's return Caesar resolved to test his powers in a war of no slight magnitude. In this work he gave him as a collaborator his own brother Drusus Claudius, to whom Livia gave birth when already in the house of Caesar. The two brothers attacked the Raeti and Vindelici from different directions, (2) and after storming many towns and strongholds, as well as engaging successfully in pitched battles, with more danger than real loss to the Roman army, though with much bloodshed on the part of the enemy, they thoroughly subdued these races, protected as they were by the nature of the country, difficult of access, strong in numbers, and fiercely warlike.

(3) Before this had occurred the censorship of Plancus and Paulus, which, exercised as it was with mutual discord, was little credit to themselves or little benefit to the state, for the one lacked the force, the other the character, in keeping with the office; Paulus was scarcely capable of filling the censor's office, while Plancus had only too much reason to fear it, nor was there any charge which he could make against young men, or hear others make, of which he, old though he was, could not recognize himself as guilty.

[96] (1) Then occurred the death of Agrippa. Though a "new man" he had by his many achievements brought distinction upon his obscure birth, even to the extent of becoming the father-in-law of Nero; and his sons, the grandsons of the emperor, had been adopted by Augustus under the names of Gaius and Lucius. His death brought Nero closer to Caesar, since his daughter Julia, who

had been the wife of Agrippa, now married Nero.

(2) Shortly after, the Pannonian war, which had been begun by Agrippa in the consulate of your grandfather, Marcus Vinicius, was conducted by Nero, a war which was important and formidable enough, and on account of its proximity a menace to Italy. In another place I shall describe the tribes of the Pannonians and the races of Dalmatians, the situation of their country and its rivers, (3) the number and extent of their forces, and the many glorious victories won in the course of this war by this great commander; my present work must keep to its design. After achieving this victory Nero celebrated an ovation.

[97] (1) But while everything was being successfully managed in this quarter of the either, a disaster received in Germany under Marcus Lollius the legate — he was a man who was ever more eager for money than for honest action, and of vicious habits in spite of his excessive efforts at concealment — and the loss of the eagle of the fifth legion, summoned Caesar from the city to the provinces of Gaul. (2) The burden of responsibility for this war was then entrusted to Drusus Claudius, the brother of Nero, a young man endowed with as many great qualities as men's nature is capable of receiving or application developing. It would be hard to say whether his talents were the better adapted to a military career or the duties of life; at any rate, the charm and the sweetness of his character are said to have been inimitable, (3) and also his modest attitude of equality towards his friends. As for his personal beauty, it was second only to that of his brother. But, after accomplishing to a great extent the subjection of Germany, in which much blood of that people was shed on various battle-fields, an unkind fate carried him off during his consulship, in his thirtieth year. (4) The burden of responsibility for this war was then transferred to Nero. He carried it on with his customary valour and good fortune, and after traversing every part of Germany in a victorious campaign, without any loss of the army entrusted to him — for he made this one of his chief concerns — he so subdued the country as to reduce it almost to the status of a tributary province. He then received a second triumph, and a second consulship.

[98] (1) While the events of which we have spoken were taking place in Pannonia and in Germany, a fierce rebellion arose in Thrace, and all its clans were aroused to arms. It was terminated by the valour of Lucius Piso, whom

we still have with us to-day as the most vigilant and at the same time the gentlest guardian of the security of the city. (2) As lieutenant of Caesar he fought the Thracians for three years, and by a succession of battles and sieges, with great loss of life to the Thracians, he brought these fiercest of races to their former state of peaceful subjection. By putting an end to this war he restored security to Asia and peace to Macedonia. Of Piso all must think and say that his character is an excellent blend of firmness and gentleness, (3) and that it would be hard to find anyone possessing a stronger love of leisure, or, on the other hand, more capable of action, and of taking the necessary measures without thrusting his activity upon our notice.

[99] (1) Soon afterwards Tiberius Nero, who had now held two consulships and celebrated two triumphs; who had been made the equal of Augustus by sharing with him the tribunician power; the most eminent of all Roman citizens save one (and that because he wished it so); the greatest of generals, attended alike by fame and fortune; veritably the second luminary and the second head of the state — (2) this man, moved by some strangely incredible and inexpressible feeling of affection for Augustus, sought leave from him who was both his father-in-law and stepfather to rest from the unbroken succession of his labours. The real reasons for this were soon made plain. Inasmuch as Gaius Caesar had already assumed the toga of manhood, and Lucius was reaching maturity, he concealed his reason in order that his own glory might not stand in the way of the young men at the beginning of their careers. (3) I must reserve for my regular history a description of the attitude of the state at this juncture, of the feelings of the individual citizens, of the tears of all at taking leave of such a man, and how nearly the state came to laying upon him its staying hand. (4) Even in this brief epitome I ought to say that all who departed for the provinces across the sea, whether proconsuls or governors appointed by the emperor, went out of their way to see him at Rhodes, and on meeting him they lowered their fasces to him though he was but a private citizen — if such majesty could ever belong to a private citizen — thereby confessing that his retirement was more worthy of honour than their official position.

[100] (1) The whole world felt the departure of Nero from his position as protector of the city. The Parthian, breaking away from his alliance with us, laid hold of Armenia, and the eyes of its conqueror were no longer upon it.

(2) But in the city, in the very year in which Augustus, then consul with Gallus Caninius (thirty years ago), had sated to repletion the minds and eyes of the Roman people with the magnificent spectacle of a gladiatorial show and a sham naval battle on the occasion of the dedication of the temple of Mars, a calamity broke out in the emperor's own household which is shameful to narrate and dreadful to recall. (3) For his daughter Julia, utterly regardless of her great father and her husband, left untried no disgraceful deed untainted with either extravagance or lust of which a woman could be guilty, either as the doer or as the object, and was in the habit of measuring the magnitude of her fortune only in the terms of licence to sin, setting up her own caprice as a law unto itself. (4) Iulus Antonius, who had been a remarkable example of Caesar's clemency, only to become the violator of his household, avenged with his own hand the crime he had committed. After the defeat of Marcus Antonius, his father, Augustus had not only granted him his life, but after honouring him with the priesthood, the praetorship, the consulship, and the governorship of provinces, had admitted him to the closest ties of relationship through a marriage with his sister's daughter. (5) Quintius Crispinus also, who hid his extraordinary depravity behind a stern brow, Appius Claudius, Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio, and other men of both orders but of less illustrious name, suffered the penalty which they would have paid had it been the wife of an ordinary citizen they had debauched instead of the daughter of Caesar and the wife of Nero. Julia was banished to an island and removed from the eyes of her country and her parents, though her mother Scribonia accompanied her and employed with her as a voluntary companion of her exile.

[101] (1) Shortly after this Gaius Caesar, who had previously made a tour of other provinces, but only as a visitor, was dispatched to Syria. On his way he first paid his respects to Tiberius Nero, whom he treated with all honour as his superior. In his province he conducted himself with such versatility as to furnish much material for the panegyrist and not a little for the critic. On an island in the Euphrates, with an equal retinue on each side, Gaius had a meeting with the king of the Parthians, a young man of distinguished presence. This spectacle of the Roman army arrayed on one side, the Parthian on the other, (2) while these two eminent leaders not only of the empires they represented but also of mankind thus met in conference — truly a notable and

a memorable sight — (3) it was my fortunate lot to see early in my career as a soldier, when I held the rank of tribune. I had already entered upon this grade of the service under your father, Marcus Vinicius, and Publius Silius in Thrace and Macedonia; later I visited Achaia and Asia and all the eastern provinces, the outlet of the Black Sea and both its coasts, and it is not without feelings of pleasure that I recall the many events, places, peoples, and cities. As for the meeting, first the Parthian dined with Gaius upon the Roman bank, and later Gaius supped with the king on the soil of the enemy.

[102] (1) It was at this time that there were revealed to Caesar, through the Parthian king, the traitorous designs, revealing a crafty and deceitful mind, of Marcus Lollius, whom Augustus had desired to be the adviser of his still youthful son; and gossip spread the report abroad. In regard to his death, which occurred within a few days, I do not know whether it was accidental or voluntary. But the joy which people felt at this death was equalled by the sorrow which the state felt long afterwards at the decease in the same province of Censorinus, a man born to win the affections of men. (2) Then Gaius entered Armenia and at first conducted his campaign with success; but later, in a parley near Artagera, to which he rashly entrusted his person, he was seriously wounded by a man named Adduus, so that, in consequence, his body became less active, and his mind of less service to the state. (3) Nor was there lacking the companionship of persons who encouraged his defects by flattery — for flattery always goes hand in hand with high position — as a result of which he wished to spend his life in a remote and distant corner of the world rather than return to Rome. Then, in the act of returning to Italy, after long resistance and still against his will, he died in a city of Lycia which they call Limyra, his brother Lucius having died about a year before at Massilia on his way to Spain.

[103] (1) But fortune, which had removed the hope of the great name of Caesar, had already restored to the state her real protector; for the return of Tiberius Nero from Rhodes in the consulship of Publius Vinicius, your father, and before the death of either of these youths, had filled his country with joy. Caesar Augustus did not long hesitate, (2) for he had no need to search for one to choose as his successor but merely to choose the one who towered above the others. (3) Accordingly, what he had wished to do after the death of Lucius but while Gaius was still living, and had been prevented from doing by the

strong opposition of Nero himself, he now insisted upon carrying out after the death of both young men, namely, to make Nero his associate in the tribunician power, in spite of his continued objection both in private and in the senate; and in the consulship of Aelius Catus and Gaius Sentius, on the twenty-seventh of June, he adopted him, seven hundred and fifty-four years after the founding of the city, and twenty-seven years ago. The rejoicing of that day, the concourse of the citizens, ⁽⁴⁾ their vows as they stretched their hands almost to the very heavens, and the hopes which they entertained for the perpetual security and the eternal existence of the Roman empire, I shall hardly be able to describe to the full even in my comprehensive work, much less try to do it justice here. ⁽⁵⁾ I shall simply content myself with stating what a day of good omen it was for all. On that day there sprang up once more in parents the assurance of safety for their children, in husbands for the sanctity of marriage, in owners for the safety of their property, and in all men the assurance of safety, order, peace, and tranquillity; indeed, it would have been hard to entertain larger hopes, or to have them more happily fulfilled.

[104] ⁽¹⁾ On the same day Marcus Agrippa, to whom Julia had given birth after the death of Agrippa, was also adopted by Augustus; but, in the case of Nero, an addition was made to the formula of adoption in Caesar's own words: "This I do for reasons of state." ⁽²⁾ His country did not long detain at Rome the champion and the guardian of her empire, but forthwith dispatched him to Germany, where, three years before, an extensive war had broken out in the governorship of that illustrious man, Marcus Vinicius, your grandfather. Vinicius had carried on this war with success in some quarters, and in others had made a successful defence, and on this account there had been decreed to him the ornaments of a triumph with an honorary inscription recording his deeds.

⁽³⁾ It was at this time that I became a soldier in the camp of Tiberius Caesar, after having previously filled the duties of the tribunate. For, immediately after the adoption of Tiberius, I was sent with him to Germany as prefect of the cavalry. Succeeding my father in that position, and for nine continuous years as prefect of cavalry or as commander of a legion I was a spectator of his superhuman achievements, and further assisted in them to the extent of my modest ability. I do not think that mortal man will be permitted to behold again a sight like that which I enjoyed, when, throughout the most populous

parts of Italy and the full extent of the provinces of Gaul, the people as they beheld once more their old commander, who by virtue of his services had long been a Caesar before he was such in name, congratulated themselves in even heartier terms than they congratulated him. (4) Indeed, words cannot express the feelings of the soldiers at their meeting, and perhaps my account will scarcely be believed — the tears which sprang to their eyes in their joy at the sight of him, their eagerness, their strange transports in saluting him, their longing to touch his hand, and their inability to restrain such cries as “Is it really you that we see, commander?” “Have we received you safely back among us?” “I served with you, general, in Armenia!” “And I in Raetia!” “I received my decoration from you in Vindelicia!” “And I mine in Pannonia!” “And I in Germany!”

[105] (1) He at once entered Germany. The Canninefates, the Attuarii, and Bructeri were subdued, the Cherusci (Arminius, a member of this race, was soon to become famous for the disaster inflicted upon us) were again subjugated, the Weser crossed, and the regions beyond it penetrated. Caesar claimed for himself every part of the war that was difficult or dangerous, placing Sentius Saturninus, who had already served as legate under his father in Germany, in charge of expeditions of a less dangerous character: (2) a man many-sided in his virtues, a man of energy and action, and of foresight, alike able to endure the duties of a soldier as he was well trained in them, but who, likewise, when his labours left room for leisure, made a liberal and elegant use of it, but with this reservation, that one would call him sumptuous and jovial rather than extravagant or indolent. About the distinguished ability of this illustrious man and his famous consulship I have already spoken. (3) The prolonging of the campaign of that year into the month of December increased the benefits derived from the great victory. Caesar was drawn to the city by his filial affection, though the Alps were almost blocked by winter’s snows; but the defence of the empire brought him at the beginning of spring back to Germany, where he had on his departure pitched his winter camp at the source of the river Lippe, in the very heart of the country, the first Roman to winter there.

[106] (1) Ye Heavens, how large a volume could be filled with the tale of our achievements in the following summer under the generalship of Tiberius Caesar! All Germany was traversed by our armies, races were conquered

hitherto almost unknown, even by name; and the tribes of the Cauchi were again subjugated. All the flower of their youth, infinite in number though they were, huge of stature and protected by the ground they held, surrendered their arms, and, flanked by a gleaming line of our soldiers, fell with their generals upon their knees before the tribunal of the commander. ⁽²⁾ The power of the Langobardi was broken, a race surpassing even the Germans in savagery; and finally — and this is something which had never before been entertained even as a hope, much less actually attempted — a Roman army with its standards was led four hundred miles beyond the Rhine as far as the river Elbe, which flows past the territories of the Semnones and the Hermunduri. ⁽³⁾ And with this wonderful combination of careful planning and good fortune on the part of the general, and a close watch upon the seasons, the fleet which had skirted the windings of the sea coast sailed up the Elbe from a sea hitherto unheard of and unknown, and after proving victorious over many tribes effected a junction with Caesar and the army, bringing with it a great abundance of supplies of all kinds.

[107] ⁽¹⁾ Even in the midst of these great events I cannot refrain from inserting this little incident. We were encamped on the nearer bank of the aforesaid river, while on the farther bank glittered the arms of the enemies' troops, who showed an inclination to flee at every movement and manoeuvre of our vessels, when one of the barbarians, advanced in years, tall of stature, of high rank, to judge by his dress, embarked in a canoe, made as is usual with them of a hollowed log, and guiding this strange craft he advanced alone to the middle of the stream ⁽²⁾ and asked permission to land without harm to himself on the bank occupied by our troops, and to see Caesar. Permission was granted. Then he beached his canoe, and, after gazing upon Caesar for a long time in silence, exclaimed: "Our young men are insane, for though they worship you as divine when absent, when you are present they fear your armies instead of trusting to your protection. But I, by your kind permission, Caesar, have to-day seen the gods of whom I merely used to hear; and in my life have never hoped for or experienced a happier day." After asking for and receiving permission to touch Caesar's hand, he again entered his canoe, and continued to gaze back upon him until he landed upon his own bank. ⁽³⁾ Victorious over all the nations and countries which he approached, his army safe and unimpaired, having been attacked but once, and that too through

deceit on the part of the enemy with great loss on their side, Caesar led his legions back to winter quarters, and sought the city with the same haste as in the previous year.

[108] (1) Nothing remained to be conquered in Germany except the people of the Marcomanni, which, leaving its settlements at the summons of its leader Maroboduus, had retired into the interior and now dwelt in the plains surrounded by the Hercynian forest. (2) No considerations of haste should lead us to pass over this man Maroboduus without mention. A man of noble family, strong in body and courageous in mind, a barbarian by birth but not in intelligence, he achieved among his countrymen no mere chief's position gained as the result of internal disorders or chance or liable to change and dependent upon the caprice of his subjects, but, conceiving in his mind the idea of a definite empire and royal powers, he resolved to remove his own race far away from the Romans and to migrate to a place where, inasmuch as he had fled before the strength of more powerful arms, he might make his own all powerful. Accordingly, after occupying the region we have mentioned, he proceeded to reduce all the neighbouring races by war, or to bring them under his sovereignty by treaty.

[109] (1) The body of guards protecting the kingdom of Maroboduus, which by constant drill had been brought almost to the Roman standard of discipline, soon placed him in a position of power that was dreaded even by our empire. His policy toward Rome was to avoid provoking us by war, but at the same time to let us understand that, if he were provoked by us he had in reserve the power and the will to resist. (2) The envoys whom he sent to the Caesars sometimes commended him to them as a suppliant and sometimes spoke as though they represented an equal. Races and individuals who revolted from us found in him a refuge, and in all respects, with but little concealment, he played the part of a rival. His army, which he had brought up to the number of seventy thousand foot and four thousand horse, he was steadily preparing, by exercising it in constant wars against his neighbours, for some greater task than that which he had in hand. (3) He was also to be feared on this account, that, having Germany at the left and in front of his settlements, Pannonia on the right, and Noricum in the rear of them, he was dreaded by all as one who might at any moment descend upon all. (4) Nor did he permit Italy to be free from concern as regards his growing power, since the summits of the Alps

which mark her boundary were not more than two hundred miles distant from his boundary line. (5) Such was the man and such the region that Tiberius Caesar resolved to attack from opposite directions in the course of the coming year. Sentius Saturninus had instructions to lead his legions through the country of the Catti into Boiohaemum, for that is the name of the region occupied by Maroboduus, cutting a passage through the Hercynian forest which bounded the region, while from Carnuntum, the nearest point of Noricum in this direction, he himself undertook to lead against the Marcomanni the army which was serving in Illyricum.

[110] (1) Fortune sometimes breaks off completely, sometimes merely delays, the execution of men's plans. Caesar had already arranged his winter quarters on the Danube, and had brought up his army to within five days' march of the advanced posts of the enemy; (2) and the legions which he had ordered Saturninus to bring up, separated from the enemy by an almost equal distance, were on the point of effecting a junction with Caesar at a predetermined rendezvous within a few days, when all Pannonia, grown arrogant through the blessings of a long peace and now at the maturity of her power, suddenly took up arms, bringing Dalmatia and all the races of that region into her alliance. (3) Thereupon glory was sacrificed to necessity; and it did not seem to Tiberius a safe course to keep his army buried in the interior of the country and thus leave Italy unprotected from an enemy so near at hand. The full number of the races and tribes which had rebelled reached a total of more than eight hundred thousand. About two hundred thousand infantry trained to arms, and nine thousand cavalry were being assembled. (4) Of this immense number, which acted under the orders of energetic and capable generals, one portion had decided to make Italy its goal, which was connected with them by the line of Nauportum and Tergeste, a second had already poured into Macedonia, while a third had set itself the task of protecting their own territories. The chief authority rested with the two Batones and Pinnes as generals. (5) Now all the Pannonians possessed not only a knowledge of Roman discipline but also of the Roman tongue, many also had some measure of literary culture, and the exercise of the intellect was not uncommon among them. And so it came to pass, by Hercules, that no nation ever displayed such swiftness in following up with war its own plans for war, (6) and in putting its resolves into execution. Roman citizens were overpowered, traders were massacred, a considerable

detachment of veterans, stationed in the region which was most remote from the commander, was exterminated to a man, Macedonia was seized by armed forces, everywhere was wholesale devastation by fire and sword. Moreover, such a panic did this war inspire that even the courage of Caesar Augustus, rendered steady and firm by experience in so many wars, was shaken with fear.

[111] (1) Accordingly levies were held, from every quarter all the veterans were recalled to the standards, men and women were compelled, in proportion to their income, to furnish freedmen as soldiers. Men heard Augustus say in the senate, that, unless precautions were taken, the enemy might appear in sight of Rome within ten days. (2) The services of senators and knights were demanded for this war, and promised. All these our preparations would have been vain had we not had the man to take command. And so, as a final measure of protection, the state demanded from Augustus that Tiberius should conduct the war.

(3) In this war also my modest abilities had an opportunity for glorious service. I was now, at the end of my service in the cavalry, quaestor designate, and though not yet a senator I was placed upon a parity with senators and even tribunes elect, and led from the city to Tiberius a portion of the army which was entrusted to me by Augustus. (4) Then in my quaestorship, giving up my right to have a province allotted me, I was sent to Tiberius as legatus Augusti.

What armies of the enemy did we see drawn up for battle in that first year! What opportunities did we avail ourselves of through the foresight of the general to evade their united forces and rout them in separate divisions! With what moderation and kindness did we see all the business of warfare conducted, though under the authority of a military commander! With what judgement did he place our winter camps! How carefully was the enemy so blockaded by the outposts of our army that he could nowhere break through, and that, through lack of supplies and by disaffection within his own ranks, he might gradually be weakened in strength!

[112] (1) An exploit of Messalinus in the first summer of the war, fortunate in its issue as it was bold in undertaking, must here be recorded for posterity. (2) This man, who was even more noble in heart than in birth, and thoroughly worthy of having had Corvinus as his father, and of leaving his cognomen to

his brother Cotta, was in command in Illyricum, and, at the sudden outbreak of the rebellion, finding himself surrounded by the army of the enemy and supported by only the twentieth legion, and that at but half its normal strength, he routed and put to flight more than twenty thousand, and for this was honoured with the ornaments of a triumph.

(3) The barbarians were so little satisfied with their numbers and had so little confidence in their own strength that they had no faith in themselves where Caesar was. The part of their army which faced the commander himself, worn down according as it suited our pleasure or advantage, and reduced to the verge of destruction by famine, not daring to withstand him when he took the offensive, nor to meet our men when they gave them an opportunity for fighting and drew up their line of battle, occupied the Claudian mountain and defended itself behind fortifications. (4) But the division of their forces which had swarmed out to meet the army which the consulars Aulus Caecina and Silvanus Plautius were bringing up from the provinces across the sea, surrounded five of our legions, together with the troops of our allies and the cavalry of the king (for Rhoemetaces, king of Thrace, in conjunction with the aforesaid generals was bringing with him a large body of Thracians as reinforcements for the war), and inflicted a disaster that came near being fatal to all. (5) The horsemen of the king were routed, the cavalry of the allies put to flight, the cohorts turned their backs to the enemy, and the panic extended even to the standards of the legion. But in this crisis the valour of the Roman soldier claimed for itself a greater share of glory than it left to the generals, who departing far from the policy of their commander, had allowed themselves to come into contact with the enemy before they had learned through their scouts where the enemy was. (6) At this critical moment, when some tribunes of the soldiers had been slain by the enemy, the prefect of the camp and several prefects of cohorts had been cut off, a number of centurions had been wounded, and even some of the centurions of the first rank had fallen, the legions, shouting encouragement to each other, fell upon the enemy, and not content with sustaining their onslaught, broke through their line and wrested a victory from a desperate plight.

(7) About this time Agrippa, who had been adopted by his natural grandfather on the same day as Tiberius, and had already, two years before, begun to reveal his true character, alienated from himself the affection of his

father and grandfather, falling into reckless ways by a strange depravity of mind and disposition; and soon, as his vices increased daily, he met the end which his madness deserved.

[113] (1) Listen now, Marcus Vinicius, to the proof that Caesar was no less great in war as a general than you now see him in peace as an emperor. When the two armies were united, that is to say the troops which had served under Caesar and those which had come to reinforce him, and there were now gathered together in one camp ten legions, more than seventy cohorts, fourteen troops of cavalry and more than ten thousand veterans, and in addition a large number of volunteers and the numerous cavalry of the king — in a word a greater army than had ever been assembled in one place since the civil wars — all were finding satisfaction in this fact and reposed their greatest hope of victory in their numbers. (2) But the general, who was the best judge of the course he pursued, preferring efficiency to show, and, as we have so often seen him doing in all his wars, following the course which deserved approval rather than that which was currently approval, after keeping the army which had newly arrived for only a few days in order to allow it to recover from the march, decided to send it away, since he saw that it was too large to be managed and was not well adapted to effective control. (3) And so he sent it back whence it came, escorting it with his own army on^o a long exceedingly laborious march, whose difficulty can hardly be described. His purpose in this was, on the one hand, that no one might dare to attack his united forces, and, on the other, to prevent the united forces of the enemy from falling upon the departing division, through the apprehension of each nation for its own territory. Then returning himself to Siscia, at the beginning of a very hard winter, he placed his lieutenants, of whom I was one, in charge of the divisions of his winter quarters.

[114] (1) And now for a detail which in the telling may lack grandeur, but is most important by reason of the true and substantial personal qualities it reveals and also of its practical service — a thing most pleasant as an experience and remarkable for the kindness it displayed. Throughout the whole period of the German and Pannonian war there was not one of us, or of those either above or below our rank, who fell ill without having his health and welfare looked after by Caesar with as much solicitude indeed as though this were the chief occupation of his mind, preoccupied though he was by his

heavy responsibilities. (2) There was a horsed vehicle ready for those who needed it, his own litter was at the disposal of all, and I, among others, have enjoyed its use. Now his physicians, now his kitchen, and now his bathing equipment, brought for this one purpose for himself alone, ministered to the comfort of all who were sick. All they lacked was their home and domestic servants, but nothing else that friends at home could furnish or desire for them. (3) Let me also add the following trait, which, like the others I have described, will be immediately recognized as true by anyone who participated in that campaign. Caesar alone of commanders was in the habit of also travelling in the saddle, and, throughout the greater portion of the summer campaign, of sitting at the table when dining with invited guests. Of those who did not imitate his own stern discipline he took no notice, in so far as no harmful precedent was thereby created. He often admonished, sometimes gave verbal reproof, but rarely punishment, and pursued the moderate course of pretending in most cases not to see things, and of administering only occasionally a reprimand.

(4) The winter brought the reward of our efforts in the termination of the war, though it was not until the following summer that all Pannonia sought peace, the remnants of the war as a whole being confined to Dalmatia. In my complete work I hope to describe in detail how those fierce warriors, many thousand in number, who had but a short time before threatened Italy with slavery, now brought the arms they had used in rebellion and laid them down, at a river called the Bathinus, prostrating themselves one and all before the knees of the commander; and how of their two supreme commanders, Bato and Pinnes, the one was made a prisoner and the other gave himself up.

(5) In the autumn the victorious army was led back to winter quarters. Caesar gave the chief command of all the forces to Marcus Lepidus, a man who in name and in fortune approaches the Caesars, whom one admires and loves the more in proportion to his opportunities to know and understand him, and whom one regards as an ornament to the great names from whom he springs.

[115] (1) Caesar then devoted his attention and his arms to his second task, the war in Dalmatia. What assistance he had in this quarter from his aide and lieutenant Magius Celer Velleianus, my brother, is attested by the words of Tiberius himself and of his father, and signalized by the record of the high

decorations conferred upon him by Caesar on the occasion of his triumph. (2) In the beginning of summer Lepidus led his army out of winter quarters, in an effort to make his way to Tiberius the commander, through the midst of races that were as yet unaffected and untouched by the disasters of war and therefore still fierce and warlike; after a struggle in which he had to contend with the difficulties of the country as well as the attacks of the enemy, and after inflicting great loss on those who barred his way, by the devastation of fields, burning of houses, and slaying of the inhabitants, he succeeded in reaching Caesar, rejoicing in victory and laden with booty. (3) For these feats, for which, if they had been performed under his own auspices he would properly have received a triumph, he was granted the ornaments of a triumph, the wish of the senate endorsing the recommendation of the Caesars.

(4) This campaign brought the momentous war to a successful conclusion; for the Perustae and Desiades, Dalmatian tribes, who were almost unconquerable on account of the position of their strongholds in the mountains, their warlike temper, their wonderful knowledge of fighting, and, above all, the narrow passes in which they lived, were then at last pacified, not now under the mere generalship, but by the armed prowess of Caesar himself, and then only when they were almost entirely exterminated.

(5) Nothing in the course of this great war, nothing in the campaigns in Germany, came under my observation that was greater, or that aroused my admiration more, than these traits of its general; no chance of winning a victory ever seemed to him timely, which he would have to purchase by the sacrifice of his soldiers; the safest course was always regarded by him as the best; he consulted his conscience first and then his reputation, and, finally, the plans of the commander were never governed by the opinion of the army, but rather the army by the wisdom of its leader.

[116] (1) In the Dalmatian war Germanicus, who had been dispatched in advance of the commander to regions both wild and difficult, gave great proof of his valour. By his repeated services and careful vigilance (2) the governor of Dalmatia, Vibius Postumus^o the consular, also earned the ornaments of a triumph. A few years before this honour had been earned in Africa by Passienus and Cossus, both celebrated men, though not alike in merit. Cossus passed on to his son, a young man born to exhibit every variety of excellence, a cognomen that still testifies to his victory. (3) And Lucius Apronius, who

shared in the achievements of Postumus, earned by the distinguished valour which he displayed in this campaign also, the honours which he actually won shortly afterwards.

Would that it had not been demonstrated, by greater proofs, how mighty an influence fortune wields in all things; yet even here her power can be recognized by abundant examples. For instance, Aelius Lamia, a man of the older type, who always tempered his old-fashioned dignity by a spirit of kindliness, had performed splendid service in Germany and Illyricum, and was soon to do so in Africa, but failed to receive triumphal honours, not through any fault of his, but through lack of opportunity; ⁽⁴⁾ and Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus, the son of Publius Silius, a man who was not adequately praised even by the friend who knew him best, when he declared that there were no qualities which he did not possess in the highest degree, whether as an excellent citizen or as an honest commander, through his untimely death failed not only to reap the fruit of his close friendship with the emperor but also to realize that lofty conception of his powers which had been inspired by his father's eminence. ⁽⁵⁾ If anyone shall say that I have gone out of my way to mention these men, his criticism will meet no denial. In the sight of honest men fair-minded candour without misrepresentation is no crime.

[117] ⁽¹⁾ Scarcely had Caesar put the finishing touch upon the Pannonian and Dalmatian war, when, within five days of the completion of this task, dispatches from Germany brought the baleful news of the death of Varus, and of the slaughter of three legions, of as many divisions of cavalry, and of six cohorts — as though fortune were granting us this indulgence at least, that such a disaster should not be brought upon us when our commander was occupied by other wars. The cause of this defeat and the personality of the general require of me a brief digression.

⁽²⁾ Varus Quintilius, descended from a famous rather than a high-born family, was a man of mild character and of a quiet disposition, somewhat slow in mind as he was in body, and more accustomed to the leisure of the camp than to actual service in war. That he was no despiser of money is demonstrated by his governorship of Syria: he entered the rich province a poor man, but left it a rich man and the province poor. ⁽³⁾ When placed in charge of the army in Germany, he entertained the notion that the Germans

were a people who were men only in limbs and voice, and that they, who could not be subdued by the sword, could be soothed by the law. (4) With this purpose in mind he entered the heart of Germany as though he were going among a people enjoying the blessings of peace, and sitting on his tribunal he wasted the time of a summer campaign in holding court and observing the proper details of legal procedure.

[118] (1) But the Germans, who with their great ferocity combine great craft, to an extent scarcely credible to one who has had no experience with them, and are a race to lying born, by trumping up a series of fictitious lawsuits, now provoking one another to disputes, and now expressing their gratitude that Roman justice was settling these disputes, that their own barbarous nature was being softened down by this new and hitherto unknown method, and that quarrels which were usually settled by arms were now being ended by law, brought Quintilius to such a complete degree of negligence, that he came to look upon himself as a city praetor administering justice in the forum, and not a general in command of an army in the heart of Germany. (2) Thereupon appeared a young man of noble birth, brave in action and alert in mind, possessing an intelligence quite beyond the ordinary barbarian; he was, namely, Arminius, the son of Sigimer, a prince of that nation, and he showed in his countenance and in his eyes the fire of the mind within. He had been associated with us constantly on private campaigns, and had even attained the dignity of equestrian rank. This young man made use of the negligence of the general as an opportunity for treachery, sagaciously seeing that no one could be more quickly overpowered than the man who feared nothing, and that the most common beginning of disaster was a sense of security. (3) At first, then, he admitted but a few, later a large number, to a share in his design; he told them, and convinced them too, that the Romans could be crushed, added execution to resolve, and named a day for carrying out the plot. (4) This was disclosed to Varus through Segestes, a loyal man of that race and of illustrious name, who also demanded that the conspirators be put in chains. But fate now dominated the plans of Varus and had blindfolded the eyes of his mind. Indeed, it is usually the case that heaven perverts the judgement of the man whose fortune it means to reverse, and brings it to pass — and this is the wretched part of it — that that which happens by chance seems to be deserved, and accident passes over into culpability. And so Quintilius refused

to believe the story, and insisted upon judging the apparent friendship of the Germans toward him by the standard of his merit. And, after this first warning, there was no time left for a second.

[119] (1) The details of this terrible calamity, the heaviest that had befallen the Romans on foreign soil since the disaster of Crassus in Parthia, I shall endeavour to set forth, as others have done, in my larger work. Here I can merely lament the disaster as a whole. (2) An army unexcelled in bravery, the first of Roman armies in discipline, in energy, and in experience in the field, through the negligence of its general, the perfidy of the enemy, and the unkindness of fortune was surrounded, nor was as much opportunity as they had wished given to the soldiers either of fighting or of extricating themselves, except against heavy odds; nay, some were even heavily chastised for using the arms and showing the spirit of Romans. Hemmed in by forests and marshes and ambuscades, it was exterminated almost to a man by the very enemy whom it had always slaughtered like cattle, whose life or death had depended solely upon the wrath or the pity of the Romans. (3) The general had more courage to die than to fight, for, following the example of his father and grandfather, he ran himself through with his sword. (4) Of the two prefects of the camp, Lucius Eggius furnished a precedent as noble as that of Ceionius was base, who, after the greater part of the army had perished, proposed its surrender, preferring to die by torture at the hands of the enemy than in battle. Vala Numonius, lieutenant of Varus, who, in the rest of his life, had been an inoffensive and an honourable man, also set a fearful example in that he left the infantry unprotected by the cavalry and in flight tried to reach the Rhine with his squadrons of horse. But fortune avenged his act, for he did not survive those whom he had abandoned, but died in the act of deserting them. (5) The body of Varus, partially burned, was mangled by the enemy in their barbarity; his head was cut off and taken to Maroboduus and was sent by him to Caesar; but in spite of the disaster it was honoured by burial in the tomb of his family.

[120] (1) On hearing of this disaster, Caesar flew to his father's side. The constant protector of the Roman empire again took up his accustomed part. Dispatched to Germany, he reassured the provinces of Gaul, distributed his armies, strengthened the garrison towns, and then, measuring himself by the standard of his own greatness, and not by the presumption of an enemy who

threatened Italy with a war like that of the Cimbri and Teutones, he took the offensive and crossed the Rhine with his army. ⁽²⁾ He thus made aggressive war upon the enemy when his father and his country would have been content to let him hold them in check, he penetrated into the heart of the country, opened up military roads, devastated fields, burned houses, routed those who came against him, and, without loss to the troops with which he had crossed, he returned, covered with glory, to winter quarters.

⁽³⁾ Due tribute should be paid to Lucius Asprenas, who was serving as lieutenant under Varus his uncle, and who, backed by the brave and energetic support of the two legions under his command, saved his army from this great disaster, and by a quick descent to the quarters of the army in Lower Germany strengthened the allegiance of the races even on the hither side of the Rhine who were beginning to waver. There are those, however, who believed that, though he had saved the lives of the living, he had appropriated to his own use the property of the dead who were slain with Varus, and that inheritances of the slaughtered army were claimed by him at pleasure. ⁽⁴⁾ The valour of Lucius Caedicius, prefect of the camp, also deserves praise, and of those who, pent up with him at Aliso, were besieged by an immense force of Germans. For, overcoming all their difficulties which want rendered unendurable and the forces of the enemy almost insurmountable, following a design that was carefully considered, and using a vigilance that was ever on the alert, they watched their chance, and with the sword won their way back to their friends. ⁽⁵⁾ From all this it is evident that Varus, who was, it must be confessed, a man of character and of good intentions, lost his life and his magnificent army more through lack of judgement in the commander than of valour in his soldiers. ⁽⁶⁾ When the Germans were venting their rage upon their captives, an heroic act was performed by Caldus Caelius, a young man worthy in every way of his long line of ancestors, who, seizing a section of the chain with which he was bound, brought down with such force upon his own head as to cause his instant death, both his brains and his blood gushing from the wound.

[121] ⁽¹⁾ Tiberius showed the same valour, and was attended by the same fortune, when he entered Germany on his later campaigns as in his first. After he had broken the force of the enemy by his expeditions on sea and land, had completed his difficult task in Gaul, and had settled by restraint rather than by punishment the dissensions that had broken out among the Viennenses, at the

request of his father that he should have in all the provinces and armies a power equal to his own, the senate and Roman people so decreed. For indeed it was incongruous that the provinces which were being defended by him should not be under his jurisdiction, ⁽²⁾ and that he who was foremost in bearing aid should not be considered an equal in the honour to be won. On his return to the city he celebrated the triumph over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, long since due him, but postponed by reason of a succession of wars. Who can be surprised at its magnificence, since it was the triumph of Caesar. Yet who can fail to wonder at the kindness of fortune to him? ⁽³⁾ For the most eminent leaders of the enemy were not slain in battle, that report should tell thereof, but were taken captive, so that in his triumph he exhibited them in chains. It was my lot and that of my brother to participate in this triumph among the men of distinguished rank and those who were decorated with distinguished honours.

[122] (1) Among the other acts of Tiberius Caesar, wherein his remarkable moderation shines forth conspicuously, who does not wonder at this also, that, although he unquestionably earned seven triumphs, he was satisfied with three? For who can doubt that, when he had recovered Armenia, had placed over it a king upon whose head he had with his own hand set the mark of royalty, and had put in order the affairs of the east, he ought to have received an ovation; and that after his conquest of the Vindelici and the Raeti he should have entered the city as victor in a triumphal chariot? ⁽²⁾ Or that, after his adoption, when he had broken the power of the Germans in three successive campaigns, the same honour should have been bestowed upon him and should have been accepted by him? And that, after the disaster received under Varus, when this same Germany was crushed by a course of events which, sooner than was expected, came to a happy issue, the honour of a triumph should have been awarded to this consummate general? But, in the case of this man, one does not know which to admire the more, that in courting toils and danger he went beyond all bounds or that in accepting honours he kept within them.

[123] (1) We now come to the crisis which was awaited with the greatest foreboding. Augustus Caesar had dispatched his grandson Germanicus to Germany to put an end to such traces of the war as still remained, and was on the point of sending his son Tiberius to Illyricum to strengthen by peace the regions he had subjugated in war. With the double purpose of escorting him

on his way, and of being present at an athletic contest which the Neapolitans had established in his honour, he set out for Campania. Although he had already experienced symptoms of growing weakness and of a change in his health for the worse, his strong will resisted infirmity and he accompanied his son. Parting from him at Beneventum he went to Nola. As his health grew daily worse, and he knew full well for whom he must send if he wished to leave everything secure behind him, he sent in haste for his son to return. Tiberius hurried back and reached the side of the father of his country before he was even expected. (2) Then Augustus, asserting that his mind was now at ease, and, with the arms of his beloved Tiberius about him, commending to him the continuation of their joint work, expressed all his readiness to meet the end if the fates should call him. He revived a little at seeing Tiberius and at hearing the voice of one so dear to him, but, ere long, since no care could withstand the fates, in his seventy-sixth year, in the consulship of Pompeius and Apuleius he was resolved into the elements from which he sprang and yielded up to heaven his divine soul.

[124] (1) Of the misgivings of mankind at this time, the trepidation of the senate, the confusion of the people, the fears of the city, of the narrow margin between safety and ruin on which we then found ourselves, I have no time to tell as I hasten on my way, nor could he tell who had the time. Suffice it for me to voice the common utterance: "The world whose ruin we had feared we found not even disturbed, and such was the majesty of one man that there was no need of arms either to defend the good or to restrain the bad." (2) There was, however, in one respect what might be called a struggle in the state, as, namely, the senate and the Roman people wrestled with Caesar to induce him to succeed to the position of his father, while he on his side strove for permission to play the part of a citizen on a parity with the rest rather than that of an emperor over all. At last he was prevailed upon rather by reason than by the honour, since he saw that whatever he did not undertake to protect was likely to perish. He is the only man to whose lot it has fallen to refuse the principate for a longer time, almost, than others had fought to secure it.

(3) After heaven had claimed his father, and human honours had been paid to his body as divine honours were paid to his soul, the first of his tasks as emperor was the regulation of the comitia, instructions for which Augustus had left in his own handwriting. (4) On this occasion it was my lot and that of

my brother, as Caesar's candidates, to be named for the praetorship immediately after those of noble families and those who had held the priesthoods, and indeed to have had the distinction of being the last to be recommended by Augustus and the first to be named by Tiberius Caesar.

[125] (1) The state soon reaped the fruit of its wise course in desiring Tiberius, nor was it long before it was apparent what we should have had to endure had our request been refused, and what we had gained in having it granted. For the army serving in Germany, commanded by Germanicus in person, and the legions in Illyricum, seized at the same moment by a form of madness and a deep desire to throw everything into confusion, wanted a new leader, a new order of things, and a new republic. (2) Nay, they even dared to threaten to dictate terms to the senate and to the emperor. They tried to fix for themselves the amount of their pay and their period of service. They even resorted to arms; the sword was drawn; their conviction that they would not be punished came near to breaking out into the worst excesses of arms. All they needed was someone to lead them against the state; there was no lack of followers. (3) But all this disturbance was soon quelled and suppressed by the ripe experience of the veteran commander, who used coercion in many cases, made promises where he could so with dignity, and by the combination of severe punishment of the most guilty with milder chastisement of the others.

(4) In this crisis, while in many respects the conduct of Germanicus was not lacking in rigour, Drusus employed the severity of the Romans of old. Sent by his father into the very midst of the conflagration, when the flames of mutiny were already bursting forth, he preferred to hold to a course which involved danger to himself than one which might prove a ruinous precedent, and used the very swords of those by whom he had been besieged to coerce his besiegers. (5) In this task he had in Junius Bassus no ordinary helper, a man whom one does not know whether to consider more useful in the camp or better in the toga. A few years later, as proconsul in Africa, he earned the ornaments of a triumph, with the title of imperator.

The two provinces of Spain, however, and the army in them were held in peace and tranquillity, since Marcus Lepidus, of whose virtues and distinguished service in Illyricum I have already spoken, was there in command, and since he had in the highest degree the quality of instinctively knowing the best course and the firmness to hold to his views. On the coast of

Illyricum his vigilance and fidelity was emulated in detail by Dolabella, a man of noble-minded candour.

[126] (1) Who would undertake to tell in detail the accomplishments of the past sixteen years, since they are borne in upon the eyes and hearts of all? Caesar deified his father, not by exercise of his imperial authority, but by his attitude of reverence; he did not call him a god, but made him one. (2) Credit has been restored in the forum, strife has been banished from the forum, canvassing for office from the Campus Martius, discord from the senate-house; justice, equity, and industry, long buried in oblivion, have been restored to the state; the magistrates have regained their authority, the senate its majesty, the courts their dignity; rioting in the theatre has been suppressed; all citizens have either been impressed with the wish to do right, or have been forced to do so by necessity. (3) Right is now honoured, evil is punished; the humble man respects the great but does not fear him, the great has precedence over the lowly but does not despise him. When was the price of grain more reasonable, or when were the blessings of peace greater? The *pax augusta*, which has spread to the regions of the east and of the west and to the bounds of the north and of the south, preserves every corner of the world safe from the fear of brigandage. (4) The munificence of the emperor claims for its province the losses inflicted by fortune not merely on private citizens, but on whole cities. The cities of Asia have been restored, the provinces have been freed from the oppression of their magistrates. Honour ever awaits the worthy; for the wicked punishment is slow but sure; fair play has now precedence over influence, and merit over ambition, for the best of emperors teaches his citizens to do right by doing it, and though he is greatest among us in authority, he is still greater in the example which he sets.

[127] (1) It is but rarely that men of eminence have failed to employ great men to aid them in directing their fortune, as the two Scipios employed the two Laelii, whom in all things they treated as equal to themselves, or as the deified Augustus employed Marcus Agrippa, and after him Statilius Taurus. In the case of these men their lack of lineage was no obstacle to their elevation to successive consulships, triumphs, and numerous priesthoods. For great tasks require great helpers, (2) and it is important to the state that those who are necessary to her service should be given prominence in rank, and that their usefulness should be fortified by official authority. (3) With these examples

before him, Tiberius Caesar has had and still has as his incomparable associate in all the burdens of the principate Sejanus Aelius, son of a father who was among the foremost in the equestrian order, but connected, on his mother's side, with old and illustrious families and families distinguished by public honours, while he had brothers, cousins, and an uncle who had reached the consulship. He himself combined with loyalty to his master great capacity for labour, and possessed a well-knit body to match the energy of his mind; (4) stern but yet gay, cheerful but yet strict; busy, yet always seeming to be at leisure. He is one who claims no honours for himself and so acquires all honours, whose estimate of himself is always below the estimate of others, calm in expression and in his life, though his mind is sleeplessly alert.

[128] (1) In the value set upon the character of this man, the judgement of the whole state has long vied with that of the emperor. Nor is it a new fashion on the part of the senate and the Roman people to regard as most noble that which is best. For the Romans who, three centuries ago, in the days before the Punic war, raised Tiberius Coruncanius, a "new man," to the first position in the state, not only bestowing on him all the other honours but the office of pontifex maximus as well; and those who elevated to consulships, censorships, and triumphs Spurius Carvilius, though born of equestrian rank, (2) and soon afterwards Marcus Cato, though a new man and not a native of the city but from Tusculum, and Mummius, who triumphed over Achaia; (3) and those who regarded Gaius Marius, though of obscure origin, as unquestionably the first man of the Roman name until his sixth consulship; and those who yielded such honours to Marcus Tullius that on his recommendation he could secure positions of importance almost for anyone he chose; and those who refused no honour to Asinius Pollio, honours which could only be earned, even by the noblest, by sweat and toil — all these assuredly felt that the highest honours should be paid to the man of merit. (4) It was but the natural following of precedent that impelled Caesar to put Sejanus to the test, and that Sejanus was induced to assist the emperor with his burdens, and that brought the senate and the Roman people to the point where they were ready to summon for the preservation of its security the man whom they regarded as the most useful instrument.

[129] (1) But having set before the reader a sort of general outline of the principate of Caesar, let us now review some of the details. With what

sagacity did he draw to Rome Rhascupolis, the slayer of his brother's son Cotys who shared the throne with him; in this transaction Tiberius employed the rare services of Flaccus Pomponius, a consular, and a man born to carry out tasks requiring accurate discrimination, and who by his straightforward character also deserved glory though he never sought it. ⁽²⁾ With what dignity did he listen to the trial of Drusus Libo, not in the capacity of emperor, but as a senator and a judge! How swiftly did he suppress that ingrate in his plot for revolution! How well had Germanicus been trained under his instructions, having so thoroughly learned the rudiments of military science under him that he was later to welcome him home as conqueror of Germany! What honours did he heap upon him, young though he was, making the magnificence of his triumph to correspond to the greatness of his deeds! ⁽³⁾ How often did he honour the people with largesses, and how gladly, whenever he could do so with the senate's sanction, did he raise to the required rating the fortunes of senators, but in such a way as not to encourage extravagant living, nor yet to allow senators to lose their rank because of honest poverty! With what honours did he send his beloved Germanicus to the provinces across the seas! With what effective diplomacy, carried out through the help and agency of his son Drusus, did he force Maroboduus, who clung to the limits of the territories he had seized as a serpent to his hole, to come forth like the serpent under the spell of his salutary charms — a simile which I use with no disrespect to Caesar. With what honour does he treat him while at the same time he holds him securely! With what wonderful swiftness and courage did he repress the formidable war, stirred up at the instigation of Sacrovir and Florus Julius, so that the Roman people learned that he had conquered before they knew he was engaged in war, and the news of victory preceded the news of the danger! ⁽⁴⁾ The African war also, which caused great consternation and grew more formidable every day, was soon extinguished under his auspices and in accordance with his plans.

[130] ⁽¹⁾ What public buildings did he construct in his own name or that of his family! With what pious munificence, exceeding human belief, does he now rear the temple to his father! With what a magnificent control of personal feeling did he restore the works of Gnaeus Pompey when destroyed by fire! For a feeling of kinship leads him to protect every famous monument. ⁽²⁾ With what generosity at the time of the recent fire on the Caelian Hill, as well as on

other occasions, did he use his private fortune to make good the losses of people of all ranks in life! And the recruiting of the army, a thing ordinarily looked upon with great and constant dread, with what calm on the part of the people does he provide for it, and without any of the usual panic attending conscription! (3) If either nature permits, or man's weak faculties allow, I may dare to make this plaint to the gods: How has this man deserved, in the first place, to have Drusus Libo enter upon a traitorous conspiracy against him, or later to earn the hostility of Silius and Piso, though in the one case he created his rank, and in the other he increased it? Passing on to greater trials — although he regarded these as great enough — how did he deserve the loss of his sons in their prime or of his grandson, the son of Drusus? Thus far I have told of sorrows only, (4) we must now come to the shame. With what pain, Marcus Vinicius, have the past three years rent his heart! With what fire, the more cruel because pent up, was his soul consulted because of the grief, the indignation, and the shame he was forced to suffer through his daughter-in-law and his grandson! His sorrow at this time was crowned by the loss of his mother, (5) a woman pre-eminent among women, and who in all things resembled the gods more than mankind, whose power no one felt except for the alleviation of trouble or the promotion of rank.

[131] (1) Let me end my volume with a prayer. O Jupiter Capitolinus, and Mars Gradivus, author and stay of the Roman name, Vesta, guardian of the eternal fire, and all other divinities who have exalted this great empire of Rome to the highest point yet reached on earth! On you I call, and to you I pray in the name of this people: guard, preserve, protect the present state of things, the peace which we enjoy, the present emperor, and when he has filled his post of duty — (2) and may it be the longest granted to mortals — grant him successors until the latest time, but successors whose shoulders may be as capable of sustaining bravely the empire of the world as we have found his to be: foster the pious plans of all good citizens and crush the impious designs of the wicked.

The Latin Text



Capua, a city and commune in the province of Caserta, in the region of Campania, southern Italy — other sources suggest that Paterculus was a native of Capua.



The amphitheatre at Capua

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In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Latin text of Velleius Paterculus' *Compendium of Roman History*. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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LIBER I.

I

[Epeus] tempestate distractus a duce suo Nestore Metapontum condidit. Teucer, non receptus a patre Telamone ob segnitiam non vindicatae fratris iniuriae, Cyprum adpulsus cognominem patriae suae Salamina constituit: Pyrrhus, Achillis filius, Epirum occupavit, Phidippus Ephyram in Thesprotia. At rex regum Agamemnon, tempestate in Cretam insulam reiectus, tres ibi urbes statuit, duas a patriae nomine, unam a victoriae memoria, Mycenae, Tegeam, Pergamum. Idem mox scelere patruelis fratris Aegisthi, hereditarium exercentis in eum odium, et facinore uxoris oppressus occiditur. Regni potitur Aegisthus per annos septem. Hunc Orestes matremque, socia consiliorum omnium sorore Electra, virilis animi femina, obtruncat. Factum eius a diis comprobatum spatio vitae et felicitate imperii apparuit; quippe vixit annis nonaginta, regnavit septuaginta. Quin se etiam a Pyrrho Achilles filio virtute vindicavit; nam quod pactae eius Menelai atque Helenae filiae Hermiones nuptias occupaverat, Delphis eum interfecit. Per haec tempora Lydus et Tyrrhenus fratres cum regnarent in Lydia, sterilitate frugum compulsi sortiti sunt, uter cum parte multitudinis patria decederet. Sors Tyrrhenum contigit. Pervectus in Italiam et loco et incolis et mari nobile ac perpetuum a se nomen dedit. Post Orestis interitum filii eius Penthilus et Tisamenus regnare triennio.

II

Tum fere anno octogesimo post Troiam captam, centesimo et vicesimo quam Hercules ad deos excesserat, Pelopis progenies, quae omni hoc tempore pulsus Heraclidis Peloponnesi imperium obtinuerat, ab Herculis progenie expellitur. Duces recuperandi imperii fuere Temenus, Cresphontes, Aristodemus, quorum abavus fuerat. Eodem fere tempore Athenae sub regibus esse desierunt, quarum ultimus rex fuit Codrus, Melanthi filius, vir non praetereundus. Quippe cum Lacedaemonii gravi bello Atticos premerent respondissetque Pythius, quorum dux ab hoste esset occisus, eos futuros superiores, deposita veste regia pastorem cultum induit, immixtusque castris hostium, de industria rixam ciens, imprudenter interemptus est. Codrum cum morte

aeterna gloria, Atheniensis secuta victoria est. Quis eum non miretur, qui iis artibus mortem quaesierit, quibus ab ignavis vita quaeri solet? Huius filius Medon primus archon Athenis fuit. Ab hoc posten apud Atticos dicti Medontidae, sed hic insequentesque archontes usque ad Charopem, dum viverent, eum honorem usurpabant, Peloponnesii digredientes finibus Atticis Megara, mediam Corintho Athenisque urbem, condidere. Ea tempestate et Tyria classis, plurimum pollens mari, in ultimo Hispaniae tractu, in extremo nostri orbis termino, in insula circumfusa Oceano, perexiguo a continenti divisa freto, Gadis condidit. Ab iisdem post paucos annos in Africa Utica condita est. Exclusi ab Heraclidis Orestis liberi iactatique cum variis casibus tum saevitia maris quinto decimo anno sedem cepere circa Lesbum insulam.

III

Tum Graecia maximis concussa est motibus. Achaei ex Laconica pulsi eas occupavere sedes, quas nunc obtinent; Pelasgi Athenas commigravere, acerque belli iuvenis nomine Thessalus, natione Thesprotius, cum magna civium manu eam regionem armis occupavit, quae nunc ab eius nomine Thessalia appellatur, ante Myrmidonum vocitata civitas. Quo nomine mirari convenit eos, qui Iliaca componentes tempora de ea regione ut Thessalia commemorant. Quod cum alii faciant, tragici frequentissime faciunt, quibus minime id concedendum est; nihil enim ex persona poetae, sed omnia sub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, disserunt. Quod si quis a Thessalo Hercules filio eos appellatos Thessalos dicet, reddenda erit ei ratio, cur numquam ante hunc insequentem Thessalum ea gens id nominis usurpaverit. Paulo ante Aletes, sextus ab Hercule, Hippotis filius, Corinthum, quae antea fuerat Ephyre, claustra Peloponnesi continentem, in Isthmo condidit. Neque est quod miremur ab Homero nominari Corinthum; nam ex persona poetae et hanc urbem et quasdam Ionum colonias iis nominibus appellat, quibus vocabantur aetate eius, multo post Ilium captum conditae.

IV

Athenienses in Euboea Chalcida et Eretriam colonis occupavere, Lacedaemonii in Asia Magnesiam. Nec multo post Chalcidenses orti, ut praediximus, Atticis Hippocle et Megasthene ducibus Cumas in Italia condiderunt. Huius classis corsum esse directum alii columbae antecedeatis

volatu ferunt, alii nocturno aeris sono, qualis Cerealibus sacris cieri solet. Pars horum civium magno post intervallo Neapolim condidit. Utriusque urbis eximia semper in Romanos fides facit eas nobilitate atque amoenitate sua dignissimas. Sed illis diligentior ritus patrii mansit custodia, Cumanos Osca mutavit vicinia. Vires autem veteres earum urbium hodieque magnitudo ostentat moenium. Subsequenti tempore magna vis Graecae iuventutis, abundantia virium, sedes quaeritans in Asiam se effudit. Nam et Iones, duce Ione, profecti Athenis nobilissimam partem regionis maritimae occupavere, quae hodieque appellatur Ionia, urbesque constituere Ephesum, Miletum, Colophona, Prienen, Lebedum, , Clazomenas, Phocaeam, multasque in Aegaeo atque Icario occupavere Myuntem, Erythram insulas, Samum, Chium, Andrum, Tenum, Parum, Delum aliasque ignobiles. 4 Et mox Aeolii eadem profecti Graecia longissimisque acti erroribus non minus inlustres obtinuerunt locos clarasque urbes condiderunt, Smymam, Cymen, Larissam, Myrinam Mytilenenque et alias urbes, quae sunt in Lesbo insula.

V

Clarissimum deinde Homeri inluxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum, qui magnitudine operis et fulgore carminum solus appellari poeta meruit; in quo hoc masimum est, quod neque ante illum, quem ipse imitaretur, neque post illum, qui eum imitari posset, inventus est. Neque quemquam alium, cuius operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectissimum praeter Homerum et Archilochum reperiemus. Hic longius a temporibus belli, quod composuit, Troici, quam quidam rentur, abfuit; nam ferme ante annos nongentos quinquaginta floruit, intra mille natus est. Quo nomine non est mirandum, quod saepe illud usurpat “OIOI NYN BROTOI EISIN”; hoc enim ut hominum, ita saeculorum notatur differentia. Quem si quis caecum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est.

VI

Insequenti tempore imperium Asiaticum ab Assyriis, qui id obtinuerant annis mille septuaginta, translatum est ad Medos, abhinc annos ferme octingentos septuaginta. Quippe Sardanapalum eorum regem mollitiis fluentem et nimium felicem malo suo, tertio et tricensimo loco ab Nino et Semiramide, qui Babylona condiderant, natum, ita ut semper successor regni paterni foret

filius, Arbaces Medus imperio vitaeque privavit. Ea aetate clarissimus Grai nominis Lycurgus Lacedaemonius, vir generis regii, fuit severissimarum iustissimarumque legum auctor et disciplinae convenientissimae viris, cuius quam diu Sparta diligens fuit, excelsissime floruit. Hoc tractu temporum ante annos quinque et sexaginta quam urbs Romana conderetur, ab Elissa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant, Carthago conditur. Circa quod tempus Caranus, vir generis regii, undecimus ab Hercule, profectus Argis regnum Macedoniae occupavit; a quo Magnus Alexander, cum fuerit septimus decimus, iure materni generis Achille auctore, paterni Hercule gloriatus est. Aemilius Sura de annis populi Romani: “Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persae, deinde Macedones; exinde duobus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui a Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam devictis summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. Inter hoc tempus et initium regis Nini Assyriorum, qui princeps rerum potitus est, intersunt anni MDCCCXCV.”

VII

Huius temporis aequalis Hesiodus fuit, circa centum et viginti annos distinctus ab Homeri aetate, vir perelegantis ingenii et mollissima dulcedine carminum memorabilis, otii quietisque cupidissimus, ut tempore tanto viro, ita operis auctoritate proximus. Qui vitavit, ne in id quod Homerus incideret, patriamque et parentes testatus est, sed patriam, quia multatus ab ea erat, contumeliosissime. Dum in externis moror, incidi in rem domesticam maximique erroris et multum discrepantem auctorum opinionibus: nam quidam huius temporis tractu aiunt a Tuscis Capuam Nolamque conditam ante annos fere octingentos et triginta. Quibus equidem adsenserim: sed M. Cato quantum differt! Qui dicat Capuam ab eisdem Tuscis conditam ac subinde Nolam; stetisse autem Capuam, antequam a Romanis caperetur, annis circiter ducentis et sexaginta. Quod si ita est, cum sint a Capua capta anni ducenti et quadraginta, ut condita est, anni sunt fere quingenti. Ego, pace diligentiae Catonis dixerim, vix crediderim tam mature tantam urbem crevisse, floruisse, concidisse, resurrexisse.

VIII

Clarissimum deinde omnium ludicrum certamen et ad excitandam corporis

animique virtutem efficacissimum Olympiorum initium habuit, auctorem Iphitum Elium. Is eos ludos mercatumque instituit ante annos, quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires, DCCCXXIII. Hoc sacrum eodem loco instituisse fertur abhinc annos ferme mille ducentos quinquaginta Atreus, cum Pelopi patri funebres ludos faceret, quo quidem in ludicro omnisque generis certaminum Hercules victor extitit. Tum Athenis perpetui archontes esse desierunt, cum fuisset ultimus Alcmaeon, coeperuntque in denos annos creari. Quae consuetudo in annos septuaginta mansit ac deinde annuis commissa est magistratibus res publica. Ex iis, qui denis annis prae fuerunt, primus fuit Charops, ultimus Eryxias, ex annuis primus Creon. Sexta olympiade post duo et viginti annos quam prima constituta fuerat, Romulus, Martis filius, ultus iniurias avi, Romam urbem Parilibus in Palatio condidit. A quo tempore ad vos consules anni sunt septingenti octoginta unus; id actum post Troiam captam annis quadringentis triginta septem. Id gessit Romulus adiutus legionibus Latini avi sui: libenter enim iis, qui ita prodiderunt, accesserim, cum aliter firmare urbem novam tam vicinis Veientibus aliisque Etruscis ac Sabinis cum imbelli et pastoralis manu vix potuerit, quamquam eam asylo facto inter duos lucos auxit. Hic centum homines electos appellatosque patres instar habuit consilii publici. Hanc originem nomen patriciorum habet. Raptus virginum Sabinarum [...]

magna pars libri perdita est

IX

[...] quam timuerat hostis, expetit. Nam biennio adeo varia fortuna cum consulibus conflixerat, ut plerumque superior fuerit magnamque partem Graeciae in societatem suam perduceret. Quin Rhodii quoque, fidelissimi antea Romanis, tum dubia fide speculati fortunam proniores regis partibus fuisse visi sunt; et rex Eumenes in eo bello medius fuit animo, neque fratris initiis neque suae respondit consuetudini. Tum senatus populusque Romanus L. Aemilium Paulum, qui et praetor et consul triumphaverat, virum in tantum laudandum, in quantum intellegi virtus potest, consulem creavit, filium eius Pauli, qui ad Cannas quam tergiversanter perniciosam rei publicae pugnam inierat, tam fortiter in ea mortem obierat. Is Persam ingenti proelio apud urbem nomine Pydnam in Macedonia fusum fugatumque castris exiit deletisque eius copiis destitutum omni spe coegit e Macedonia profugere,

quam ille linquens in insulam Samothraciam perfugit templique se religioni supplicem credidit. Ad eum Cn. Octavius praetor, qui classi praeerat, pervenit et ratione magis quam vi persuasit, ut se Romanorum fidei committeret. Ita Paulus maximum nobilissimumque regem in triumpho duxit. Quo anno et Octavii praetoris navalis et Anicii regem Illyriorum Gentium ante currum agentis triumphi fuere celebres. Quam sit adsidua eminentis fortunae comes invidia altissimisque adhaereat, etiam hoc colligi potest, quod cum Anicii Octaviique triumphum nemo interpellaret, fuere, qui Pauli impedire obniterentur. Cuius tantum priores excessit vel magnitudine regis Persei vel specie simulacrorum vel modo pecuniae, ut bis miliens centiens sestertium aerario intulerit is, et omnium ante actorum comparisonem amplitudine vicerit.

X

Per idem tempus, cum Antiochus Epiphanes, qui Athenis Olympieum inchoavit, tum rex Syriae, Ptolemaeum puerum Alexandriae obsideret, missus est ad eum legatus M. Popilius Laenas, qui iuberet incepto desistere. Mandataque exposuit et regem deliberaturum se dicentem, circumcripsit virgula iussitque prius responsum reddere, quam egrederetur finito harenae circulo. Sic cogitationem regiam Romana disiecit constantia oboeditumque imperio. Lucio autem Paulo Macedonicae victoriae compoti quattuor filii fuere; ex iis duos natu maiores, unum P. Scipioni P. Africani filio, nihil ex paterna maiestate praeter speciem nominis vigoremque eloquentiae retinenti, in adoptionem dederat, alterum Fabio Maximo. Duos minores natu praetextatos. quo tempore victoriam adeptus est, habuit. Is cum in contione extra urbem more maiorum ante triumphi diem ordinem actorum suorum commemoraret, deos immortalis precatus est, ut, si quis eorum invideret operibus ac fortunae suae, in ipsum potius saevirent quam in rem publicam. Quae vox veluti oraculo emissa magna parte eum spoliavit sanguinis sui; nam alterum ex suis, quos in familia retinuerat, liberis ante paucos triumphi, alterum post pauciores amisit dies. Aspera circa haec tempora censura Fulvii Flacci et Postumii Albini fuit: quippe Fulvii censoris frater, et quidem consors, Cn. Fulvius senatu motus est ab iis censoribus.

XI

Post victum captumque Persen, qui quadriennio post in libera custodia Albae decessit, Pseudophilippus a mendacio simulatae originis appellatus, qui se Philippum regiaeque stirpis ferebat, cum esset ultimae, armis occupata Macedonia, adsumptis regni insignibus brevi temeritatis poenas dedit; quippe Q. Metellus praetor, cui ex virtute Macedonici nomen inditum erat, praeclara victoria ipsum gentemque superavit, et immani etiam Achaeos rebellare incipientis fudit acie. Hic est Metellus Macedonicus, qui porticus, quae fuerunt circumdatae duabus aedibus sine inscriptione positae, quae nunc Octaviae porticibus ambiuntur, fecerat, quique hanc turmam statuarum equestrium, quae frontem aedium spectant, hodieque maximum ornamentum eius loci, ex Macedonia detulit. Cuius turmae hanc causam referunt, Magnum Alexandrum impetrasse a Lysippo, singulari talium auctore operum, ut eorum equitum, qui ex ipsius turma apud Granicum flumen ceciderant, expressa similitudine figurarum faceret statuas et ipsius quoque iis interponeret. 5 Metellus idem primus omnium Romae aedem ex marmore in iis ipsis monumentis molitus huius vel magnificentiae vel luxuriae princeps fuit. Vix ullius gentis aetatis ordinis hominem inveneris, cuius felicitatem fortunae Metelli compares. 6 Nam praeter excellentis triumphos honoresque amplissimos et principale in re publica fastigium extantumque vitae spatium et acris innocentisque pro re publica cum inimicis contentiones quattuor filios sustulit, omnis adultae aetatis vidit, omnis reliquit superstites et honoratissimos. Mortui eius lectum pro rostris sustulerunt quattuor filii, unus consularis et censorius, alter consularis, tertius consul, quartus candidatus consulatus, quem honorem adeptus est. Hoc est nimirum magis feliciter de vita migrare quam mori.

XII

Universa deinde instincta in bellum Achaia, cuius pars magna, ut praediximus, eiusdem Metelli Macedonici virtute armisque fracta erat, maxime Corinthiis in arma cum gravibus etiam in Romanos contumeliis instigantibus, destinatus ei bello gerendo consul L. Mummius. Et sub idem tempus, magis quia volebant Romani, quicquid de Carthaginiensibus diceretur credere quam quia credenda adferebantur, statuit senatus Carthaginem excindere. Ita eodem tempore P. Scipio Aemilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus omnibus belli ac togae dotibus

ingeniique ac studiorum eminentissimus saeculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit ac sensit, quem Paulo genitum, adoptatum a Scipione Africani filio diximus, aedilitatem petens consul creatus est. Is bellum Carthagini iam ante biennium a prioribus consulibus inlatum maiore vi intulit (cum ante in Hispania murali corona, in Africa obsidionali donatus esset, in Hispania vero etiam ex provocatione, ipse modicus virium, inmanis magnitudinis hostem interemisset) eamque urbem magis invidia imperii quam ullius eius temporis noxae invisam Romano nomini funditu sustulit fecit suae virtutis monumentum, quod fuerat avi eius clementiae. Carthago diruta est, cum stetisset anni sexcentis septuaginta duobus (DCLXXII), abhinc annos centum septuaginta tris (CLXXIII) Cn. Cornelio Lentulo L. Mummio consulibus. Hunc finem habuit Romani imperii Carthago aemula, cum qua bellare maiores nostri coepere Claudio et Fulvio consulibus ante annos ducentos nonaginta duos (CCXCII), quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires. Ita per annos centum et viginti aut bellum inter eos populos aut belli praeparatio aut infida pax fuit. Neque se Roma iam terrarum orbi superato securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam stantis manere Carthagini; adeo odium certamibus ortum ultra metum durat et ne in victis quidem deponitur neque ante invisum esse desinit quam esse desiit.

XIII

Ante triennium quam Carthago deleretur, M. Cato, perpetuus diruendae eius auctor, L. Censorino M. Manilio consulibus mortem obiit. Eodem anno, quo Carthago concidit, L. Mummius Corinthum post annos nongentos quinquaginta duos (CMLII), quam ab Alete Hippos filio erat condita, funditus eruit. Uterque imperator devictae a se gentis nomine honoratus, alter Africanus, alter appellatus est Achaicus; nec quisquam ex novis hominibus prior Mummio cognomen virtute partum vindicavit. Diversi imperatoribus mores, diversa fuere studia: quippe Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnisque doctrinae et auctor et admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panaetiumque, praecellentes ingenio viros, domi militiaeque secum habuerit. Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit semperque aut belli aut pacis serviit artibus: semper inter arma ac studia versatus aut corpus periculis aut animum disciplinis exercuit. Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corinthe cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus

tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, iuberet praedici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. 5 Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro re publica fuerit manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum quam in tantum ea intellegi, et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior.

XIV

Cum facilius cuiusque rei in unam contracta species quam divisa temporibus oculis animisque inhaereat, statui priorem huius voluminis posterioremque partem non inutiles rerum notitias in artum contracta distinguere atque huic loco inserere, quae quoque tempore post Romam a Gallis captam deducta sit colonia iussu senatus; nam militarium et causae et auctores ex ipsarum praefulgent nomine. Huic rei per idem tempus civitates propagatas auctumque Romanum nomen communione iuris haud intempestive subtexturi videmur. Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperant, Sutrium colonia deducta est et post annum Setia novemque interiectis annis Nepe, deinde interpositis duobus et triginta Aricini in civitatem recepti. Abhinc annos autem trecentos et sexaginta, Sp. Postumio et Vetuno Calvino consulibus, Campanis data est civitas partique Samnitium sine suffragio, et eodem anno Cales deducta colonia. Interiecto deinde triennio Fundani et Formiani in civitatem recepti, eo ipso anno, quo Alexandria condita est. Insequentibusque consulibus a Sp. Postumio et Philone Publilio censoribus Acerranis data civitas. Et post triennium Tarracina deducta colonia interpositoque quadriennio Luceria ac deinde interiecto triennio Suessa Aurunca et Saticula, Interamnaque post biennium. Decem deinde hoc munere anni vacaverunt: tunc Sora atque Alba deductae coloniae et Carseoli post biennium. At Q. Fabio quintum et Decio Mure quartum consulibus, quo anno Pyrrhus regnare coepit, Sinuessam Minturnasque missi coloni, post quadriennium Venusiam, interiectoque biennio M. Curio et Rufino Cornelio consulibus Sabinis sine suffragio data civitas: id actum ante annos ferme trecentos et viginti. At Cosam et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorsone et Claudio Canina consulibus, interiectoque quinquennio Sempronio Sopho et Appio Caeci filio consulibus Ariminum et Beneventum coloni missi et suffragii ferendi ius Sabinis datum. At initio primi belli Punici Firmum et Castrum colonis occupata, et post annum Aesernia postque septem et decem annos Aesulum et Alsium

Fregenaeque post biennium proximoque anno Torquato Sempronioque consulibus Brundisium et post triennium Spoletium, quo anno Floralium ludorum factum est initium. Postque biennium deducta Valentia et sub adventum in Italiam Hannibalis Cremona atque Placentia.

XV

Deinde neque dum Hannibal in Italia moratur, neque proximis post excessum eius annis vacavit Romanis colonias condere, cum esset in bello conquirendus potius miles quam dimittendus et post bellum vires refovendae magis quam spargendae. Cn. autem Manlio Voisone et Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus Bononia deducta colonia abhinc annos ferme ducentos septendecim, et post quadriennium Pisaurum ac Potentia interiectoque triennio Aquileia et Gravisca et post quadriennium Luca. Eodem temporum tractu, quamquam apud quosdam ambigitur, Puteolos Salernumque et Buxentum missi coloni, Auximum autem in Picenum abhinc annos ferme centum octoginta quinque, ante triennium quam Cassius censor a Lupercali in Palatium versus theatrum facere instituit, cui in eo moliendo eximia civitatis severitas et consul Scipio restitere, quod ego inter clarissima publicae voluntatis argumenta numeraverim. Cassio autem Longino et Sextio Calvino, qui Sallues apud aquas, quae ab eo Sextiae appellantur, devicit, consulibus Fabrateria deducta est abhinc annos ferme centum quinquaginta tris. Et post annum Scolacium Minervium, Tarentum Neptunia, Carthagoque in Africa, prima, ut praediximus, extra Italiam colonia condita est. De Dertona ambigitur, Narbo autem Martius in Gallia, Porcio Marcioque consulibus, abhinc annos circiter centum quadraginta sex colonia deducta est. Post duodeviginti annos in Bagiennis Eporedia, Mario sextum Valerioque Flacco consulibus. Neque facile memoriae mandaverim quae, nisi militans, post hoc tempus deducta sit.

XVI

Cum haec particula operis velut formam propositi excesserit, quamquam intellego mihi in hac tam praecipiti festinatione, quae me rotae pronive gurgitis ac verticis modo nusquam patitur consistere, paene magis necessaria praetereunda quam supervacua amplectenda, nequeo tamen temperare mihi, quin rem saepe agitatam animo meo neque ad liquidum ratione perductam signem stilo. Quis enim abunde mirari potest, quod eminentissima cuiusque

professionis ingenia in eandem formam et in idem artati temporis congruere spatium, et quemadmodum clausa capso aliove saepto diversi generis animalia nihilo minus separata alienis in unum quodque corpus congregantur, ita cuiusque clari operis capacia ingenia in similitudine et temporum et profectuum semet ipsa ab aliis separaverunt? Una neque multorum annorum spatio divisa aetas per divini spiritus viros, Aeschylum, Sophoclen Euripiden, inlustravit tragoediam; una priscam illam et veterem sub Cratino Aristophaneque et Eupolide comoediam; ac novam comicam Menander aequalesque eius aetatis magis quam operis, Philemo ac Diphilus, et invenere intra paucissimos annos neque imitandam reliquere. Philosophorum quoque ingenia Socratico ore defluentia omnium, quos paucio ante enumeravimus, quanto post Platonis Aristotelisque mortem florere spatio? Quid ante Isocratem, quid post eius auditores eorumque discipulos clarum in oratoribus fuit? Adeo quidem artatum angustiiis temporum, ut nemo memoria dignus alter ab altero videri nequiverint.

XVII

Neque hoc in Graecis quam in Romanis evenit magis. Nam nisi aspera ac rudia repetas et inventi laudanda nomine, in Accio circaque eum Romana tragoedia est; dulcesque Latini leporis facetiae per Caecilium Terentiumque et Afranium subpari aetate nituerunt. Historicos etiam, ut Livium quoque priorum aetati adstruas, praeter Catonem et quosdam veteres et obscuros minus octoginta annis circumdatum aevum tulit, ut nec poetarum in antiquius citeriusve processit ubertas. At oratio ac vis forensis perfectumque prosae eloquentiae decus, ut idem separetur Cato (pace P. Crassi Scipionisque et Laelii et Gracchorum et Fannii et Servii Galbae dixerim) ita universa sub principe operis sui erupit Tullio, ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis nisi aut ab illo visum aut qui illum viderit. Hoc idem evenisse grammaticis, plastis, pictoribus, scalptoribus quisquis temporum institerit notis, reperiet, eminentiam cuiusque operis artissimis temporum claustris circumdatam. Huius ergo recedentis in suum quodque saeculum ingeniorum similitudinis congregantisque se et in studium par et in emolumentum causas cum saepe requiro, numquam reperio, quas esse veras confidam, sed fortasse veri similes, inter quas has maxime. Alit aemulatio ingenia, et nunc invidia, nunc admiratio imitationem accendit, naturaque quod summo studio petitum

est, ascendit in summum difficilisque in perfecto mora est, naturaliterque quod procedere non potest, recedit. Et ut primo ad consequendos quos priores ducimus accendimur, ita ubi aut praeteriri aut aequari eos posse desperavimus, studium cum spe senescit, et quod adsequi non potest, sequi desinit et velut occupatam relinquens materiam quaerit novam, praeteritoque eo, in quo eminere non possumus, aliquid, in quo nitamur, conquirimus, sequiturque ut frequens ac mobilis transitus maximum perfecti operis impedimentum sit.

XVIII

Transit admiratio ab conditione temporum et ad urbium. Una urbs Attica pluribus omnis eloquentiae quam universa Graecia operibus usque floruit adeo ut corpora gentis illius separata sint in alias civitates, ingenia vero solis Atheniensium muris clausa existimes. Neque hoc ego magis miratus sim quam neminem Argivum Thebanum Lacedaemonium oratorem aut dum vixit auctoritate aut post mortem memoria dignum existimatum. Quae urbes eximiae alias talium studiorum fuere steriles, nisi Thebas unum os Pindari inluminaret: nam Alcmana Lacones falso sibi vindicant.

LIBER II.

I

Potentiae Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriae posterior aperuit: quippe remoto Carthaginis metu sublataque imperii aemula non gradu, sed praecipiti cursu a virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum; vetus disciplina deserta, nova inducta; in somnum a vigiliis, ab armis ad voluptates, a negotiis in otium conversa civitas. Tum Scipio Nasica in Capitolio porticus, tum, quas praediximus, Metellus, tum in circo Cn. Octavius multo amoenissimam moliti sunt, publicamque magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est. Triste deinde et contumeliosum bellum in Hispania duce latronum Viriatho secutum est: quod ita varia fortuna gestum est, ut saepius Romanorum gereretur adversa. Sed interempto Viriatho fraude magis quam virtute Servilii Caepionis Numantinum gravius exarsit. Haec urbs numquam plura quam decem milia propriae iuventutis armavit, sed vel ferocia ingenii vel inscitia nostrorum ducum vel fortunae indulgentia cum alios duces, tum Pompeium magni nominis virum ad turpissima deduxit foedera (hic primus e Pompeis consul fuit), nec minus turpia ac detestabilia Mancinum Hostilium consulem. Sed Pompeium gratia impunitum habuit, Mancinum verecundia poenam non recusando perduxit huc, ut per fetialis nudus ac post tergum religatis manibus dederetur hostibus. Quem illi recipere se negaverunt, sicut quondam Caudini fecerant, dicentes publicam violationem fidei non debere unius lui sanguine.

II

Inmanem deditio Mancini civitatis movit dissensionem. Quippe Tiberius Gracchus, Tiberii Gracchi clarissimi atque eminentissimi viri filius, P. Africani ex filia nepos, quo quaestore et auctore id foedus ictum erat, nunc graviter ferens aliquid a se pactum infirmari, nunc similis vel iudicii vel poenae metuens discrimen, tribunus pl. creatus, vir alioqui vita innocentissimus, ingenio florentissimus, proposito sanctissimus, tantis denique adornatus virtutibus, quantas perfecta et natura et industria mortalis condicio recipit, P. Mucio Scaevola L. Calpurnio consulibus abhinc annos centum sexaginta duos descivit a bonis, pollicitusque toti Italiae civitatem, simul etiam promulgatis agrariis legibus, omnibus statim concupiscentibus,

summa imis miscuit et in praeruptum atque anceps periculum adduxit rem publicam. Octavioque collegae pro bono publico stanti imperium abrogavit, triumviros agris dividendis colonisque deducendis creavit se socerumque suum, consularem Appium, et Gaium fratrem admodum iuvenem.

III

Tum P. Scipio Nasica, eius qui optimus vir a senatu iudicatus erat, nepos, eius qui censor porticus in Capitolio fecerat, filius, pronepos autem Cn. Scipionis, celeberrimi viri P. Africani patruī, privatusque et togatus, cum esset consobrinus Ti. Gracchi, patriam cognitioni praeferens et quidquid publice salutare non esset, privatim alienum existimans (ob eas virtutes primus omnium absens pontifex maximus factus est), circumdata laevo brachio togae lacinia ex superiore parte Capitolii summis gradibus insistens hortatus est, qui salvam vellent rem publicam, se sequerentur. Tum optimates, senatus atque equestris ordinis pars melior et maior, et intacta perniciosi consiliis plebs intruere in Gracchum stantem in area cum catervis suis et concientem paene totius Italiae frequentiam. Is fugiens decurrensque clivo Capitolino, fragmine subsellii ictus vitam, quam gloriosissime degere potuerat, immatura morte finivit. Hoc initium in urbe Roma civilis sanguinis gladiatorumque impunitatis fuit. Inde ius vi obrutum potentiorque habitus prior, discordiaeque civium antea condicionibus sanari solitae ferro diiudicatae bellaeque non causis inita, sed prout eorum merces fuit. Quod haut mirum est: non enim ibi consistunt exempla, unde coeperunt, sed quamlibet in tenuem recepta tramitem latissime evagandi sibi viam faciunt, et ubi semel recto deerratum est, in praeceps pervenitur, nec quisquam sibi putat turpe, quod alii fuit fructuosum.

IV

Interim, dum haec in Italia geruntur, Aristonicus, qui mortuo rege Attalo, a quo Asia populo Romano hereditate relicta erat, sicut relicta postea est a Nicomede Bithynia, mentitus regiae stirpis originem armis eam occupaverat, is victus a M. Perpenna ductusque in triumpho, set a M'. Aquilio, capite poenas dedit, cum initio belli Crassum Mucianum, virum iuris scientissimum, decedentem ex Asia proconsulem interemisset. At P. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, qui Carthaginem deleverat, post tot acceptas circa Numantiam clades creatus iterum consul missusque in Hispaniam fortunae virtutisque

expertae in Africa respondit in Hispania, et intra annum ac tris menses, quam eo venerat, circumdatam operibus Numantiam excisamque aequavit solo. Nec quisquam ullius gentis hominum ante eum clariore urbium excidio nomen suum perpetuae commendavit memoriae: quippe excisa Carthagine ac Numantia ab alterius nos metu, alterius vindicavit contumeliis. Hic, eum interrogante tribuno Carbone, quid de Ti. Gracchi caede sentiret, respondit, si is occupandae rei publicae animum habuisset, iure caesum. Et cum omnis contio adclamasset, hostium, inquit, armatorum totiens clamore non territus, qui possum vestro moveri, quorum noverca est Italia? Reversus in urbem intra breve tempus, M.Aquilio C.Sempronio consulibus abhinc annos centum et sexaginta, post duos consulatus duosque triumphos et bis excisos terrores rei publicae mane in lectulo repertus est mortuus, ita ut quaedam elisarum faucium in cervice reperirentur notae. De tanti viri morte nulla habita est quaestio eiusque corpus velato capite elatum est, cuius opera super totum terrarum orbem Roma extulerat caput. Seu fatalem, ut plures, seu conflata insidiis, ut aliqui prodidere memoriae, mortem obiit, vitam certe dignissimam egit, quae nullius ad id temporis praeterquam avito fulgore vinceretur. Decessit anno ferme sexto et quinquagesimo: de quo si quis ambiget, recurrit ad priorem consulatum eius, in quem creatus est anno octavo et tricesimo: ita dubitare desinet.

V

Ante tempus excisae Numantiae praeclara in Hispania militia D.Bruti fuit, qui penetratis omnibus Hispaniae gentibus ingenti vi hominum urbiumque potitus numero, aditis quae vix audita erant, Gallaeci cognomen meruit. Et ante eum paucis annis tam severum illius Q.Macedonici in his gentibus imperium fuit, ut, cum urbem Contrebiā nomine in Hispania oppugnaret, pulsas praecipiti loco quinque cohortes legionarias eodem protinus subire iuberet, facientibusque omnibus in procinctu testamenta, velut ad certam mortem eundum foret, non deterritus proposito, quem moriturum miserat militem victorem recepit: tantum effecit mixtus timori pudor spesque desperatione quaesita. Hic virtute ac severitate facti, at Fabius Aemilianus Pauli exemplo disciplina in Hispania fuit clarissimus.

VI

Decem deinde interpositis annis, qui Ti.Gracchum, idem Gaium fratrem eius occupavit furor, tam virtutibus eius omnibus quam huic errori similem, ingenio etiam eloquentiaque longe praestantiorem. Qui cum summa quiete animi civitatis princeps esse posset, vel vindicandae fraternae mortis gratia vel praemuniendae regalis potentiae eiusdem exempli tribunatum ingressus, longe maiora et aciora petens dabat civitatem omnibus Italicis, extendebat eam paene usque Alpis, dividebat agros, vetabat quemquam civem plus quingentis iugeribus habere, quod aliquando lege Licinia cautum erat, nova constituebat portoria, novis coloniis replebat provincias, iudicia a senatu transferebat ad equites, frumentum plebi dari instituerat; nihil immotum, nihil tranquillum, nihil quietum, nihil denique in eodem statu relinquebat; quin alterum etiam continuavit tribunatum. Hunc L.Opimius consul, qui praetor Fregellas exciderat, persecutus armis unaque Fulvium Flaccum, consularem ac triumphalem virum, aequae prava cupientem, quem C.Gracchus in locum Tiberii fratris triumvirum nominaverat, eumque socium regalis adsumpserat potentiae, morte adfecit. Id unum nefarie ab Opimio proditum, quod capitis non dicam Gracchi, sed civis Romani pretium se daturum idque auro repensurum proposuit. Flaccus in Aventino armatos ac pugnam ciens cum filio maiore iugulatus est; Gracchus profugiens, cum iam comprehenderetur ab iis, quos Opimius miserat, cervicem Euporo servo praeiunxit, qui non segnius se ipse interemit, quam domino succurrerat. Quo die singularis Pomponii equitis Romani in Gracchum fides fuit, qui more Coclitis sustentatis in ponte hostibus eius, gladio se transfixit. Ut Ti. Gracchi antea corpus, ita Gai mira crudelitate victorum in Tiberim deiectum est.

VII

Hunc Ti.Gracchi liberi, P.Scipionis Africani nepotes, viva adhuc matre Cornelia, Africani filia, viri optimis ingeniis male usi, vitae mortisque habuere exitum: qui si civilem dignitatis concupissent modum, quidquid tumultuando adipisci gestierunt, quietis obtulisset res publica. Huic atrocitati adiectum scelus unicum. Quippe iuvenis specie excellens necdum duodevicesimum transgressus annum immunisque delictorum paternorum, Fulvii Flacci filius, quem pater legatum de condicionibus miserat, ab Opimio interemptus est. Quem cum haruspex Tuscus amicus flentem in vincula duci vidisset, quin tu hoc potius, inquit, facis? Protinusque inliso capite in postem lapideum ianuae

carceris effusoque cerebro expiravit. Crudelesque mox quaestiones in amicos clientesque Gracchorum habitae sunt. Sed Opimium, virum alioqui sanctum et gravem, damnatum postea iudicio publico memoria istius saevitiae nulla civilis prosecuta est misericordia. Eadem Rupilius Popiliusque, qui consules asperrime in Tiberii Gracchi amicos saevierant, postea iudiciorum publicorum merito oppressit invidia. Rei tantae parum ad notitiam pertinens interponetur. Hic est Opimius, a quo consule celeberrimum Opimiani vini nomen; quod iam nullum esse spatio annorum colligi potest, cum ab eo sint ad te, M. Vinici, consulem anni centum et quinquaginta. Factum Opimii, quod inimicitarum quaesita erat ultio, minor secuta auctoritas, et visa ultio privato odio magis quam publicae vindictae data. In legibus Gracchi inter perniciosissima numerarim, quod extra Italiam colonias posuit. Id maiores, cum viderent tanto potentiorum Tyro Carthaginem, Massiliam Phocaea, Syracusas Corintho, Cyzicum ac Byzantium Mileto, genitali solo, diligenter vitaverant et civis Romanos ad censendum ex provinciis in Italiam revocaverant. Prima autem extra Italiam colonia Carthago condita est. Subinde Porcio Marcioque consulibus deducta colonia Narbo Martius.

VIII

Mandetur deinde memoriae severitas iudiciorum. Quippe C. Cato consularis, M. Catonis nepos, Africani sororis filius, repetundarum ex Macedonia damnatus est, cum lis eius HS. quattuor milibus aestimaretur: adeo illi viri magis voluntatem peccandi intuebantur quam modum, factaque ad consilium dirigebant et quid, non in quantum admissum foret, aestimabant. Circa eadem tempora M. C. Metelli fratres uno die triumphaverunt. Non minus clarum exemplum et adhuc unicum Fulvii Flacci, eius qui Capuam ceperat, filiorum, sed alterius in adoptionem dati, in collegio consulatus fuit; adoptivus in Acidini Manlii familiam datus. Nam censura Metellorum patrum, non germanorum fratrum fuit, quod solis contigerat Scipionibus. Tum Cimbri et Teutoni transcendere Rhenum, multis mox nostris suisque cladibus nobiles. Per eadem tempora clarus eius Minucii, qui porticus, quae hodieque celebres sunt, molitus est, ex Scordiscis triumphus fuit.

IX

Eodem tractu temporum nituerunt oratores Scipio Aemilianus Laeliusque,

Ser.Galba, duo Gracchi, C.Fannius, Carbo Papirius; nec praetereundus Metellus Numidicus et Scaurus, et ante omnes L. Crassus et M. Antonius: quorum aetati ingeniisque successere C. Caesar Strabo, P. Sulpicius; nam Q. Mucius iuris scientia quam proprie eloquentiae nomine celebrior fuit. Clara etiam per idem aevi spatium fuere ingenia in togatis Afranii, in tragoediis Pacuvii atque Accii, usque in Graecorum ingeniorum comparationem evecti, magnumque inter hos ipsos facientis operi suo locum, adeo quidem, ut in illis limae, in hoc paene plus videatur fuisse sanguinis, celebre et Lucilii nomen fuit, qui sub P. Africano Numantino bello eques militaverat. Quo quidem tempore iuvenes adhuc Iugurtha ac Marius sub eodem Africano militantes in iisdem castris didicere, quae postea in contrariis facerent. Historiarum auctor iam tum Sisenna erat iuvenis, sed opus belli civilis Sullanique post aliquot annos ab eo seniore editum est. Vetustior Sisenna fuit Caelius, aequalis Sisennae Rutilius Claudiusque Quadrigarius et Valerius Antias. Sane non ignoremus eadem aetate fuisse Pomponium sensibus celebrem, verbis rudem et novitate inventi a se operis commendabilem.

X

Prosequamur nota severitatem censorum Cassii Longini Caepionisque, qui abhinc annos centum quinquaginta tris Lepidum Aemilium augurem, quod sex milibus HS. aedes conduxisset, adesse iusserunt. At nunc si quis tanti habitet, vix ut senator agnoscitur: adeo natura a rectis in prava, a pravis in vitia, a vitiis in praecipitia pervenitur. Eodem tractu temporum et Domitii ex Arvernīs et Fabii ex Allobrogibus victoria fuit nobilis; Fabio Pauli nepoti ex victoria cognomen Allobrogico inditum. Notetur Domitiae familiae peculiaris quaedam et ut clarissima, ita artata numero felicitas. Septem ante hunc nobilissimae simplicitatis iuvenem, Cn. Domitium, fuere, singuli omnes parentibus geniti, sed omnes ad consulatum sacerdotiaque, ad triumphī autem paene omnes pervenerunt insignia.

XI

Bellum deinde Iugurthinum gestum est per Q.Metellum nulli secundum saeculi sui. Huius legatus fuit C.Marius, quem praediximus, natus agresti loco, hirtus atque horridus vitaque sanctus, quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus, immodicus gloriae, insatiabilis, impotens semperque

inquietus. Hic per publicanos aliosque in Africa negotiantis criminatus Metelli lentitudinem, trahentis iam in tertium annum bellum, et naturalem nobilitatis superbiam morandique in imperiis cupiditatem effecit, ut, cum commeatu petito Romam venisset, consul crearetur bellique paene patrati a Metello, qui bis Iugurtham acie fuderat, summa committeretur sibi. Metelli tamen et triumphus fuit clarissimus et meritum ex virtute ei cognomen Numidici inditum. Ut paulo ante Domitiae familiae, ita Caeciliae notanda claritudo est. Quippe intra duodecim ferme annos huius temporis consules fuere Metelli aut censores aut triumpharunt amplius duodecies, ut appareat, quemadmodum urbium imperiorumque, ita gentium nunc florere fortunam, nunc senescere, nunc interire.

XII

At C. Marius L.Sullam iam tunc ut praecaventibus fati copulatum sibi quaestorem habuit et per eum missum ad regem Bocchum Iugurtha rege abhinc annos ferme centum triginta quattuor potitus est; designatusque iterum consul in urbem reversus secundi consulatus initio Kal. Ianuariis eum in triumpho duxit. Effusa, ut praediximus, immanis vis Germanarum gentium, quibus nomen Cimbris ac Teutonis erat, cum Caepionem Manliumque consules et ante Carbonem Silanumque fudissent fugassentque in Galliis et exuissent exercitu, Scaurumque Aurelium consularem et alios celeberrimi nominis viros trucidassent, populus Romanus non alium repellendis tantis hostibus magis idoneum imperatorem quam Marium est ratus. Tum multiplicati consulatus eius. Tertius in apparatu belli consumptus; quo anno Cn.Domitius tribunus plebis legem tulit, ut sacerdotes, quos antea conlegae sufficebant, populus crearet. Quarto trans Alpibus circa Aquas Sextias cum Teutonis confligit, amplius centum quinquaginta milia hostium priore ac postero die ab eo trucidata gensque excisa Teutonum. Quinto citra Alpibus in campis, quibus nomen erat Raudiis, ipse consul et proconsul Q.Lutatius Catulus fortunatissimo decertavere proelio; caesa aut capta amplius centum milia hominum. Hac victoria videtur meruisse Marius, ne eius nati rem publicam paeniteret, ac mala bonis repensasse. Sextus consulatus veluti praemium ei meritum datus. Non tamen huius consulatus fraudetur gloria, quo Servilii Glauciae Saturninique Apulei furorem continuatis honoribus rem publicam lacerantium et gladiis quoque et caede comitia discutientium, consul

armis compescuit hominesque exitiabiles in Hostilia curia morte multavit.

XIII

Deinde interiectis paucis annis tribunatum iniit M.Livius Drusus, vir nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, sanctissimus, meliore in omnia ingenio animoque quam fortuna usus. Qui cum senatui priscum restituere cuperet decus et iudicia ab equitibus ad eum transferre ordinem (quippe eam potestatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus cum in multos clarissimos atque innocentissimos viros saevissent, tum P.Rutilium, virum non saeculi sui, sed omnis aevi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum maximo cum gemitu civitatis damnaverant), in iis ipsis, quae pro senatu moliebatur, senatum habuit adversarium non intelligentem, si qua de plebis commodis ab eo agerentur, veluti inescandae inliciendaequae multitudinis causa fieri, ut minoribus perceptis maiora permetteret. Denique ea fortuna Drusi fuit, ut malefacta collegarum quam quaevis optime ab ipso cogitata senatus probaret magis, et honorem, qui ab eo deferebatur, sperneret, iniurias, quae ab illis intendebantur, aequo animo reciperet, et huius summae gloriae invideret, illorum modicam ferret.

XIV

Tum conversus Drusi animus, quando bene incepta male cedebant, ad dandam civitatem Italiae. Quod cum moliens revertisset e foro, immensa illa et incondita, quae eum semper comitabatur, cinctus multitudine in area domus suae cultello percussus, qui adfixus lateri eius relictus est, intra paucas horas decessit. Sed cum ultimum redderet spiritum, intuens circumstantium maerentiumque frequentiam, effudit vocem convenientissimam conscientiae suae: ecquandone, inquit, propinqui amicique, similem mei civem habebit res publica? Hunc finem clarissimus iuvenis vitae habuit: cuius morum minime omittatur argumentum. Cum aedificaret domum in Palatio in eo loco, ubi est quae quondam Ciceronis, mox Censorini fuit, nunc Statilii Sisennae est, promitteretque ei architectus, ita se eam aedificaturum, ut liber a conspectu immunisque ab omnibus arbitris esset neque quisquam in eam despicere posset, tu vero, inquit, si quid in te artis est, ita compone domum meam, ut, quidquid agam, ab omnibus perspici possit.

Mors Drusi iam pridem tumescens bellum excitavit Italicum; quippe L.Caesare et P.Rutilio consulibus abhinc annos centum viginti, universa Italia, cum id malum ab Asculanis ortum esset (quippe Servilium praetorem Fonteiumque legatum occiderant) ac deinde a Marsis exceptum in omnis penetrasset regiones, arma adversus Romanos cepit. Quorum ut fortuna atrox, ita causa fuit iustissima: petebant enim eam civitatem, cuius imperium armis tuebantur: per omnis annos atque omnia bella duplici numero se militum equitumque fungi neque in eius civitatis ius recipi, quae per eos in id ipsum pervenisset fastigium, per quod homines eiusdem et gentis et sanguinis ut externos alienosque fastidire posset. Id bellum amplius trecenta milia iuventutis Italicae abstulit. Clarissimi autem imperatores fuerunt Romani eo bello Cn.Pompeius, Cn.Pompei Magni pater, C.Marius, de quo praediximus, L.Sulla anno ante praetura functus, Q.Metellus, Numidici filius, qui meritum cognomen Pii consecutus erat: quippe expulsum civitate a L.Saturnino tribuno plebis, quod solus in leges eius iurare noluerat, pietate sua, auctoritate senatus, consensu rei publicae restituit patrem. Nec triumphis honoribusque quam aut causa exilii aut exilio aut reditu clarior fuit Numidicus.

XVI

Italicorum autem fuerunt celeberrimi duces Silo Popaedi, Herius Asinius, Insteius Cato, C.Pontidius, Telesinus Pontius, Marius Egnatius, Papius Mutilus. Neque ego verecundia domestici sanguinis gloriae quidquam, dum verum refero, subtraham: quippe multum Minatii Magii, atavi mei, Aeculanensis, tribuendum est memoriae, qui nepos Decii Magii, Campanorum principis, celeberrimi et fidelissimi viri, tantam hoc bello Romanis fidem praestitit, ut cum legione, quam ipse in Hirpinis conscripserat, Herculaneum simul cum T. Didio caperet, Pompeios cum L. Sulla oppugnaret Compsamque occuparet: cuius de virtutibus cum alii, tum maxime dilucide Q.Hortensius in annalibus suis rettulit. Cuius illi pietati plenam populus Romanus gratiam rettulit ipsum viritum civitate donando, duos filios eius creando praetores, cum seni adhuc crearentur. Tam varia atque atrox fortuna Italici belli fuit, ut per biennium continuum duo Romani consules, Rutilius ac deinde Cato Porcius, ab hostibus occiderentur, exercitus populi Romani multis in locis funderentur,

utque ad saga iretur diuque in eo habitu maneretur. Caput imperii sui Corfinium legerant atque appellarant Italicam. Paulatim deinde recipiendo in civitatem, qui arma aut non ceperant aut deposuerant maturius, vires refectae sunt, Pompeio Sullaque et Mario fluentem procumbentemque rem populi Romani restituentibus.

XVII

Finito ex maxima parte, nisi quae Nolani belli manebant reliquiae, Italico bello, quo quidem Romani victis adflctisque ipsi exarmati quam integri universis civitatem dare maluerunt, consulatum inierunt Q.Pompeius et L.Cornelius Sulla, vir qui neque ad finem victoriae satis laudari neque post victoriam abunde vituperari potest. Hic natus familia nobili, sextus a Cornelio Rufino, qui bello Pyrrhi inter celeberrimos fuerat duces, cum familiae eius claritudo intermissa esset, diu ita se gessit, ut nullam petendi consulatum cogitationem habere videretur: deinde post praeturam inlustratus bello Italico et ante in Gallia legatione sub Mario, qua eminentissimos duces hostium fuderat, ex successu animum sumpsit petensque consulatum paene omnium civium suffragiis factus est; sed eum honorem undequinquagesimo aetatis suae anno adsecutus est.

XVIII

Per ea tempora Mithridates, Ponticus rex, vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura, bello acerrimus, virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus, consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Hannibal, occupata Asia necatisque in ea omnibus civibus Romanis, quos quidem eadem die atque hora redditis civitatibus litteris ingenti cum pollicitatione praemiorum interimi iusserat, quo tempore neque fortitudine adversus Mithridatem neque fide in Romanos quisquam Rhodiis par fuit (horum fidem Mytilenaeorum perfidia inluminavit, qui M.Aquilium aliosque Mithridati vinctos tradiderunt, quibus libertas in unius Theophanis gratiam postea a Pompeio restituta est), cum terribilis Italiae quoque videretur imminere, sorte obvenit Sullae Asia provincia. Is egressus urbe cum circa Nola moraretur (quippe ea urbs pertinacissime arma retinebat exercituque Romano obsidebatur, velut paeniteret eius fidei, quam omnium sanctissimam bello praestiterat Punico), P.Sulpicius tribunus plebis, disertus, acer, opibus gratia amicitii vigore

ingenii atque animi celeberrimus, cum antea rectissima voluntate apud populum maxumam quaesisset dignitatem, quasi pigeret eum virtutum suarum et bene consulta ei male cederent, subito pravus et praeceps se C.Mario post septuagesimum annum omnia imperia et omnis provincias concupiscenti addixit legemque ad populum tulit, qua Sullae imperium abrogaretur, C.Mario bellum decerneretur Mithridaticum, aliasque leges perniciosas et exitiabiles neque tolerandas liberae civitati tulit. Quin etiam Q. Pompei consulis filium eundemque Sullae generum per emissarios factionis suae interfecit.

XIX

Tum Sulla contracto exercitu ad urbem rediit eamque armis occupavit, duodecim auctores novarum pessimarumque rerum, inter quos Marium cum filio et P.Sulpicio, urbe exturbavit ac lege lata exules fecit. Sulpicium etiam adsecuti equites in Laurentinis paludibus iugulavere, caputque eius erectum et ostentatum pro rostris velut omen imminentis proscriptionis fuit. Marius post sextum consulatum annumque septuagesimum nudus ac limo obrutus, oculis tantummodo ac naribus eminentibus, extractus arundineto circa paludem Maricae, in quam se fugiens consecantis Sullae equites abdiderat, iniecto in collum loro in carcerem Minturnensium iussu duumviri perductus est. Ad quem interficiendum missus cum gladio servus publicus natione Germanus, qui forte ab imperatore eo bello Cimbrico captus erat, ut agnovit Marium, magno eiulatu expromens indignationem casus tanti viri abiecto gladio profugit e carcere. Tum cives, ab hoste misereri paulo ante principis viri docti, instructum eum viatico conlataque veste in navem imposuerunt. At ille adsecutus circa insulam Aenariam filium cursum in Africam direxit inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit, cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solacio.

XX

Hoc primum anno sanguine consulis Romani militis imbutae manus sunt; quippe Q.Pompeius, collega Sullae, ab exercitu Cn.Pompei proconsulis seditione, sed quam dux creaverat, interfectus est. Non erat Mario Sulpicioque Cinna temperator. Itaque cum ita civitas Italiae data esset, ut in octo tribus contribuerentur novi cives, ne potentia eorum et multitudo veterum civium dignitatem frangeret plusque possent recepti in beneficium quam auctores

beneficii, Cinna in omnibus tribubus eos se distributurum pollicitus est: quo nomine ingentem totius Italiae frequentiam in urbem acciverat. E qua pulsus collegae optimatiumque viribus cum in Campaniam tenderet, ex auctoritate senatus consulatus ei abrogatus est suffectusque in eius locum L.Cornelius Merula flamen dialis. Haec iniuria homine quam exemplo dignior fuit. Tum Cinna corruptis primo centurionibus ac tribunis, mox etiam spe largitionis militibus, ab eo exercitu, qui circa Nolam erat, receptus est. Is cum universus in verba eius iurasset, retinens insignia consulatus patriae bellum intulit, fretus ingenti numero novorum civium, e quorum delectu trecentas amplius cohortes conscripserat ac triginta legionum instar impleverat. Opus erat partibus auctoritate, cuius augendae gratia C.Marium cum filio de exilio revocavit quique cum iis pulsi erant.

XXI

Dum bellum autem infert patriae Cinna, Cn.Pompeius, Magni pater, cuius praeclara opera bello Marsico praecipue circa Picenum agrum, ut praescripsimus, usa erat res publica quique Asculum ceperat, circa quam urbem, cum in multis aliis regionibus exercitus dispersi forent, quinque et septuaginta milia civium Romanorum, amplius sexaginta Italicorum una die conflixerant, frustratus spe continuandi consulatus ita se dubium mediumque partibus praestitit, ut omnia ex proprio usu ageret temporibusque insidiari videretur, et huc atque illuc, unde spes maior adfulsisset potentiae, sese exercitumque deflecteret. Sed ad ultimum magno atrocique proelio cum Cinna conflixit: cuius commissi patratique sub ipsis moenibus focusque urbis Romanae pugnantibus spectantibusque quam fuerit eventus exitiabilis, vix verbis exprimi potest. Post hoc cum utrumque exercitum velut parum bello exhaustum laceraret pestilentia, Cn.Pompeius decessit. Cuius interitus voluptas amissorum aut gladio aut morbo civium paene damno repensata est, populusque Romanus quam vivo iracundiam debuerat, in corpus mortui contulit. Seu duae seu tres Pompeiorum fuere familiae, primus eius nominis ante annos fere centum sexaginta septem Q.Pompeius cum Cn.Servilio consul fuit. Cinna et Marius haud incruentis utrimque certaminibus editis urbem occupaverunt, sed prior ingressus Cinna de recipiendo Mario legem tulit.

XXII

Mox C.Marius pestifero civibus suis reditu intravit moenia. Nihil illa victoria fuisset crudelius, nisi mox Sullana esset secuta; neque licentia gladiatorum in mediocris saevitum, sed excelsissimi quoque atque eminentissimi civitatis viri variis suppliciorum generibus adfecti. In iis consul Octavius, vir lenissimi animi, iussu Cinnae interfectus est. Merula autem, qui se sub adventum Cinnae consulatu abdicaverat, incisis venis superfusoque altaribus sanguine, quos saepe pro salute rei publicae flamen dialis precatus erat deos, eos in execrationem Cinnae partiumque eius tum precatus optime de re publica meritum spiritum reddidit. M.Antonius, princeps civitatis atque eloquentiae, gladiis militum, quos ipsos facundia sua moratus erat, iussu Marii Cinnaeque confossus est. Q.Catulus, et aliarum virtutum et belli Cimbrici gloria, quae illi cum Mario communis fuerat, celeberrimus, cum ad mortem conquireretur, conclusit se loco nuper calce harenaque perpolito inlatoque igni, qui vim odoris excitaret, simul exitiali hausto spiritu, simul incluso suo mortem magis voto quam arbitrio inimicorum obiit. Omnia erant praecipitia in re publica, nec tamen adhuc quisquam inveniebatur, qui bona civis Romani aut donare auderet aut petere sustineret. Postea id quoque accessit, ut saevitiae causam avaritia praeberet et modus culpae ex pecuniae modo constitueretur et qui fuisset locuples, fieret is nocens, suique quisque periculi merces foret, nec quidquam videretur turpe, quod esset quaestuosum.

XXIII

Secundum deinde consulatum Cinna et septimum Marius in priorum dedecus iniit, cuius initio morbo oppressus decessit, vir in bello hostibus, in otio civibus infestissimus quietisque impatientissimus. In huius locum suffectus Valerius Flaccus, turpissimae legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi iusserat, cuius facti merita eum poena intra biennium consecuta est. Dominante in Italia Cinna maior pars nobilitatis ad Sullam in Achaïam ac deinde post in Asiam perfugit. Sulla interim cum Mithridatis praefectis circa Athenas Boeotiamque et Macedoniam ita dimicavit, ut et Athenas reciperet et plurimo circa multiplicis Piraei portus munitiones labore expleto amplius ducenta milia hostium interficeret nec minus multa caperet. Si quis hoc rebellandi tempus, quo Athenae oppugnatae a Sulla sunt, imputat Atheniensibus, nimirum veri vetustatisque ignarus est: adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit, ut semper et in omni re, quidquid sincera

fide gereretur, id Romani Attica fieri praedicarent. Ceterum tum oppressi Mithridatis armis homines miserrimae condicionis cum ab inimicis tenerentur, oppugnabantur ab amicis et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitati servientes intra muros habebant. Transgressus deinde in Asiam Sulla parentem ad omnia supplicemque Mithridatem invenit, quem multatum pecunia ac parte navium Asia omnibusque aliis provinciis, quas armis occupaverat, decedere coëgit, captivos recepit, in perfugas noxiosque animadvertit, paternis, id est Ponticis finibus contentum esse iussit.

XXIV

C.Flavius Fimbria, qui praefectus equitum ante adventum Sullae Valerium Flaccum consularem virum interfecerat exercituque occupato imperator appellatus forti Mithridatem pepulerat proelio, sub adventu Sullae se ipse interemit, adulescens, quae pessime ausus erat, fortiter executus. Eodem anno P. Laenas tribunus plebis Sex.Lucilium, qui prior anno tribunus plebis fuerat, saxo Tarpeio deiecit, et cum collegae eius, quibus diem dixerat, metu ad Sullam profugissent, aqua ignique iis interdixit. Tum Sulla compositis transmarinis rebus, cum ad eum primum omnium Romanorum legati Parthorum venissent, et in iis quidam magi ex notis corporis respondissent caelestem eius vitam et memoriam futuram, revector in Italiam haud plura quam triginta armatorum milia adversum ducenta amplius hostium exposuit Brundisii. Vix quidquam in Sullae operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod cum per triennium Cinnanae Marianaefque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque inlaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit nec quod erat in manibus omisit, existimavitque ante frangendum hostem quam ulciscendum civem, repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. Ante adventum L.Sullae Cinna seditione orta ab exercitu interemptus est, vir dignior, qui arbitrio victorum moreretur quam iracundia militum. De quo vere dici potest, ausum esse eum quae nemo auderet bonus, perfecisse quae a nullo nisi fortissimo perfici possent, et fuisse eum in consultando temerarium, in exequendo virum. Carbo nullo suffecto collega solus toto anno consul fuit.

XXV

Putares Sullam venisse in Italiam non belli vindicem, sed pacis auctorem:

tanta cum quiete exercitum per Calabriam Apuliamque cum singulari cura frugum, agrorum, hominum, urbium perduxit in Campaniam temptavitque iustis legibus et aequis condicionibus bellum componere; sed iis, quibus et res pessima et immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere. Crescebat interim in dies Sullae exercitus confluentibus ad eum optimo quoque et sanissimo. Felici deinde circa Capuam eventu Scipionem Norbanumque consules superat, quorum Norbanus acie victus, Scipio ab exercitu suo desertus ac proditus inviolatus a Sulla dimissus est. Adeo enim Sulla dissimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut dum vincit, mitis ac iustissimo lenior, post victoriam audito fuerit crudelior. Nam et consulem, ut praediximus, exarmatum Quintumque Sertorium, pro quanti mox belli facem! et multos alios, potitus eorum, dimisit incolumes, credo ut in eodem homine duplicis ac diversissimi animi conspiceretur exemplum. Post victoriam — namque ascendens montem Tifata cum C. Norbano concurrerat — Sulla gratis Dianae, cuius numini regio illa sacrata est, solvit; aquas salubritate medendisque corporibus nobiles agrosque omnis addixit deae. Huius gratae religionis memoriam et inscriptio templi adfixa posti hodieque et tabula testatur aerea intra aedem.

XXVI

Deinde consules Carbo tertium et C. Marius, septiens consulis filius, annos natus sex et viginti, vir animi magis quam aevi paterni, multa fortiterque molitus neque usquam inferior nomine suo. Is apud Sacriportum pulsus a Sulla acie Praeneste, quod ante natura munitum praesidiis firmaverat, se exercitumque contulit. Ne quid usquam malis publicis deesset, in qua civitate semper virtutibus certatum erat, certabatur sceleribus, optimusque sibi videbatur, qui fuerat pessimus. Quippe dum ad Sacriportum dimicatur, Damasippus praetor Domitium consularem, Scaevolam Mucium, pontificem maximum et divini humanique iuris auctorem celeberrimum, et C. Carbonem praetorium, consulis fratrem, et Antistium aedilicium velut faventis Sullae partibus in curia Hostilia trucidavit. Non perdat nobilissimi facti gloriam Calpurnia, Bestiae filia, uxor Antistii, quae iugulato, ut praediximus, viro gladio se ipsa transfixit. Quantum huius gloriae famaeque accessit nunc virtute feminae! nec propria latet.

At Pontius Telesinus, dux Samnitium, vir domi bellicque fortissimus penitusque Romano nomini infestissimus, contractis circiter quadraginta milibus fortissimae pertinacissimaeque in retinendis armis iuventutis, Carbone ac Mario consulibus abhinc annos centum et novem Kal. Novembribus ita ad portam Collinam cum Sulla dimicavit, ut ad summum discrimen et eum et rem publicam perduceret, quae non maius periculum adiit Hannibalis intra tertium miliarium castra conspicata, quam eo die, quo circumvolans ordines exercitus sui Telesinus dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem vociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adiiciens numquam defuturos raptores Italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa. Post primam demum horam noctis et Romana acies respiravit et hostium cessit. Telesinus postera die semianimis repertus est, victoris magis quam morientis vultum praeferens, cuius abscisum caput ferro figi gestarigae circa Praeneste Sulla iussit. Tum demum desperatis rebus suis C. Marius adulescens per cuniculos, qui miro opere fabricati in diversas agrorum partis ferebant, conatus erumpere, cum foramine e terra emersisset, a dispositis in id ipsum interemptus est. Sunt qui sua manu, sunt qui concurrentem mutuis ictibus cum minore fratre Telesini una obsesso et erumpente occubuisse prodiderint. Utcumque cecidit, hodieque tanta patris imagine non obscuratur eius memoria. De quo iuvene quid existimaverit Sulla, in promptu est; occiso enim demum eo Felicis nomen adsumpsit, quod quidem usurpasset iustissime, si eundem et vincendi et vivendi finem habuisset. Oppugnationi autem Praenestis ac Marii praefuerat Ofella Lucretius, qui cum antea Marianarum fuisset partium praetor, ad Sullam transfugerat. Felicitatem diei, quo Samnitium Telesinique pulsus est exercitus, Sulla perpetua ludorum circensium honoravit memoria, qui sub eius nomine Sullanae Victoriae celebrantur.

XXVIII

Paulo ante quam Sulla ad Sacriportum dimicaret, magnificis proeliis partium eius viri hostium exercitum fuderant, duo Servilii apud Clusium, Metellus Pius apud Faventiam, M. Lucullus circa Fidentiam. Videbantur finita belli civilis mala, cum Sullae crudelitate aucta sunt. Quippe dictator creatus (cuius

honoris usurpatio per annos centum et viginti intermissa; nam proximus post annum quam Hannibal Italia excesserat, uti adpareat populum Romanum usum dictatoris ut in metu desiderasse tali quo timuisset potestatem) imperio, quo priores ad vindicandam maximis periculis rem publicam olim usi erant, eo in inmodicae crudelitatis licentiam usus est. Primus ille, et utinam ultimus, exemplum proscriptionis invenit, ut in qua civitate petulantis convicii iudicium histrioni ex albo redditur, in ea iugulati civis Romani publice constitueretur auctoramentum, plurimumque haberet, qui plurimos interemisset, neque occisi hostis quam civis uberius foret praemium fieretque quisque merces mortis suae. Nec tantum in eos, qui contra arma tulerant, sed in multos insontis saevitum. Adiectum etiam, ut bona proscriptorum venirent exclusque paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum iure prohiberentur simulque, quod indignissimum est, senatorum filii et onera ordinis sustinerent et iura perderent.

XXIX

Sub adventum in Italiam L.Sullae Cn.Pompeius, eius Cn. Pompei filius, quem magnificentissimas res in consulatu gessisse bello Marsico praediximus, tris et viginti annos natus, abhinc annos centum et tredecim privatis ut opibus, ita consiliis magna ausus magnificeque conata executus, ad vindicandam restituendamque dignitatem patriae firmuma ex agro Piceno, qui totus paternis eius clientelis refertus erat, contraxit exercitum: cuius viri magnitudo multorum voluminum instar exigit, sed operis modus paucis eum narrari iubet. Fuit hic genitus matre Lucilia stirpis senatoriae, forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur aetatis, sed ea dignitate constantiaque, quae in illam conveniens amplitudinem fortunamque eum ad ultimum vitae comitata est diem; innocentia eximius, sanctitate praecipuus, eloquentia medius, potentiae, quae honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non vi ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus, dux bello peritissimus, civis in toga, nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem, modestissimus, amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, in accipienda satisfactione facillimus, potentia sua numquam aut raro ad impotentiam usus, paene omnium vitiorum experts, nisi numeraretur inter maxima in civitate libera dominaque gentium indignari, cum omnes cives iure haberet pares, quemquam aequalem dignitate conspicere. Hic a toga virili adsuetus commilitio prudentissimi ducis, parentis

sui, bonum et capax recta discendi ingenium singulari rerum militarium prudentia excoluerat, ut a Sertorio Metellus laudaretur magis, Pompeius timeretur validius.

XXX

Tum M.Perpenna praetorius, e proscriptis, gentis clarioris quam animi, Sertorium inter cenam Oscae interemit Romanisque certam victoriam, partibus suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem pessimo auctoravit facinore. Metellus et Pompeius ex Hispaniis triumphaverunt; sed Pompeius, hoc quoque triumpho adhuc eques Romanus, ante diem quam consulatum iniret, curru urbem invectus est. Quem virum quis non miretur per tot extraordinaria imperia in summum fastigium evectum iniquo tulisse animo, C.Caesaris absentis in altero consulatu petendo senatum populumque Romanum rationem habere: adeo familiare est hominibus omnia sibi ignoscere, nihil aliis remittere, et invidiam rerum non ad causam, sed ad voluntatem personasque dirigere. Hoc consulatu Pompeius tribuniciam potestatem restituit, cuius Sulla imaginem sine re reliquerat. Dum Sertorianum bellum in Hispania geritur, quattuor et sexaginta fugitivi e ludo gladiatorio Capua profugientes duce Spartaco, raptis ex ea urbe gladiis, primo Vesuvium montem petiere, mox crescente in dies multitudine gravibus variisque casibus adfecere Italiam. Quorum numerus in tantum adulevit, ut qua ultima dimicavere acie, nonaginta milia hominum se Romano exercitui opposuerint. Huius patrati gloria penes M.Crassum fuit, mox rei publicae omnium consensu principem.

XXXI

Converterat Cn.Pompei persona totum in se terrarum orbem et per omnia maior civi habebatur. Qui cum consul perquam laudabiliter iurasset se in nullam provinciam ex eo magistratu iturum idque servasset, post biennium A.Gabinus tribunus legem tulit, ut cum belli more, non latrociniorum, orbem classibus iam, non furtivis expeditionibus piratae terrerent quasdamque etiam Italiae urbes diripuissent, Cn.Pompeius ad eos opprimendos mitteretur essetque ei imperium aequum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus usque ad quinquagesimum miliarium a mari. Quo scito paene totius terrarum orbis imperium uni viro deferebatur; sed tamen idem hoc ante septennium in M.Antonii praetura decretum erat. Sed interdum persona ut exemplo nocet, ita

invidiam auget aut levat: in Antonio homines aequo animo passi erant; raro enim invidetur eorum honoribus, quorum vis non timetur: contra in iis homines extraordinaria reformidant, qui ea suo arbitrio aut deposituri aut retenturi videntur et modum in voluntate habent. Dissuadebant optimates, sed consilia impetu victa sunt.

XXXII

Digna est memoria Q.Catuli cum auctoritas tum verecundia. Qui cum dissuadens legem in contione dixisset esse quidem praeclarum virum Cn.Pompeium, sed nimium iam liberae rei publicae neque omnia in uno reponenda adiecissetque: “si quid huic acciderit, quem in eius locum substituetis?” subclamavit universa contio, te, Q.Catule. Tum ille victus consensu omnium et tam honorifico civitatis testimonio e contione discessit. Hic hominis verecundiam, populi iustitiam mirari libet, huius, quod non ultra contendit, plebis, quod dissuadentem et adversarium voluntatis suae vero testimonio fraudare noluit. Per idem tempus Cotta iudicandi munus, quod C.Gracchus ereptum senatui ad equites, Sulla ab illis ad senatum transtulerant, aequaliter in utrumque ordinem partitus est; Otho Roscius lege sua equitibus in theatro loca restituit. At Cn.Pompeius multis et praeclaris viris in id bellum adsumptis discriptoque paene in omnis recessus maris praesidio navium, brevi inexsuperabili manu terrarum orbem liberavit praedonesque saepe multis iam aliis locis victos circa Ciliciam classe adgressus fudit ac fugavit; et quo maturius bellum tam late diffusum conficeret, reliquias eorum contractas in urbibus remotoque mari loco in certa sede constituit. Sunt qui hoc carpant, sed quamquam in auctore satis rationis est, tamen ratio quemlibet magnum auctorem faceret; data enim facultate sine rapto vivendi rapinis arcuit.

XXXIII

Cum esset in fine bellum piraticum et L. Lucullus, qui ante septem annos ex consulatu sortitus Asiam Mithridati oppositus erat magnasque et memorabiles res ibi gesserat, Mithridatem saepe multis locis fuderat, egregia Cyzicum liberarat victoria, Tigranem, regum maximum, in Armenia vicerat ultimamque bello manum paene magis noluerat imponere quam non potuerat, quia alioqui per omnia laudabilis et bello paene invictus pecuniae pellebatur cupidine, idem bellum adhuc administraret, Manilius tribunus plebis, semper venalis et

alienae minister potentiae, legem tulit, ut bellum Mithridaticum per Cn. Pompeium administraretur. Accepta ea magnisque certatum inter imperatores iurgiis, cum Pompeius Lucullo infamiam pecuniae, Lucullus Pompeio interminatam cupiditatem obiiceret imperii neuterque ab altero quod arguebat mentitus argui posset. Nam neque Pompeius, ut primum ad rem publicam adgressus est, quemquam omnino parem tulit, et in quibus rebus primus esse debebat, solus esse cupiebat (neque eo viro quisquam aut alia omnia minus aut gloriam magis concupiit, in adpetendis honoribus inmodicus, in gerendis verecundissimus, ut qui eos ut libentissime iniret, ita finiret aequo animo, et quod cupisset, arbitrio suo sumeret, alieno deponeret) et Lucullus, summus alioqui vir, profusae huius in aedificiis convictibusque et apparatus luxuriae primus auctor fuit, quem ob iniectas moles mari et receptum suffossis montibus in terras mare haud infacete Magnus Pompeius Xerxen togatum vocare adsueverat.

XXXIV

Per id tempus a Q. Metello Creta insula, in populi Romani potestatem redacta est, quae ducibus Panare et Lasthene quattuor et viginti milibus iuvenum coactis, velocitate pernicibus, armorum laborumque patientissimis, sagittarum usu celeberrimis, per triennium Romanos exercitus fatigaverat. Ne ab huius quidem usura gloriae temperavit animum Cn. Pompeius, quin victoriae partem conaretur vindicare. Sed et Luculli et Metelli triumphum cum ipsorum singularis virtus, tum etiam invidia Pompei apud optimum quemque fecit favorabilem. Per haec tempora M. Cicero, qui omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit, vir novitatis nobilissimae et ut vita clarus, ita ingenio maximus, quique effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur, consul Sergii Catilinae Lentulique et Cethegi et aliorum utriusque ordinis virorum coniurationem singulari virtute, constantia, vigilia curaque aperuit. Catilina metu consularis imperi urbe pulsus est; Lentulus consularis et praetor iterum Cethegusque et alii clari nominis viri auctore senatu, iussu consulis in carcere necati sunt.

XXXV

Ille senatus dies, quo haec acta sunt, virtutem M. Catonis iam multis in rebus conspicuam atque praenitentem in altissimo culmine locavit. Hic genitus

proavo M. Catone, principe illo familiae Porciae, homo Virtuti simillimus et per omnia ingenio diis quam hominibus propior, qui numquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non potuerat, cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod haberet iustitiam, omnibus humanis vitiis immunis semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit. Hic tribunus plebis designatus et adhuc admodum adulescens, cum alii suaderent, ut per municipia Lentulus coniuratique custodirentur, paene inter ultimos interrogatus sententiam, tanta vi animi atque ingenii inductus est in coniurationem, eo ardore oris orationem omnium lenitatem suadentium societate consilii suspectam fecit, sic irpendentia ex ruinis incendiisque urbis et commutatione status publici pericula exposuit, ita consulis virtutem amplificavit, ut universus senatus in eius sententiam transiret animadvertendumque in eos, quos praediximus, censeret maiorque pars ordinis eius Ciceronem prosequerentur domum. At Catilina non segnius conata obiit, quam sceleris conandi consilia inierat: quippe fortissime dimicans quem spiritum supplicio debuerat, proelio reddidit.

XXXVI

Consulatus Ciceronis non mediocre adiecit decus natus eo anno divus Augustus abhinc annos LXXXII, omnibus omnium gentium viris magnitudine sua inducturus caliginem. Iam paene supervacaneum videri potest eminentium ingeniorum notare tempora. Quis enim ignorat diremptos gradibus aetatis floruisse hoc tempore Ciceronem, Hortensium, antequam Crassum, Cottam, Sulpicium, moxque Brutum, Calpurnium, Caelium, Calpurn et proximum Ciceroni Caesarem eorumque velut alumnos Corvinum ac Pollionem Asinium, aemulumque Thucydidis Sallustium, auctoresque carminum Varronem ac Lucretium neque ullo in suscepto carminis sui opere minorem Catullum. Paene stulta est inhaerentium oculis ingeniorum enumeratio, inter quae maxime nostri aevi eminent princeps carminum Vergilius Rabiriusque et consecutus Sallustium Livius Tibullusque et Naso, perfectissimi in forma operis sui; nam vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis est.

XXXVII

Dum haec in urbe Italiaque geruntur, Cn. Pompeius memorabile adversus Mithridaten, qui post Luculli profectionem magnas novi exercitus viris reparaverat, bellum gessit. At rex fusus fugatusque et omnibus exutus copiis

Armeniam Tigranemque socer generum petiit, regem eius temporis, nisi qua Luculli armis erat infractus, potentissimum. Simul itaque duos persecutus Pompeius intravit Armeniam. Prior filius Tigranis, sed discors patri, pervenit ad Pompeium; mox ipse supplex et praesens se regnumque dicioni eius permissit, praefatus neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cuius se societati commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pompeium; proin omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cuius auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram: non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas, neque inhoneste aliquem summitti huic, quem fortuna super omnis extulisset. Servatus regi honos imperii, sed multato ingenti pecunia, quae omnis, sicuti Pompeio moris erat, redacta in quaestoris potestatem ac publicis descripta litteris. Syria aliaeque, quas occupaverat, provinciae ereptae, et aliae restitutae populo Romano, aliae tum primum in eius potestatem redactae, ut Syria, quae tum primum facta est stipendiaria. Finis imperii regii terminatus Armenia.

XXXVIII

Haud absurdum videtur propositi operis regulae paucis percurrere, quae cuiusque ductu gens ac natio redacta in formulam provinciae stipendiaria facta sit, ut quae partibus notavimus, facilius simul universa conspici possint. Primus in Siciliam traiecit exercitum consul Claudius, sed provinciam eam post annos ferme duos et quinquaginta captis Syracusis fecit Marcellus Claudius. Primus Africam Regulus nono ferme anno primi Punici belli aggressus est; sed post centum et novem annos P. Scipio Aemilianus eruta Carthagine abhinc annos centum septuaginta tris Africam in formulam redegit provinciae. Sardinia inter primum et secundum bellum Punicum ductu T. Manlii consulis certum recepit imperi iugum. Immane bellicae civitatis argumentum, quod semel sub regibus, iterum hoc T. Manlio consule, tertio Augusto principe certae pacis argumentum Ianus geminus clausus dedit. In Hispaniam primi omnium duxere exercitus Cn. et P. Scipiones initio secundi belli Punici abhinc annos ducentos quinquaginta; inde varie possessa et saepe amissa partibus, universa ductu Augusti facta stipendiaria est. Macedoniam Paulus, Mummius Achaïam, Fulvius Nobilior subegit Aetoliam, Asiam L. Scipio, Africani frater, eripuit Antiocho, sed beneficio senatus populi que Romani mox ab Attalis possessam regibus M. Perpenna capto Aristonico fecit

tributariam. Cyprus devicta nullius adsignanda gloriae est; quippe senatus consulto, ministerio Catonis, regis morte, quam ille conscientia acciverat, facta provincia est. Creta Metelli ductu longissimae libertatis fine multata est. Syria Pontusque Cn. Pompei virtutis monumenta sunt.

XXXIX

Gallias primum a Domitio Fabioque, nepote Pauli, qui Allobrogicus vocatus est, intratas cum exercitu, magna mox clade nostra, saepe et adfectavimus et omisimus. Sed fulgentissimum C. Caesaris opus in his conspicitur; quippe eius ductu auspiciisque infractae paene idem, quod totus terrarum orbis, in aerarium conferunt stipendium. Ab eodem facta [...] Numidicus. Ciliciam perdomuit Isauricus et post bellum Antiochinum Vulso Manlius Gallograeciam. Bithynia, ut praediximus, testamento Nicomedis relicta hereditaria. Divus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet, paene idem facta Aegypto stipendiaria, quantum pater eius Galliis, in aerarium reditus contulit. At Ti. Caesar quam certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat parens, Illyriis Delmatisque extorsit. Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias. Ut has armis, ita auctoritate Cappadociam populo Romano fecit stipendariam. Sed revertamur ad ordinem.

XL

Secuta deinde Cn. Pompei militia, gloriae laborisne maioris incertum est. Penetratae cum victoria Media, Albania, Hiberia; deinde flexum agmen ad eas nationes, quae dextra atque intima Ponti incolunt, Colchos Heniochosque et Achaeos, et oppressus auspiciis Pompei, insidiis filii Pharnacis Mithridates, ultimus omnium iuris sui regum praeter Parthicos. Tum victor omnium quas adierat gentium Pompeius suoque et civium voto maior et per omnia fortunam hominis egressus revertit in Italiam. Cuius reditum favorem opinio fecerat; quippe plerique non sine exercitu venturum in urbem adfirmarunt et libertati publicae statuturum arbitrio suo modum. Quo magis hoc homines timuerant, eo gratior civilis tanti imperatoris reditus fuit: omni quippe Brundisii dimisso exercitu nihil praeter nomen imperatoris retinens cum privato comitatu, quem semper illi astare moris fuit, in urbem rediit magnificentissimumque de tot regibus per biduum egit triumphum longeque maiorem omni ante se inlata

pecunia in aerarium, praeterquam a Paulo, ex manubiis intulit. Absente Cn. Pompeio T. Ampius et T. Labienus tribuni plebis legem tulerant, ut is ludis circensibus corona aurea et omni cultu triumphantium uteretur, scaenicis autem praetexta coronaque aurea. Id ille non plus quam semel, et hoc sane nimium fuit, usurpare sustinuit. Huius viri fastigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Asia triumpharet et, quot partes terrarum orbis sunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriae suae. Numquam eminentia invidia carent. Itaque et Lucullus et Metellus Creticus memor tamen acceptae iniuriae, non iniuste querens (quippe ornamentum triumphi eius captivos duces Pompeius subduxerat) et cum iis pars optimatum refragabatur, ne aut promissa civitatibus a Pompeio aut bene meritis praemia ad arbitrium eius persolverentur.

XLI

Secutus deinde est consulatus C. Caesaris, qui scribenti manum iniicit et quamlibet festinantem in se morari cogit. Hic nobilissima Iuliorum genitus familia et, quod inter omnis antiquitatis studiosos constabat, ab Anchise ac Venere deducens genus, forma omnium civium excellentissimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentia effusissimus, animo super humanam et naturam et fidem evectus, magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus, qui denique semper et cibo et sommo in vitam, non in voluptatem uteretur, cum fuisset C. Mario sanguine coniunctissimus atque idem Cinnae gener, cuius filiam ut repudiaret nullo metu compelli potuit, cum M. Piso consularis Anniam, quae Cinnae uxor fuerat, in Sullae dimisisset gratiam, habuissetque fere duodeviginti annos eo tempore, quo Sulla rerum potitus est, magis ministris Sullae adiutoribusque partium quam ipso conquirentibus eum ad necem mutata veste dissimilemque fortunae suae indutus habitum nocte urbe elapsus est. Idem postea admodum iuvenis, cum a piratis captus esset, ita se per omne spatium, quo ab iis retentus est, apud eos gessit, ut pariter iis terrori venerationique esset, neque umquam aut nocte aut die (cur enim quod vel maximum est, si narrari verbis speciosis non potest, omittatur?) aut exalcearetur aut discingeretur, in hoc scilicet, ne si quando aliquid ex solito variaret, suspectus iis, qui oculis tantummodo eum custodiebant, foret.

Longum est narrare, quid et quotiens ausus sit, quanto opere conata eius qui obtinebat Asiam magistratus populi Romani metu suo destituerit. Illud referatur documentum tanti mox evasuri viri: quae nox eam diem secuta est, qua publica civitatum pecunia redemptus est, ita tamen, ut cogeret ante obsides a piratis civitatibus dari, et privatus et contracta classe tumultuaria invectus in eum locum, in quo ipsi praedones erant, partem classis fugavit, partem mersit, aliquot navis multosque mortalis cepit; laetusque nocturnae expeditionis triumpho ad suos revectus est, mandatisque custodiae quos ceperat, in Bithyniam perrexit ad proconsulem Iuncum (idem enim Asiam eamque obtinebat) petens, ut auctor fieret sumendi de captivis supplicii: quod (cum) ille se facturum negasset venditurumque captivos dixisset (quippe sequebatur invidia inertiam), incredibili celeritate revectus ad mare, priusquam de ea re ulli proconsulis redderentur epistulae, omnes, quos ceperat, suffixit cruci.

Idem mox ad sacerdotium ineundum (quippe absens pontifex factus erat in Cottae consularis locum, cum paene puer a Mario Cinnaque flamen dialis creatus victoria Sullae, qui omnia ab iis acta fecerat irrita, amisisset id sacerdotium) festinans in Italiam, ne conspiceretur a praedonibus omnia tunc obtinentibus maria et merito iam infestis sibi, quattuor scalmorum navem una cum duobus amicis decemque servis ingressus effusissimum Adriatici maris traiecit sinum. Quo quidem in cursu conspectis, ut putabat, piratarum navibus cum exuisset vestem alligas setque pugionem ad femur alterutri se fortunae parans, mox intellexit frustratum esse visum suum arborumque ex longinquo ordinem antemnarum praebuisse imaginem. Reliqua eius acta in urbe, nobilissima Cn. Dola bellae accusatio et maior civitatis in ea favor, quam reis praestari solet, contentionesque civiles cum Q. Catulo atque aliis eminentissimis viris celeberrimae, et ante praetura victus in maximi pontificatus petitione Q. Catulus, omnium confessione senatus princeps, et restituta in aedilitate adversante quidem nobilitate monumenta C. Marii, simulque revocati ad ius dignitatis proscriptorum liberi, et praetura quaesturaque mirabili virtute atque industria obita in Hispania (cum esset

quaestor sub Vetere Antistio, avo huius Veteris consularis atque pontificis, duorum consularium et sacerdotum patris, viri in tantum boni, in quantum humana simplicitas intellegi potest) quo notiora sunt, minus egent stilo.

XLIV

Hoc igitur consule inter eum et Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum inita potentiae societas, quae urbi orbique terrarum nec minus diverso cuique tempore ipsi exitiabilis fuit. Hoc consilium sequendi Pompeius causam habuerat, ut tandem acta in transmarinis provinciis, quibus, ut praediximus, multi obtrectabant, per Caesarem confirmarentur consulem, Caesar autem, quod animadvertibat se cedendo Pompei gloriae aucturum suam et invidia communis potentiae in illum relegata confirmaturum vires suas, Crassus, ut quem principatum solus adsequi non poterat, auctoritate Pompei, viribus teneret Caesaris, adfinitas etiam inter Caesarem Pompeiumque contracta nuptis, quippe Iuliam, filiam C. Caesaris, Cn. Magnus duxit uxorem. In hoc consulatu Caesar legem tulit, ut ager Campanus plebei divideretur, suasore legis Pompeio. Ita circiter viginti milia civium eo deducta et ius urbis restitutum post annos circiter centum quinquaginta duos quam bello Punico ab Romanis Capua in formam praefecturae redacta erat. Bibulus, collega Caesaris, cum actiones eius magis vellet impedire quam posset, maiore parte anni domi se tenuit. Quo facto dum augere vult invidiam collegae, auxit potentiam. Tum Caesari decretae in quinquennium Galliae.

XLV

Per idem tempus P. Clodius, homo nobilis, disertus, audax, quique neque dicendi neque faciendi ullum nisi quem vellet nosset modum, malorum propositorum executor acerrimus, infamis etiam sororis stupro et actus incesti reus ob initum inter religiosissima populi Romani sacra adulterium, cum graves inimicitias cum M. Cicerone exerceret (quid enim inter tam dissimiles amicum esse poterat?) et a patribus ad plebem transisset, legem in tribunatu tulit, qui civem Romanum indemnatum interemisset, ei aqua et igni interdiceretur: cuius verbis etsi non nominabatur Cicero, tamen solus petebatur. Ita vir optime meritis de re publica conservatae patriae pretium calamitatem exilii tulit. Non caruerunt suspicione oppressi Ciceronis Caesar et Pompeius. Hoc sibi contraxisse videbatur Cicero, quod inter viginti viros

dividendo agro Campano esse noluisse. Idem intra biennium sera Cn. Pompei cura, verum ut coepit intenta, votisque Italiae ac decretis senatus, virtute atque actione Annii Milonis tribuni plebis dignitati patriaeque restitutus est. Neque post Numidici exilium aut rediturn quisquam aut expulsus invidiosius aut receptus est laetius. Cuius domus quam infeste a Clodio disiecta erat, tam speciose a senatu restituta est. Idem P. Clodius in tribunatu sub honorificentissimo ministerii titulo M. Catonem a re publica relegavit: quippe legem tulit, ut is quaestor cum iure praetorio, adiecto etiam quaestore, mitteretur in insulam Cyprum ad spoliandum regno Ptolemaeum, omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritu. Sed ille sub adventum Catonis vitae suae vim intulit. Unde pecuniam longe sperata maiorem Cato Romam retulit. Cuius integritatem laudari nefas est, insolentia paene argui potest, quod una cum consulibus ac senatu effusa civitate obviam, cum per Tiberim subiret navibus, non ante iis egressus est, quam ad eum locum pervenit, ubi erat exponenda pecunia.

XLVI

Cum deinde inmanis res vix multis voluminibus explicandas C. Caesar in Gallia gereret nec contentus plurimis ac felicissimis victoriis innumerabilibusque caesis et captis hostium milibus etiam in Britanniam traiecisset exercitum, alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quaerens orbem, vetus par consulum, Cn. Pompeius et M. Crassus, alterum iniere consulatum, qui neque petitus honeste ab iis neque probabiliter gestus est. Caesari lege, quam Pompeius ad populum tulit, prorogatae in idem spatium temporis provinciae, Crasso bellum Parthicum iam animo molienti Syria decreta. Qui vir cetera sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus neque in pecunia neque in gloria concupiscenda aut modum norat aut capiebat terminum. Hunc proficiscentem in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni plebis frustra retinere conati. Quorum execrationes si in ipsum tantummodo valuissent, utile imperatoris damnum salvo exercitu fuisset rei publicae. Transgressum Euphraten Crassum petentemque Seleuciam circumfusus inmanibus copiis equitum rex Orodes una cum parte maiore Romani exercitus interemit. Reliquias legionum C. Cassius, atrocissimi mox auctor facinoris, tum quaestor, conservavit Syriamque adeo in populi Romani potestate retinuit, ut transgressos in eam Parthos felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet.

Per haec insequentiaque et quae praediximus tempora amplius quadringenta milia hostium a C. Caesare caesa sunt, plura capta; pugnatum saepe directa acie, saepe in agminibus, saepe eruptionibus, bis penetrata Britannia, novem denique aestatibus vix ulla non iustissimus triumphus emeritus. Circa Alesiam vero tantae res gestae, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere paene nullius nisi dei fuerit. Quarto ferme anno Caesar morabatur in Gallia, cum medium iam ex invidia potentiae (et viva illa) male cohaerentis inter Cn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem concordiae pignus Iulia, uxor Magni, decessit: atque omnia inter destinatos tanto discrimini duces dirimente fortuna filius quoque parvus Pompei, Iulia natus, intra breve spatium obiit. Tum in gladios caedesque civium furente ambitu, cuius neque finis reperiebatur nec modus, tertius consulatus soli Cn. Pompeio etiam adversantium antea dignitati eius iudicio delatus est, cuius ille honoris gloria veluti reconciliatis sibi optimatibus maxime a C. Caesare alienatus est; sed eius consulatus omnem vim in coercionem ambitus exercuit. Quo tempore P. Clodius a Milone candidato consulari exemplo inutili, facto salutari rei publicae circa Bovillas contracta ex occurso rixa iugulatus est. Milonem reum non magis invidia facti quam Pompei damnavit voluntas. Quem quidem M. Cato palam lata absolvit sententia. Qui si ratiarius tulisset, non defuissent qui sequerentur esemplum probarentque eum civem occisum, quo nemo perniciosior rei publicae neque bonis inimicior vixerat.

XLVIII

Intra breve deinde spatium belli civilis exarserunt initia, cum iustissimus quisque et a Caesare et a Pompeio vellet dimitti exercitus; quippe Pompeius in secundo consulatu Hispanias sibi decerni voluerat easque per triennium absens ipse ac praesidens urbi per Afranium et Petreium, consularem ac praetorium, legatos suos, administrabat et iis, qui a Caesare dimittendos exercitus contendebant, adsentabatur, iis, qui ab ipso quoque, adversabatur. Qui si ante biennium, quam ad arma itum est, perfectis muneribus theatri et aliorum operum, quae ei circumdedit, gravissima temptatus valetudine decessisset in Campania (quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute eius primi omnium civium suscepit) defuisset fortunae destruendi eius locus,

et quam apud superos habuerat magnitudinem, inlibatam detulisset ad inferos. Bello autem civili et tot, quae deinde per continuos viginti annos consecuta sunt, malis non alius maiorem flagrantiolemque quam C. Curio tribunus plebis subiecit facem, vir nobilis, elo quens, audax, suae alienaeque et fortunae et pudicitiae prodigus, homo ingeniosissime nequam et facundus malo publico cuius animo [voluptatibus vel libidinibus] neque opes ullae neque cupiditates suAicere possent. Hic primo pro Pompei partibus, id est, ut tunc habebatur, pro re publica, mox simulatione contra Pompeiurn et Caesarem, sed animo pro Caesare stetit. Id gratis an accepto centies sestertio fecerit, ut accepimus, in medio relinquemus. Ad ultimum saluberrimas coalescentis condiciones pacis, quas et Caesar iustissimo animo postulabat et Pompeius aequo recipiebat, discussit ac rupit, unice cavente Cicerone concordiae publicae. Harum praeteritarumque rerum ordo cum iustis aliorum voluminibus promatur, tum, uti spero, nostris explicabitur. Nunc proposito operi sua forma reddatur, si prius gratulatus ero Q. Catulo, duobus Lucullis Metelloque et Hortensio, qui, cum sine invidia in re publica Quoruissent eminuissentque sine periculo, quieta aut certe non praecipitata fatali ante initium bellorum civilium morte functi sunt.

XLIX

Lentulo et Marcello consulibus post urbem conditam annis septingentis et tribus, et annos octo et septuaginta ante quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires, bellum civile exarsit. Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior; hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia; Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Caesarem militum armavit fiducia. Consules senatusque causae non Pompeio summam imperii detulerunt. Nihil relictum a Caesare, quod servandae pacis causa temptari posset, nihil receptum a Pompeianis, cum alter consul iusto esset ferocior, Lentulus vero salva re publica salvus esse non posset, M. autem Cato moriendum ante, quam ullam condicionem civis accipiendam rei publicae contenderet. Vir antiquus et gravis Pompei partes laudaret magis, prudens sequeretur Caesaris, et illa gloriosiora, haec terribiliora duceret. Ut deinde spreis omnibus quae Caesar postulaverat, tantummodo contentus cum una legione titulum retinere provinciae, privatus in urbem veniret et se in petitione consulatus suffragiis populi Rornani committeret decrevere, ratus bellandum Caesar cum exercitu Rubiconem transiit. Cn. Pompeius

consulesque et maior pars senatus relicta urbe ac deinde Italia transmisere Dyrrachium.

L

At Caesar Domitio legionibusque, Corfini quae una cum eo fuerant, potitus, duce aliisque, qui voluerant abire ad Pompeium, sine dilatione dimissis, persecutus Brundisium, ita ut appareret malle integris rebus et conditionibus finire bellum quam opprimere fugientis, cum transgressos reperisset consules, in urbem revertit redditaque ratione consiliorum suorum in senatu et in contione ac miserrimae necessitudinis, cum alienis armis ad arma compulsus esset, Hispanias petere decrevit. Festinationem itineris eius aliquamdiu morata Massilia est, fide melior quam consilio prudentior, intempestive principalium armorum arbitria captans, quibus hi se debent interponere, qui non parentem coercere possunt. Exercitus deinde, qui sub Afranio consulari ac Petreio praetorio fuerat, ipsius adventus vigore ac fulgore occupatus se Caesari tradidit; uterque legatorum et quisquis cuiusque ordinis sequi eos voluerat, remissi ad Pompeium.

LI

Proximo anno cum Dyrrachium ac vicina ei urbi regio castris Pompei obtineretur, qui accitis ex omnibus transmarinis provinciis legionibus, equitum ac peditum auxiliis, regumque et tetrarcharum simulque dynastarum copiis inmanem exercitum confecerat et mare praesidiis classium, ut rebatur, saepserat, quo minus Caesar legiones posset transmittere, sua et celeritate et fortuna C. Caesar usus nihil in mora habuit, quo minus eo quo vellet ipse exercitusque classibus perveniret, et primo paene castris Pompei sua iungeret, mox etiam obsidione munimentisque eum complecteretur. Sed inopia obsidentibus quam obsessis erat gravior. Tum Balbus Cornelius excedente humanam fidem temeritate ingressus castra hostium saepiusque cum Lentulo conlocutus consule, dubitante quanti se venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam, quibus non in Hispania ex cive natus, sed Hispanus, iam triumphum et pontificatum adsurgeret fieretque ex privato consularis. Variatum deinde proeliis, sed uno longe magis Pompeianis prospero, quo graviter impulsi sunt Caesaris milites.

Tum Caesar cum exercitu fatalem victoriae suae Thessaliam petiit. Pompeius, longe diversa aliis suadentibus, quorum plerique hortabantur, ut in Italiam transmitteret (neque hercules quidquam partibus illis salubrius fuit), alii, ut bellum traheret, quod dignatione partium in dies ipsis magis prosperum fieret, usus impetu suo hostem secutus est. Aciem Pharsalicam et illum cruentissimum Romano nomini diem tantumque utriusque exercitus profusum sanguinis et conlisa inter se duo rei publicae capita effossumque alterum Romani imperii lumen et tot talesque Pompeianarum partium caesos viros non recipit enarranda hic scripturae modus. Illud notandum est: ut primum C.Caesar inclinatam vidit Pompeianorum aciem, neque prius neque antiquius quidquam habuit, quam ut indemnes partes, ut militari verbo ex consuetudine utar, dimitteret. Pro dii immortales, quod huius voluntatis erga Brutum suae postea vir tam mitis pretium tulit! Nihil in illa victoria mirabilius, magnificentius, clarius fuit, quam quod neminem nisi acie consumptum civem patria, desideravit: sed munus misericordiae corrumpit pertinacia, cum libentius vitam victor iam daret, quam victi acciperent.

Pompeius profugiens cum duobus Lentulis consularibus Sextoque filio et Favonio praetorio, quos comites ei fortuna adgregaverat, aliis, ut Parthos, aliis, ut Africam peteret, in qua fidelissimum partium suarum haberet regem Iubam, suadentibus, Aegyptum petere proposuit memor beneficiorum, quae in patrem eius Ptolemaei, qui tum puero quam iuveni propior regnabat Alexandriae, contulerat. Sed quis in adversis beneficiorum servat memoriam? Aut quis ullam calamitosis deberi putat gratiam? Aut quando fortuna non mutat fidem? Missi itaque ab rege, qui venientem Cn. Pompeium (is iam a Mytilenis Corneliam uxorem receptam in navem fugae comitem habere coeperat) consilio Theodoti et Achillae exciperent hortarenturque, ut ex oneraria in eam navem, quae obviam processerat, transenderet; quod cum fecisset, princeps Romani nominis imperio arbitrioque Aegyptii mancipii, C. Caesare et P. Servilio consulibus, iugulatus est. Hic post tres consulatus et totidem triumphos domitumque terrarum orbem sanctissimi atque praestantissimi viri in id evecti, super quod ascendi non potest,

duodesexagesimum annum agentis pridie natalem ipsius vitae fuit exitus, in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam. Quid aliud quam nimium occupatos dixerim, quos in aetate et tanti et paene nostri saeculi viri fefellit quinquennium, cum a C. Atilio et Q. Servilio consulibus tam facilis esset annorum digestio? Quod adieci, non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer.

LIV

Non fuit maior in Caesarem, quam in Pompeium fuerat, regis eorumque, quorum is auctoritate regebatur, fides. Quippe cum venientem eum temptassent insidiis ac deinde bello lacessere auderent, utrique summorum imperatorum, alteri mortuo, alteri superstiti meritas poenas luere supplicii. Nusquam erat Pompeius corpore, adhuc ubique vivebat nomine. Quippe ingens partium eius favor bellum excitaverat Africum, quod ciebat rex Iuba et Scipio, vir consularis, ante biennium quam extingueretur Pompeius, lectus ab eo socer, eorumque copias auxerat M. Cato, ingenti cum difficultate itinerum locorumque inopia perductis ad eos legionibus. Qui vir cum summum ei a militibus deferretur imperium, honoratori parere maluit.

LV

Admonet promissae brevitatis fides, quanto omnia transcurso dicenda sint. Sequens fortunam suam Caesar pervectus in Africam est, quam occiso C. Curione, Iulianarum duce partium, Pompeiani obtinebant exercitus. Ibi primo varia fortuna, mox pugnavit sua, inclinataeque hostiorum copiae: nec dissimilis ibi adversus victos quam in priores clementia Caesaris fuit. Victorem Africani belli Caesarem gravius excepit Hispaniense (nam victus ab eo Pharnaces vix quidquam gloriae eius adstruxit), quod Cn. Pompeius, Magni filius, adulescens impetus ad bella maximi, ingens ac terribile conflaverat, undique ad eum adhuc paterni nominis magnitudinem sequentium ex toto orbe terrarum auxiliis confluentibus. Sua Caesarem in Hispaniam cornitata fortuna est, sed nullum umquam atrocius periculosiusque ab eo initum proelium, adeo ut plus quam dubio Marte descenderet equo consistensque ante recedentem suorum aciem, increpata prius fortuna, quod se in eum servasset exitum, denuntiaret militibus vestigio se non recessurum: proinde viderent, quem et quo loco imperatorem deserturi forent. Verecundia magis quam virtute acies

restituita, et a duce quam a milite fortius. Cn. Pompeius gravis vulnere inventus inter solitudines avias interemptus est; Labienum Varumque acies abstulit.

LVI

Caesar omnium victor regressus in urbem, quod humanam excedat fidem, omnibus, qui contra se arma tulerant, ignovit, magnificentissimisque gladiatorii muneris, naumachiae et equitum peditumque, simul elephantorum certaminis spectaculis epulique per multos dies dati celebratione replevit eam. Quinque egit triumphos: Gallici apparatus ex citro, Pontici ex acantho, Alexandrini testudine, Africi ebore, Hispaniensis argento rasili constitit. Pecunia ex manubiis lata paulo amplius sexiens miliens sestertium. Neque illi tanto viro et tam clementer omnibus victorū suis uso plus quinque mensium principalis quies contigit. Quippe cum mense Octobri in urbem revertisset, idibus Martiis, coniurationis auctoribus Bruto et Cassio, quorum alterum promittendo consulatum non obligaverat, contra differendo Cassium offenderat, adiectis etiam consiliariis caedis familiarissimis omnium et fortuna partium eius in summum evectis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio aliisque clari nominis viris, interemptus est. Cui magnam invidiam conciliarat M. Antonius, omnibus audendis paratissimus, consulatus collega, inponendo capiti eius Lupercalibus sedentis pro rostris insigne regium, quod ad eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur.

LVII

Laudandum experientia consilium est Pansae atque Hirtii, qui semper praedixerant Caesari ut principatum armis quaesitum armis teneret. Ille dictitans mori se quam timere malle dum clementiam, quam praestiterat, expectat, incautus ab ingratis occupatus est, cum quidem plurima ei praesagia atque indicia dii immortales futuri obtulissent periculi. Nam et haruspices praemonuerant, ut diligentissime iduum Martiarum caveret diem, et uxor Calpurnia territa nocturno visu, ut ea die domi subsisteret, orabat, et libelli coniurationem nuntiantes dati neque protinus ab eo lecti erant. Sed profecto ineluctabilis fatorum vis, cuiuscumque fortunam mutare constituit, consilia corrumpit.

Quo anno id patravere facinus Brutus et Cassius praetores erant, D. Brutus consul designatus. Hi una cum coniurationis globo, stipati gladiatorum D. Bruti manu, Capitolium occupavere. Tum consul Antonius (quem cum simul interimendum censuisset Cassius testamentumque Caesaris abolendum, Brutus repugnaverat dictitans nihil amplius civibus praeter tyranni - ita enim appellari Caesarem facto eius expediebat - petendum esse sanguinem) convocato senatu, cum iam Dolabella, quem substituturus sibi Caesar designaverat consulem, fasces atque insignia corripuisset consulis, velut pacis auctor liberos suos obsides in Capitolium misit fidemque descendendi tuto interfectorebus Caesaris dedit. Et illud decreti Atheniensium celeberrimi exemplum, relatum a Cicerone, oblivionis praeteritarum rerum decreto patrum comprobatum est.

LIX

Caesaris deinde testamentum apertum est, quo C. Octavium, nepotem sororis suae Iuliae, adoptabat. De cuius origine, etiam si premit iter, pauca dicenda sunt. Fuit C. Octavius ut non patricia, ita admodum speciosa equestri genitus familia, gravis, sanctus, innocens, dives. Hic praetor inter nobilissimos viros creatus primo loco, cum ei dignatio Iulia genitam Atiam conciliasset uxorem, ex eo honore sortitus Macedoniam appellatusque in ea imperator, decedens ad petitionem consulatus obiit praetextato relicto filio. Quem C. Caesar, maior eius avunculus, educatum apud Philippum vitricum dilexit ut suum, natumque annos duodeviginti Hispaniensis militiae adsecutum se postea comitem habuit, numquam aut alio usum hospitio quam suo aut alio vectum vehiculo, pontificatusque sacerdotio puerum honoravit. Et patratis bellis civilibus ad erudiendam liberalibus disciplinis singularis indolem iuvenis Apolloniam eum in studia miserat, mox belli Getici ac deinde Parthici habiturus commilitonem. Cui ut est nuntiatum de caede avunculi, cum protinus ex vicinis legionibus centuriones suam suorumque militum operam ei pollicerentur neque eam spernendam Salvidienus et Agrippa dicerent, ille festinans pervenire in urbem omnem ordinem ac rationem et necis et testamenti Brundusii comperit. Cui adventanti Romam inmanis amicorum occurrit frequentia, et cum intraret urbem, solis orbis super caput eius curvatus aequaliter rotundatusque in

colorem arcus velut coronam tanti mox viri capiti imponens conspectus est.

LX

Non placebat Atiae matri Philipppoque vitrico adiri nomen invidiosae fortunae Caesaris, sed adserebant salutaria rei publicae terrarumque orbis fata conditorem conservatoremque Romani nominis. Sprevit itaque caelestis animus humana consilia et cum periculo potius summa quam tuto humilia proposuit sequi maluitque avunculo et Caesari de se quam vitrico credere, dictitans nefas esse, quo nomine Caesari dignus esset visus, semet ipsum sibi videri indignum. Hunc protinus Antonius consul superbe excepit (neque is erat contemptus, sed metus) vixque admissio in Pompeianos hortos loquendi secum tempus dedit, mox etiam velut insidiis eius petitus sceleste insimulare coepit, in quo turpiter deprehensa eius vanitas est. Aperte deinde Antonii ac Dolabellae consulum ad nefandam dominationem erupit furor. Sestertium septiens miliens, depositum a C. Caesare ad aedem Opis, occupatum ad Antonio, actorum eiusdem insertis falsis civitatibus immunitatibusque corrupti commentarii atque omnia pretio temperata, vendente rem publicam consule. Idem provinciam D. Bruto designato consuli decretam Galliam occupare statuit, Dolabella transmarinas decrevit sibi; interque naturaliter dissimillimos ac diversa volentis crescebat odium eoque C. Caesar iuvenis cotidianis Antonii petebatur insidiis.

LXI

Torpebat oppressa dominatione Antonii civitas. Indignatio et dolor omnibus, vis ad resistendum nulli aderat, cum C. Caesar undevicesimum annum ingressus, mira ausus ac summa consecutus privato consilio maiorem senatu pro re publica animum habuit primumque a Calatia, mox a Casilino veteranos excivit paternos; quorum exemplum secuti alii brevi in formam iusti coiere exercitus. Mox cum Antonius occurrisset exercitui, quem ex transmarinis provinciis Brundisiuni venire iusserat, legio Martia et quarta cognita et senatus voluntate et tanti iuvenis indole sublati signis ad Caesarem se contulerunt. Eum senatus honoratum equestri statua, quae hodieque in rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat (qui honor non alii per trecentos annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat), pro praetore una cum consulibus designatis Hirtio et Pansa bellum cum Antonio gerere iussit.

Id ab eo annum agente vicesimum fortissime circa Mutinam administratum est et D. Brutus obsidione liberatus. Antonius turpi ac nuda fuga coactus deserere Italiam, consulum autem alter in acie, alter post paucos dies ex vulnere mortem obiit.

LXII

Omnia ante quam fugaretur Antonius honorifice a senatu in Caesarem exercitumque eius decreta sunt maxime auctore Cicerone; sed ut recessit metus, erupit voluntas protinusque Pompeianis partibus rediit animus. Bruto Cassioque provinciae, quam iam ipsi sine ullo senatus consulto occupaverant, decretae, laudati quicumque se iis exercitus tradidissent, omnia transmarina imperia eorum commissa arbitrio. Quippe M. Brutus et C. Cassius, nunc metuentes arma Antonii, nunc ad augendam eius invidiam simulantes se metuere, testati edictis libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum rei publicae constaret concordia, nec uliam belli civilis praebituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, profecti urbe atque Italia, intento ac pari animo sine auctoritate publica provincias exercitusque occupaverant et, ubicumque ipsi essent, praetexentes esse rem publicam, pecunias etiam, quae ex transmarinis provinciis Romam ab quaestoribus deportabantur, a volentibus acceperant. Quae omnia senatus decretis comprehensa et comprobata sunt et D. Bruto, quod alieno beneficio viveret, decretus triumphus, Pansae atque Hirtii corpora publica sepultura honorata, Caesaris adeo nulla habita mentio, ut legati, qui ad exercitum eius missi erant, iuberentur summoto eo milites adloqui. Non fuit tam ingratus exercitus, quam fuerat senatus; nam cum eam iniuriam dissimulando Caesar ipse ferret, negavere milites sine imperatore suo ulla se audituros mandata. Hoc est illud tempus, quo Cicero insito amore Pompeianarum partium Caesarem laudandum et tollendum censebat, cum aliud diceret, aliud intellegi vellet.

LXIII

Interim Antonius fuga transgressus Alpes, primo per colloquia repulsus a M. Lepido, qui pontifex maximus in C. Caesaris locum furto creatus decreta sibi Hispania adhuc in Gallia morabatur, mox saepius in conspectum veniens militum (cum et Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores et multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius), per aversa castrorum proruto vallo a militibus

receptus est. Qui titulo imperii cedebat Lepido, cum summa virium penes eum foret. Sub Antonii ingressum in castra Iuventius Laterensis, vir vita ac morte consentaneus, cum acerrime suasisset Lepido, ne se cum Antonio hoste iudicato iungeret, inritus consilii gladio se ipse transifixit. Plancus deinde dubia, id est sua, fide, diu quarum esset partium secum luctatus ac sibi difficile consentiens, et nunc adiutor D. Bruti designati consulis, collegae sui, senatuique se litteris venditans, mox eiusdem proditor, Asinius autem Pollio firmus proposito et Iulianis partibus fidus, Pompeianis adversus, uterque exercitus tradidere Antonio.

LXIV

D. Brutus desertus primo a Planco, postea etiam insidiis eiusdem petitus, paulatim relincente eum exercitu fugiens in hospitis cuiusdam nobilis viri, nomine Cameli, domo ab iis, quos miserat Antonius, iugulatus est iustissimasque optime de se merito viro C. Caesari poenas dedit, cuius cum primus omnium amicorum fuisset, interfector fuit et fortunae, ex qua fructum tulerat, invidiam in auctorem relegabat censebatque aequum, quae acceperat a Caesare retinere, Caesarem, qui illa dederat, perire. Haec sunt tempora, quibus M. Tullius continuus, actionibus aeternas Antonii memoriae inussit notas, sed hic fulgentissimo et caelesti ore, at tribunus Cannutius canina rabie lacerabat Antonium. Utrique vindicta libertatis morte stetit; sed tribuni sanguine commissa proscriptio, Ciceronis velut satiatio Antonio paene finita. Lepidus deinde a senatu hostis iudicatus est, ut ante fuerat Antonius.

LXV

Tum inter eum Caesaremque et Antonium commercia epistularum et condicionum facta mentio, cum Antonius subinde Caesarem admoneret, quam inimicae ipsi Pompeianae partes forent et in quod iam emersissent fastigium et quanto Ciceronis studio Brutus Cassiusque attollerentur, denuntiaretque se cum Bruto Cassioque, qui iam decem et septem legionum potentes erant, iuncturum vires suas, si Caesar eius aspernaretur concordiam, diceretque plus Caesarem patris quam se amici ultioni debere. Tum inita potentiae societas et hortantibus orantibusque exercitibus inter Antonium etiam et Caesarem facta adfinitas, cum esset privigna Antonii desponsata Caesari. Consulatumque iniit Caesar pridie quam viginti annos impleret decimo Kal. Octobres cum collega

Q. Pedio post urbem conditam annis septingentis et novem, ante duos et septuaginta, quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires. Vidit hic annus Ventidium, per quam urbem inter captivos Picentium in triumpho ductus erat, in ea consularem praetextam iungentem praetoria. Idem hic postea triumphavit.

LXVI

Furente deinde Antonio simulque Lepido, quorum uterque, ut praediximus, hostes iudicati erant, cum ambo mallent sibi nuntiari, quid passi essent, quam quid meruissent, repugnante Caesare, sed frustra adversus duos, instauratum Sullani exempli malum, proscriptio. Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Caesar aliquem proscribere coactus est aut ab ullo Cicero proscriptus est. Abscisaque scelere Antonii vox publica est, cum eius salutem nemo defendisset, qui per tot annos et publicam civitatis et privatam civium defenderat. Nihil tamen egisti, M. Antoni (cogit enim excedere propositi formam operis erumpens animo ac pectore indignatio) nihil, inquam, egisti mercedem caelestissimi oris et clarissimi capitis abscisi numerando auctoramentoque funebri ad conservatoris quondam rei publicae tantique consulis inritando necem. Rapuisti tu M. Ciceroni lucem sollicitam et aetatem senilem et vitam miseriorem te principe quam sub te triumviro mortem, famam vero gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non abstulisti, ut auxeris. Vivit vivetque per omnem saeculorum memoriam, dumque hoc vel forte vel providentia vel utcumque constitutum rerum naturae corpus, quod ille paene solus Romanorum animo vidit, ingenio complexus est, eloquentia inluminavit, manebit incolume, comitem aevi sui laudem Ciceronis trahet omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mirabitur, tuum in eum factum execrabitur citiusque e mundo genus hominum quam Ciceronis nomen cedit.

LVII

Huius totius temporis fortunam ne deflere quidem quisquam satis digne potuit, adeo nemo exprimere verbis potest. Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam, adeo difficilis est hominibus utcumque conceptae spei mora. Ne quid ulli sanctum relinqueretur, velut iam dotem invitamentumque sceleris Antonius L. Caesarem avunculum, Lepidus Paulum fratrem proscripserant;

nec Planco gratia defuit ad impetrandum, ut frater eius Plancus Plotius proscriberetur. Eoque inter iocos militaris, qui currum Lepidi Plancique secuti erant, inter execrationem civium usurpabant hunc versum: De germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant consules.

LVIII

Suo praeteritum loco referatur; neque enim persona umbram actae rei capit. Dum in acie Pharsalica acriter de summa rerum Caesar dimicat, M. Caelius, vir eloquio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque perfectior nec minus ingeniose nequam, cum ne modica quidem solvere ac servari posset (quippe peior illi res familiaris quam mens erat), in praetura novarum tabularum auctor extitit nequiique senatus et consulis auctoritate deterreri; accito etiam Milone Annio, qui non impetrato reditu Iulianis partibus infestus erat, in urbe seditionem, in agris haud occulte bellicum tumultum movens, primo summotus a re publica, mox consularibus armis auctore senatu circa Thurios oppressus est. In incepto pari similis fortuna Milonis fuit, qui Compsam in Hirpinis oppugnans ictusque lapide cum P. Clodio, tum patriae, quam armis petebat, poenas dedit, vir inquires et ultra fortem temerarius. Quatenus autem aliquid ex omissis peto, notetur immodica et intempestiva, libertate usos adversus C. Caesarem Marullum Epidium Flavumque Caesetium tribunos plebis, dum arguunt in eo regni voluntatem, paene vim dominationis expertos. In hoc tamen saepe lacesciti principis ira excessit, ut censoria potius contentus nota quam animadversione dictatoria summovertet eos a re publica testareturque esse sibi miserrimum, quod aut natura sua ei excedendum foret aut minuenda dignitas. Sed ad ordinem revertendum est.

LXIX

Iam et Dolabella in Asia C. Trebonium consularem, cui succedebat, fraude deceptum Zmyrnae occiderat, virum adversus merita Caesaris ingratisimum participemque caedis eius, a quo ipse in consulare proventus fastigium fuerat; et C. Cassius acceptis a Statio Murco et Crispo Marcio, praetoriis viris imperatoribusque, praevalidis in Syria legionibus, inclusum Dolabellam, qui praeoccupata Asia in Syriam pervenerat, Laodiciae expugnata ea urbe interfecerat (ita tamen, ut ad ictum servi sui Dolabella non segniter cervicem daret) et decem legiones in eo tractu sui iuris fecerat; et M. Brutus C. Antonio,

fratri M. Antonii, in Macedonia Vatinioque circa Dyrrachium volentis legiones extorserat (sed Antonium bello lacerasset, Vatinium dimissione obruerat, cum et Brutus cuilibet ducum praefereendus videretur et Vatinius nulli non esset postferendus, in quo deformitas corporis cum turpitudine certabat ingenii, adeo ut animus eius dignissimo domicilio inclusus videretur) eratque septem legionibus validus. At lege Pedia, quam consul Pedius collega Caesaris tulerat, omnibus, qui Caesarem patrem interfecerant, aqua ignique interdictum erat. Quo tempore Capito, patruus meus, vir ordinis senatorii, Agrippae subscripsit in C. Cassium. Dumque ea in Italia geruntur, acri atque prosperrimo bello Cassius Rhodum, rem inmanis operis, cepit, Brutus Lycios devicerat, et inde in Macedoniam exercitus traiecerant, cum per omnia repugnans naturae suae Cassius etiam Bruti clementiam vinceret. Neque reperias, quos aut praeior fortuna comitata sit aut veluti fatigata maturius destituerit quam Brutum et Cassium.

LXX

Tum Caesar et Antonius traiecerunt exercitus in Macedoniam et apud urbem Philippos cum Bruto Cassioque acie concurrerunt. Cornu, cui Brutus praeferat, impulsis hostibus castra Caesaris cepit (nam ipse Caesar, etiamsi infirmissimus valetudine erat, obibat munia ducis, oratus etiam ab Artorio medico, ne in castris remaneret, manifesta denuntiatione quietis terrore), id autem, in quo Cassius fuerat, fugatum ac male mulcatum in altiora se receperat loca. Tum Cassius ex sua fortuna eventum collegae aestimans, cum dimisisset evocatum iussissetque nuntiare sibi, quae esset multitudo ac vis hominum, quae ad se tenderet, tardius eo nuntiante, cum in vicino esset agmen cursu ad eum tendentiurn neque pulvere facies aut signa denotari possent, existimans hostes esse, qui irruerent, lacerna caput circumdedit extentamque cervicem interritus liberto praebuit. Deciderat Cassii caput, cum evocatus advenit nuntians Brutum esse victorem. Qui cum imperatorem prostratum videret: “sequar”, inquit, “eum, quem mea occidit tarditas, et ita in gladium incubuit”. Post paucos deinde dies Brutus conflixit cum hostibus et victus acie cum in tumultum nocte ex fuga se recepisset, impetravit a Stratone Aegeate, familiari suo, ut manum morituro commodaret sibi; reiectoque laevo super caput brachio, cum mucronem gladii eius dextera tenens sinistrae admovisset mammillae ad eum ipsum locum, qua cor emicat, impellens se in

vulnus uno ictu transfixus expiravit protinus.

LXXI

Messalla, fulgentissimus iuvenis, proximus in illis castris Bruti Cassique auctoritati, cum essent qui eum ducem poscerent, servari beneficio Caesaris maluit quam dubiam spem armorum temptare amplius; nec aut Caesari quidquam ex victoriis suis fuit laetius quam servasse Corvinum aut maius exemplum hominis grati ac pii, quam Corvinus in Caesarem fuit. Non aliud bellum cruentius caede clarissimorum virorum fuit. Tum Catonis filius cecidit; eadem Lucillum Hortensiumque, eminentissimorum civium filios, fortuna abstulit; nam Varro ad ludibrium moriturus Antonii digna illo ac vera de exitu eius magna cum libertate ominatus est. Drusus Livius, Iuliae Augustae pater, et Varus Quintilius ne temptata quidem hostis misericordia alter se ipse in tabernaculo interemit, Varus autem liberti, quem id facere coegerat, manu, cum se insignibus honorum velasset, iugulatus est.

LXXII

Hunc exitum M. Bruti partium septimum et tricesimum annum agentis fortuna esse voluit, incorrupto animo eius in diem, quae illi omnes virtutes unius temeritate facti abstulit. Fuit autem dux Cassius melior, quanto vir Brutus; e quibus Brutum amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres Cassium; in altero maior vis, in altero virtus: qui si vicissent, quantum rei publicae interfuit Caesarem potius habere quam Antonium principem, tantum retulisset habere Brutum quam Cassium. Cn. Domitius, pater L. Domitii nuper a nobis visi, eminentissimae ac nobilissimae simplicitatis viri, avus huius Cn. Domitii, clarissimi iuvenis, occupatis navibus cum magno sequentium consilia sua comitatu fugae fortunaeque se commisit, semet ipso contentus duce partium. Statius Murcus, qui classi et custodiae maris praefuerat, cum omni commissa sibi parte exercitus naviumque Sex. Pompeium, Cn. Magni filium, qui ex Hispania revertens Siciliam armis occupaverat, petiit. Ad quem et e Brutianis castris et ex Italia aliisque terrarum partibus, quos praesenti periculo fortuna subduxerat, proscripti confluebant: quippe nullum habentibus statum quilibet dux erat idoneus, cum fortuna non electionem daret, sed perfugium ostenderet exitialemque tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret.

Hic adulescens erat studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatu celer, fide patri dissimillimus, libertorum suorum libertus servorumque servus, speciosis invidens, ut pareret humillimis. Quem senatus paene totus adhuc e Pompeianis constans partibus post Antonii a Mutina fugam eodem illo tempore, quo Bruto Cassioque transmarinas provincias decreverat, revocatum ex Hispania, ubi adversus eum clarissimum bellum Pollio Asinius praetorius gesserat, in paterna bona, restituerat et orae maritimae praefecerat. Is tum, ut praediximus, occupata Sicilia servitia fugitivosque in numerum exercitus sui recipiens magnum modum legionum effecerat perque Menam et Menecraten paternos libertos, praefectos classium, latrociniis ac praedationibus infestato mari ad se exercitumque tuendum raptu utebatur, cum eum non depucleret vindicatum armis ac ductu patris sui mare infestare piraticis sceleribus.

Fractis Brutianis Cassianisque partibus Antonius transmarinas obituras provincias substitit. Caesar in Italiam se recepit eamque longe quam speraverat tumultuosiore repperit. Quippe L. Antonius consul, vitiorum fratris sui consors, sed virtutum, quae interdum in illo erant, experts, modo apud veteranos criminatus Caesarem, modo eos, qui iussa divisione praediorum nominatisque coloniis agros amiserant, ad arma conciens magnum exercitum conflaverat. Ex altera parte uxor Antonii Fulvia, nihil muliebre praeter corpus gerens, omnia armis tumultuque miscebat. Haec belli sedem Praeneste ceperat; Antonius pulsus undique viribus Caesaris Perusiam se contulerat: Plancus, Antonianarum adiutor partium, spem magis ostenderat auxilii, quam opem ferebat Antonio. Usus Caesar virtute et fortuna sua Perusiam expugnavit. Antonium inviolatum dimisit, in Perusinos magis ira militum quam voluntate saevitum ducis: urbs incensa, cuius initium incendii princeps eius loci fecit Macedonicus, qui subiecto rebus ac penatibus suis igni transfixum se gladio flammae intulit.

Per eadem tempora exarserat in Campania bellum, quod professus eorum, qui

perdiderant agros, patrocinium ciebat Ti.Claudius Nero praetorius et pontiex, Ti. Caesaris pater, magni vir animi doctissimique et ingenii. Id quoque adventu Caesaris sepultum atque discussum est. Quis fortunae mutationes, quis dubios rerum humanarum casus satis mirari queat? Quis non diversa praesentibus contrariaque expectaitis aut speret aut timeat? Livia, nobilissimi et fortissimi viri Drusi Claudiani filia, genere, probitate, forma Romanarum eminentissima, quam postea coniugem Augusti vidimus, quam transgressi ad deos sacerdotem ac filiam, tum fugiens mox futuri sui Caesaris arma ac manus bimum hunc Tiberium Caesarem, vindicem Romani imperii futurumque eiusdem Caesaris filium, gestans sinu, per avia itinerum vitatis militum gladiis uno comitante, quo facilius occultaretur fuga, pervenit ad mare et cum viro Nerone pervecta in Siciliam est.

LXXVI

Quod alieno testimonium redderem, eo non fraudabo avum meum. Quippe C.Velleius, honoratissimo inter illos trecentos et sexaginta iudices loco a Cn.Pompeio lectus, eiusdem Marcique Bruti ac Ti. Neronis praefectus fabrum, vir nulli secundus, in Campania digressu Neronis a Neapoli, cuius ob singularem cum eo amicitiam partium adiutor fuerat, gravis iam aetate et corpore cum comes esse non posset, gladio se ipse transfixit. Inviolatam excedere Italia Caesar passus est Fulviam Plancumque, muliebris fugae comitem. Nam Pollio Asinius cum septem legionibus, diu retenta in potestate Antonii Venetia, magnis speciosisque rebus circa Altinum aliasque eius regionis urbes editis, Antonium petens, vagum adhuc Domitium, quem digressum e Brutianis castris post caedem eius praediximus et propriae classis factum ducem, consiliis suis inlectum ac fide data iunxit Antonio: quo facto, quisquis aequum se praestiterit, sciat non minus a Pollione in Antonium quam ab Antonio in Pollionem esse conlatum. Adventus deinde in Italiam Antonii apparatusque contra eum Caesaris habuit belli metum, sed pax circa Brundisium composita. Per quae tempora Rufi Salvidieni scelestia consilia patefacta sunt. Qui natus obscurissimis initiis parum habebat summa accepisse et proximus a Cn.Pompeio ipsoque Caesare equestris ordinis consul creatus esse, nisi in id ascendisset, e quo infra se et Caesarem videret et rem publicam.

Tum expostulante consensu populi, quem gravis urebat infesto mari annona, cum Pompeio quoque circa Misenum pax inita, qui haud absurde, cum in navi Caesaremque et Antonium cena exciperet, dixit in carinis suis se cenam dare, referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur. In hoc pacis foedere placuit Siciliam Achaïamque Pompeio concedere, in quo tamen animus inquires manere non potuit. Id unum tantummodo salutare adventu suo patriae attulit, quod omnibus proscriptis aliisque, qui ad eum ex diversis causis fugerant, reditum salutemque pactus est: quae res et alios clarissimos viros et Neronem Claudium et M.Silanum Sentiumque Saturninum et Arruntium ac Titium restituit rei publicae. Statium autem Murcum, qui adventu suo classisque celeberrimae vires eius duplicaverat, insimulatum falsis criminationibus, quia talem virum collegam officii Mena et Menecrates fastidierant, Pompeius in Sicilia interfecerat.

LXXVIII

Hoc tractu temporum Octaviam, sororem Caesaris, M. Antonius duxit uxorem. Redierat Pompeius in Siciliam, Antonius in transmarinas provincias, quas magnis momentis Labienus, ex Brutianis castris profectus ad Parthos, perducto eorum exercitu in Syriam interfectoque legato Antonii concusserat; qui virtute et ductu Ventidii una cum Parthorum copiis celeberrimoque iuvenum Pacoro, regis filio, extinctus est. Caesar per haec tempora, ne res disciplinae inimicissima, otium, corrumperet militem, crebris in Illyrico Delmatiaque expeditionibus patientia periculorum bellicae experientia durabat exercitum. Eadem tempestate Calvinus Domitius, cum ex consulatu obtineret Hispaniam, gravissimi comparandiae antiquis exempli auctor fuit: quippe primi pili centurionem nomine Vibillum ob turpem ex acie fugam fusti percussit.

LXXIX

Crescente in dies et classe et fama Pompei Caesar molem belli eius suscipere statuit. Aedificandis navibus contrahendoque militi ac remigi navalibusque adsuendo certaminibus atque exercitationibus praefectus est M.Agrippa, virtutis nobilissimae, labore, vigilia, periculo invictus parendique, sed uni,

scientissimus, aliis sane imperandi cupidus et per omnia extra dilationes positus consultisque facta coniungens. Hic in Averno ac Lucrino lacu speciosissima classe fabricata cotidianis exercitationibus militem remigemque ad summam et militaris et maritimae rei perduxit scientiam. Hac classi Caesar, cum prius despondente ei Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat Liviam, auspicatis rei publicae ominibus duxisset eam uxorem, Pompeio Siciliaeque bellum intulit. Sed virum humana ope invictum graviter eo tempore fortuna concussit: quippe longe maiorem partem classis circa Veliam Palinurique promontorium adorta vis Africi laceravit ac distulit. Ea patrando bello mora fuit, quod postea dubia et interdum ancipiti fortuna gestum est. Nam et classis eodem loco vexata est tempestate, et ut navali primo proelio apud Mylas ductu Agrippae pugnatum prospere, ita inopinato Pompeianae classis adventu gravis sub ipsius Caesaris oculis circa Tauromenium accepta clades; neque ab ipso periculum abfuit. Legiones, quae cum Cornificio erant, legato Caesaris, expositae in terram paene a Pompeio oppressae sunt. Sed ancipitis fortuna temporis mature virtute correctae: explicatis quippe utriusque partis classibus paene omnibus exutus navibus Pompeius Asiam fuga petivit iussuque M. Antonii, cuius opem petierat, dum inter ducem et supplicem tumultuatur et nunc dignitatem retinet, nunc vitam precatur, a Titio iugulatus est. Cui in tantum duravit hoc facinore contractum odium, ut mox ludos in theatro Pompei faciens execratione populi spectaculo, quod praebebat, pelleretur.

LXXX

Acciverat gerens contra Pompeium bellum ex Africa Caesar Lepidum cum duodecim semiplenis legionibus. Hic vir omnium vanissimus neque ulla virtute tam longam fortunae indulgentiam meritis exercitum Pompei, quia propior fuerat, sequentem non ipsius, sed Caesaris auctoritatem ac fidem, sibi iunxerat inflatusque amplius viginti legionum numero in id furoris processerat, ut inutilis alienae victoriae comes, quam diu moratus erat, dissidendo in consiliis Caesari et semper diversa ūs, quae aliis placebant, dicendo, totam victoriam ut suam interpretabatur audebatque denuntiare Caesari, excederet Sicilia. Non ab Scipionibus aliisque veteribus Romanorum ducum quidquam ausum patratumque fortius quam tunc a Caesare. Quippe cum inermis et lacernatus esset, praeter nomen nihil trahens, ingressus castra Lepidi, evitatis telis, quae iussu hominis pravissimi in eum iacta erant, cum

lacerna eius perforata esset lancea, aquilam legionis rapere ausus est. Scires, quid interesset inter duces: armati inermem secuti sunt decimoque anno quam ad indignissimam vita sua potentiarn pervenerat, Lepidus et a militibus et a fortuna desertus pulloque velatus amiculo inter ultimam confluentium ad Caesarem turbam latens genibus eius advolutus est. Vita rerumque suarum dominium concessa ei sunt, spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas.

LXXXI

Subita deinde exercitus seditio, qui plexumque contemplatus frequentiam suam a disciplina desciscit et, quod cogere se putat posse, rogare non sustinet, partim severitate, partim liberalitate discussa principis, speciosumque per idem tempus adiectum supplementum Campanae coloniae (veteranis in agros deductis qui coloniae veteranis in agros deductis qui coloniae eius relictis erant publici: pro his longe uberiores redditus duodecies sestertium in Creta insula redditus et aqua promissa, quae hodieque singulare et salubritatis instrumentum et amoenitatis ornamentum est. Insigne coronae classicae, quo nemo umquam Romanorum donatus erat, hoc bello Agrippa singulari virtute meruit. Vicior deinde Caesar reversus in urbem contractas emptionibus complures domos per procuratores, quo laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se usibus destinare professus est, templumque Apollinis et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singulari exstructum munificentia est.

LXXXII

Qua aestate Caesar tam prospere sepelivit in Sicilia bellum, fortuna, in Caesare et in re publica mitis, saeviit ad Orientem. Quippe Antonius cum tredecim legionibus ingressus Armeniam ac deinde Mediam et per eas regiones Parthos petens habuit regem eorum obvium. Primoque duas legiones cum omnibus impedimentis tormentisque et Statiano legato amisit, mox saepius ipse cum summo totius exercitus discrimine ea adiit pericula, a quibus servari se posse desperaret, amissaque non minus quarta parte militum captivi cuiusdam, sed Romani, consilio ac fide servatus est, qui clade Crassiani exercitus captus, cum fortuna non animum mutasset, accessit nocte ad stationem Romanam praedixitque, ne destinatum iter peterent, sed diverso silvestrique pervaderent. Hoc M. Antonio ac tot illis legionibus saluti fuit; de quibus tamen totoque exercitu haud minus pars quarta, ut praediximus,

militum, calorum servitiique desiderata tertia est; impedimentorum vix ulla superfuit. Hanc tamen Antonius fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam voeabat. Qui tertia aestate reversus in Armeniam regem eius Artavasden fraude deceptum catenis, sed, ne quid honori deesset, aureis vinxit. Crescente deinde et amoris in Cleopatram incendio et vitiorum, quae semper facultatibus licentiaque et adsentationibus aluntur, magnitudine, bellum patriae inferre constituit, cum ante novum se Liberum Patrem appellari iussisset, cum redimitus hederis crocotaque velatus aurea et thyrsus tenens cothurnisque succinctus curru velut Liber Pater vectus esset Alexandriae.

LXXXIII

Inter hunc apparatus belli Plancus, non iudicio recta legendi neque amore rei publicae aut Caesaris, quippe haec semper impugnabat, sed morbo proditor, cum fuisset humillimus adsentator reginae et infra servos cliens, cum Antonii librarius, cum obscenissimarum rerum et auctor et minister, cum in omnia et omnibus venalis, cum caeruleatus et nudus caputque redimitus arundine et caudam trahens, genihus innixus Glaucum saltasset in convivio, refrigeratus ab Antonio ob manifestarum rapinarum indicia transfugit ad Caesarem. Et idem postea clementiam victoris pro sua virtute interpretabatur, dictitans id probatum a Caesare, cui ille ignoverat; mox autem hunc avunculum Titius imitatus est. Haud absurde Coponius, vir e praetoriis gravissimus, P. Silius socer, cum recens transfuga multa ac nefanda Plancus absenti Antonio in senatu obiceret, “multa,” inquit, “mehercules fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres “.

LXXXIV

Caesare deinde et Messala Corvino consulibus debellatum apud Actium, ubi longe ante quam dimicaretur exploratissima Iulianarum partium fuit victoria. Vigebat in hac parte miles atque imperator, in illa marcebant omnia; hinc remiges firmissimi, illinc inopia adfectissimi; navium haec magnitudo modica nec celeritati adversa, illa specie terribilior; hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Caesarem cotidie aliquis transfugiebat; rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora secutus; nam Dellius exempli sui tenax ut a Dolabella ad Cassium, a Cassio ad Antonium, ita ab Antonio transiit ad Caesarem; virque clarissimus Cn. Domitius, qui solus Antonianarum partium numquam reginam nisi nomine

salutavit, maximo et praecipiti periculo transmisit ad Caesarem. Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianae classis per M. Agrippam Leucas expugnata, Patrae captae, Corinthus occupata, bis ante ultimum discrimen classis hostium superata.

LXXXV

Advenit deinde maximi discriminis dies, quo Caesar Antoniusque productis classibus pro salute alter, in ruinam alter terrarum orbis dimicavere. Dextrum navium Iulianarum cornu M. Lurio commissum, laevum Arruntio, Agrippae omne classici certaminis arbitrium; Caesar ei parti destinatus, in quam a fortuna vocaretur, ubique aderat. Classis Antonii regimen Publicolae Sosioque commissum. At in terra locatum exercitum Taurus Caesaris, Antonii regebat Canidius. Ubi initum certamen est, omnia in altera parte fuere, dux, remiges, milites, in altera nihil praeter milites. Prima occupat fugam Cleopatra. Antonius fugientis reginae quam pugnantis militis sui comes esse maluit, et imperator, qui in desertores saevire debuerat, desertor exercitus sui factus est. Illis etiam detracto capite in longum fortissime pugnandi duravit constantia et desperata victoria in mortem dimicabatur. Caesar, quos ferro poterat interimere, verbis mulcere cupiens clamitansque et ostendens fugisse Antonium, quaerebat, pro quo et cum quo pugnarent. At illi cum diu pro absente dimicassent duce, aegre summissis armis cessere victoriam, citiusque vitam veniamque Caesar promisit, quam illis ut eam precarentur persuasum est; fuitque in confesso milites optimi imperatoris, imperatorem fugacissimi militis functum officio, ut dubites, suone an Cleopatrae arbitrio victoriam temperaturus fuerit, qui ad eius arbitrium direxerit fugam. Idem locatus in terra fecit exercitus, cum se Canidius praecipti fuga rapuisset ad Antonium.

LXXXVI

Quid ille dies terrarum orbi praestiterit, ex quo in quem statum pervenerit fortuna publica, quis in hoc transcursu tam artati operis exprimere audeat? Victoria vero fuit clementissima, nec quisquam interemptus est, paucissimi summoti, qui ne deprecari quidem pro se sustinerent. Ex qua lenitate ducis colligi potuit, quem aut initio triumviratus sui aut in campis Philippiis, si ei licuisset, victoriae suae facturum fuerit modum. At Sosium L. Arruntii prisca gravitate celeberrimi fides, mox, diu cum clementia luctatus sua, Caesar

servavit incolumem. Non praetereatur Asinii Pollionis factum et dictum memorabile: namque cum se post Brundusinam pacem continuisset in Italia neque aut vidisset umquam reginam aut post enervatum amore eius Antonii animum partibus eius se miscuisset, rogante Caesare, ut secum ad bellum profisceretur Actiacum: “ mea “, inquit, “in Antonium maiora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora; itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham et ero praeda victoris”.

LXXXVII

Proximo deinde anno persecutus reginam Antoniumque Alexandream, ultimam bellis civilibus imposuit manum. Antonius se ipse non segniter interemit, adeo ut multa desidia crimina morte redimeret. At Cleopatra frustratis custodibus inlata aspide in morsu et sanie eius expers muliebris metus spiritum reddidit. Fuitque et fortuna et clementia Caesaris dignum, quod nemo ex iis, qui contra eum arma tulerant, ab eo iussuve eius interemptus est. D. Brutum Antonii interemit crudelitas. Sextum Pompeium ab eo devictum idem Antonius, cum dignitatis quoque servandae dedisset fidem, etiam spiritu privavit. Brutus et Cassius ante, quam victorum experirentur animum, voluntaria morte obierunt. Antonii Cleopatraeque quis fuisset exitus narravimus. Canidius timidius decessit, quam professioni ei, qua semper usus erat, congruebat. Ultimus autem ex interfectoribus Caesaris Parmensis Cassius morte poenas dedit, ut dederat Trebonius primus.

LXXXVIII

Dum bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit ultimam manum, M. Lepidus, iuvenis forma quam mente melior, Lepidi eius, qui triumvir fuerat rei publicae constituendae, filius, Iunia Bruti sorore natus, interficiendi, simul in urbem revertisset, Caesaris consilia inierat. Erat tunc urbis custodiis praepositus C. Maecenas equestri, sed splendido genere natus, vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane ex omnis, providens atque agendi sciens, simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis paene ultra, feminam fluens, non minus Agrippa Caesari carus, sed minus honoratus (quippe vixit angusti clavi plene contentus), nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit. Hic speculatus est per summam quietem ac dissimulationem praecipitis consilia iuvenis et mira celeritate nullaque cum perturbatione aut rerum aut

hominum oppresso Lepido inmane novi ac resurrecturi belli civilis restinxit initium. Et ille quidem male consultorum poenas exsolvit. Aequetur praedictae iam Antistii Servilia Lepidi uxor, quae vivo igni devorato praematura morte immortalem nominis sui pensavit memoriam.

LXXXIX

Caesar autem reversus in Italiam atque urbem quo occurso, quo favore hominum omnium generum, aetatum, ordinum exceptus sit, quae magnificentia triumphorum eius, quae fuerit munerum, ne in operis quidem iusti materia, nedum huius tam recisi digne exprimi potest. Nihil deinde optare a dis homines, nihil dii hominibus praestare possunt, nihil voto concipi, nihil felicitate consummari, quod non Augustus post reditum in urbem rei publicae populoque Romano terrarumque orbi repraesentaverit. Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudiciis auctoritas, senatui maiestas, imperium magistratuum ad primum redactum modum, tantummodo octo praetoribus adlecti duo. Prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae forma revocata. Rediit cultus agris, sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio; leges emendatae utiiter, latae salubriter; senatus sine asperitate nec sine severitate lectus. Principes viri triumphisque et amplissimis honoribus functi adhortatu principis ad ornandam urbem inlecti sunt. Consulatus tantummodo usque ad undecimum quin continuaret Caesar, cum saepe obnitens repugnasset, impetrare non potuit: nam dictaturam quam pertinaciter ei deferebat populus, tam constanter repulit. Bella sub imperatore gesta pacatusque victoriis terrarum orbis et tot extra Italiam domique opera omne aevi sui spatium impensurum in id solum opus scriptorem fatigarent: nos memores professionis universam imaginem principatus eius oculis animisque subiecimus.

XC

Sepultis, ut praediximus, bellis civilibus coalescentibusque rei publicae membris, et coaluere quae tam longa armorum series laceraverat. Dalmatia, annos viginti et ducentos rebellis, ad certam confessionem pacata est imperii. Alpes feris incultisque nationibus celebres perdomitae. Hispaniae nunc ipsius praesentia, nunc Agrippae, quem usque in tertium consulatum et mox

collegium tribuniciae potestatis amicitia principis evexerat, multo varioque Marte pacatae. In quas provincias cum initio Scipione et Sempronio Longo consulibus primo anno secundi belli Punici abhinc annos quinquaginta et ducentos Romani exercitus missi essent duce Cn. Scipione, Africani patruo, per annos ducentos in iis multo mutuoque ita certatum est sanguine, ut amissis populi Romani imperatoribus exercitibusque saepe contumelia, nonnumquam etiam periculum Romano inferretur imperio. Illae enim provinciae Scipiones consumpserunt; illae contumelioso decem annorum bello sub duce Viriatho maiores nostros exercuerunt; illae terrore Numantini belli populum Romanum concusserunt; in illis turpe Q. Pompei foedus turpiusque Mancini senatus cum ignominia dediti imperatoris rescidit; illa tot consulares, tot praetorios absumpsit duces, patrumque aetate in tantum Sertorium armis extulit, ut per quinquennium diiudicari non potuerit, Hispanis Romanisne in armis plus esset roboris et uter populus alteri pariturus foret. Has igitur provincias tam diffusas, tam frequentis, tam feras ad eam pacem abhinc annos ferme quinquaginta perduxit Caesar Augustus, ut quae maximis bellis numquam vacaverant, eae sub C. Antistio ac deinde P. Silio legato ceterisque postea etiam latrociniis vacarent.

XCI

Dum pacatur occidens, ab oriente ac rege Parthorum signa Romana, quae Crasso oppresso Orodes, quae Antonio pulso filius eius Phraates ceperant, Augusto remissa sunt. Quod cognomen illi iure Planci sententia consensus universi senatus populique Romani indidit. Erant tamen qui hunc felicissimum statum odissent: quippe L. Murena et Fannius Caepio diversis moribus (nam Murena sine hoc facinore potuit videri bonus, Caepio et ante hoc erat pessimus) cum iniissent occidendi Caesaris consilia, oppressi auctoritate publica, quod vi facere voluerant, iure passi sunt. Neque multo post Rufus Egnatius, per omnia gladiatori quam senatori propior, collecto in aedilitate favore populi, quem extinguendis privata familia incendiis in dies auxerat, in tantum quidem, ut ei praeturam continuaret, mox etiam consulatum petere ausus, cum esset omni flagitiorum scelerumque conscientia mersus nec melior illi res familiaris quam mens foret, adgregatis simillimis sibi interimere Caesarem statuit, ut quo salvo salvus esse non poterat, eo sublato moreretur. Quippe ita se mores habent, ut publica quisque ruina malit occidere quam sua

proteri et idem passurus minus conspici. Neque hic prioribus in occultando felicior fuit, abditusque carceri cum consciis facinoris mortem dignissimam vita sua obiit.

XCII

Praeclarum excellentis viri factum C. Sentii Saturnini circa ea tempora consulis ne fraudetur memoria. Aberat ordinandis Asiae Orientisque rebus Caesar, circumferens terrarum orbi praesentia sua pacis suae bona. Tum Sentius, forte et solus et absente Caesare consul, cum alia prisca severitate, summaque constantia, vetere consulum more ac severitate, gessisset, protraxisset publicanorum fraudes, punisset avaritiam, regessisset in aerarium pecunias publicas, tum in comitiis habendis praecipuum egit consulem: nam et quaesturam petentes, quos indignos iudicavit, profiteri vetuit, et, cum id facturos se perseverarent, consularem, si in campum descendissent, vindictam minatus est, et Egnatium florentem favore publico sperantemque ut praeturam aedilitati, ita consulatum praeturae se iuncturum, profiteri vetuit, et cum id non obtinuisset, iuravit, etiam si factus esset consul suffragiis populi, tamen se eum non renuntiaturum. Quod ego factum cuilibet veterum consulum gloriae comparandum reor, nisi quod naturaliter audita visis laudamus libentius et praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus.

XCIII

Ante triennium fere, quam Egnatianum scelus erumperet, circa Murenae Caepionisque coniurationis tempus, abhinc annos quinquaginta, M. Marcellus, sororis Augusti Octaviae filius, quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Caesari, successorem potentiae eius arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id per M. Agrippam securo ei posse contingere non existimarent, magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis edito decessit admodum iuvenis, sane, ut aiunt, ingenuarum virtutum laetusque animi et ingenii fortunaeque, in quam alebatur, capax. Post cuius obitum Agrippa, qui sub specie ministeriorum principalium profectus in Asiam, ut fama loquitur, ob tacitas cum Marcello offensiones praesenti se subduxerat tempori, reversus inde filiam Caesaris Iuliam, quam in matrimonio Marcellus habuerat, duxit uxorem, feminam neque sibi neque rei publicae felicis uteri.

Hoc tractu temporum Ti. Claudius Nero, quo trimo, ut praediximus, Livia, Drusi Claudiani filia, despondente Ti. Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat, Caesari nupserat, innutritus caelestium praeceptorum disciplinis, iuvenis genere, forma, celsitudine corporis, optimis studiis maximoque ingenio instructissimus, qui protinus quantus est, sperari potuerat visuque praetulerat principern, quaestor undevicesimum annum agens capessere coepit rem publicam maximamque difficultatem annonae ac rei frumentariae inopiam ita Ostiae atque in urbe mandatu vitrici moderatus est, ut per id, quod agebat, quantus evasurus esset, eluceret. Nec multo post missus ab eodem vitrico cum exercitu ad visendas ordinandasque, quae sub Oriente sunt, provincias, praecipuis omnium virtutum experimentis in eo tractu editis, cum legionibus ingressus Armeniam, redacta ea in potestatem populi Romani regnum eius Artavasdi dedit. Quin rex quaque Parthorum tanti nominis fama territus liberos suos ad Caesarem misit obsides.

XCV

Reversum inde Neronem Caesar haud mediocris belli mole experiri statuit, adiutore operis dato fratre ipsius Druso Claudio, quem intra Caesaris penates enixa erat Livia. Quippe uterque e diversis partibus Raetos Vindelicosque adgressi, multis urbium et castellorum oppugnantibus nec non directaque quoque acie feliciter functi gentes locis tutissimas, aditu difficillimas, numero frequentes, feritate truces maiore cum periculo quam damno Romani exercitus plurimo cum earum sanguine perdomuerunt. Ante quae tempora censura Planci et Pauli acta inter discordiam neque ipsis honori neque rei publicae usui fuerat, cum alteri vis censoria, alteri vita deesset, Paulus vix posset implere censorem, Plancus timere deberet, nec quidquam obicere posset adolescentibus aut obicientes audire, quod non agnosceret senex.

XCVI

Mors deinde Agrippae, qui novitatem suam multis rebus nobilitaverat atque in hoc perduxerat, ut et Neronis esset socer, cuiusque liberos nepotes suos divus Augustus praepositis Gai ac Lucii nominibus adoptaverat, admovit propius Neronem Caesari: quippe filia Iulia eius, quae fuerat Agrippae nupta, Neroni

nupsit. Subinde bellum Pannonicum, quod inchoatum ab Agrippa, Marco Vinicio, avo tuo consule, magnum atroxque et perquam vicinum imminebat Italiae, per Neronem gestum est. Gentes Pannoniorum Delmatarumque nationes situmque regionum ac fluminum numerumque et modum virium excelsissimasque et multiplices eo bello victorias tanti mperatoris alio loco explicabimus: hoc opus servet formam suam. Huius victoriae compos Nero ovans triumphavit.

XCVII

Sed dum in hac parte imperii omnia geruntur prosperrime, accepta in Germania clades sub legato M. Lollio, homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidiores et inter summam vitiorum dissimulationem vitiosissimo, amissaque legionis quintae aquila vocavit ab urbe in Gallias Caesarem. Cura deinde atque onus Germanici belli delegata Druso Claudio, fratri Neronis, adolescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quot et quantas natura mortalis recipit vel industria perficit. Cuius ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus an civilibus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est: morum certe dulcedo ac suavitas et adversus amicos aequa ac par sui aestimatio inimitabilis fuisse diciiur; nam pulchritudo corporis proxima fraternae fuit. Sed illum magna ex parte domitorem Germaniae, plurimo eius gentis variis in locis profuso sanguine, fatorum iniquitas consulem, agentem annum tricesimum, rapui. Moles deinde eius belli translata in Neronem est: quod is sua et virtute et fortuna administravit peragratumque victor omnis partis Germaniae sine ullo detrimento commissi exercitus, quod praecipue huic duci semper curae fuit, sic perdomuit eam, ut in formam paene stipendiariae redigeret provinciae. Tum alter triumphus cum altero consulatu ei oblatus est.

XCVIII

Dum ea, quae diximus, in Pannonia Germaniaeque geruntur, atrox in Thracia bellum ortum, omnibus eius gentis nationibus in arma accensis, L. Pisonis, quem hodieque diligentissimum atque eundem lenissimum securitatis urbanae custodem habemus, virtus compressit (quippe legatus Caesaris triennio cum iis bellavit gentesque ferocissimas plurimo cum earum excidio nunc acie, nunc expugnationibus in pristinum pacis redegit modum) eiusque patratione Asiae securitatem, Macedoniae pacem reddidit. De quo viro hoc omnibus

sentiendum ac praedicandum est, esse mores eius vigore ac lenitate mixtissimos et vix quemquam reperiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligat aut facilius sufficiat negotio et magis quae agenda sunt curet sine ulla ostentatione agendi.

XCIX

Brevi interiecto spatio Ti. Nero duobus consulatibus totidemque triumphis actis tribuniciae potestatis consortione aequatus Augusto, civium post unum, et hoc, quia volebat, eminentissimus, ducum maximus, fama fortunaque celeberrimus et vere alterum rei publicae lumen et caput, mira quadam et incredibili atque inenarrabili pietate, cuius causae mox detectae sunt, cum Gaius Caesar sumpisset iam virilem togam, Lucius item maturus esset viribus, ne fulgor suus orientium iuvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico adquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Quis fuerit eo tempore civitatis habitus, qui singulorum animi, quae digredientium a tanto viro omnium lacrimae, quam paene ei patria manum iniecerit, iusto servemus operi: illud etiam in hoc transcurso dicendum est, ita septem annos Rhodi moratum, ut omnes, qui pro consulibus legatique in transmarinas sunt profecti provincias, visendi eius gratia Rhodum deverterint atque eum convenientes semper privato, si illa maiestas privata umquam fuit, fasces suos summiserint fassique sint otium eius honoratius imperio suo.

C

Sensit terrarum orbis digressum a custodia Neronem urbis: nam et Parthus desciscens a societate Romana adiecit Armeniae manum et Germania, aversis domitoris sui oculis, rebellavit. At in urbe eo ipso anno, quo magnificentissimis gladiatorii muneris naumachiaeque spectaculis divus Augustus abhinc annos triginta se et Gallo Caninio consulibus, dedicato Martis templo animos oculosque populi Romani repleverat, foeda dictu memoriaque horrenda in ipsius domo tempestas erupit. Quippe filia eius Iulia, per omnia tanti parentis ac viri immemor, nihil, quod facere aut pati turpiter posset femina, luxuria libidineve infectum reliquit magnitudinemque fortunae suae peccandi licentia metiebatur, quidquid liberet pro licito vindicans. Tum Iulus Antonius, singulare exemplum clementiae Caesaris, violator eius domus,

ipse sceleris a se commissi ultor fuit (quem victo eius patre non tantum incolumitate donaverat, sed sacerdotio, praetura, consulatu, provinciis honoratum, etiam matrimonio sororis suae filiae in artissimam adfinitatem receperat), Quintiusque Crispinus, singularem nequitiam supercilio truci protegens, et Appius Claudius et Sempronius Gracchus ac Scipio alique minoris nominis utriusque ordinis viri, quas cuiuslibet uxore violata poenas pependissent, pependere, cum Caesaris filiam et Neronis violassent coniugem. Iulia relegata in insulam patriaeque et parentum subducta oculis, quam tamen comitata mater Scribonia voluntaria exilii permansit comes.

CI

Breve ab hoc intercesserat spatium, cum C. Caesar ante aliis provinciis ad visendum obitis in Syriam missus, convento prius Ti. Nerone, cui omnem honorem ut superiori habuit, tam varie se ibi gessit, ut nec laudaturum magna nec vituperaturum mediocris materia deficiat. Cum rege Parthorum, iuvene excelsissimo, in insula quam amnis Euphrates ambiebat, aequato utriusque partis numero coiiit. Quod spectaculum stantis ex diverso hinc Romani, illinc Parthorum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperiorum et hominum coirent capita, perquam clarum et memorabile sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno militum mihi visere contigit: quem militiae gradum ante sub patre tuo, M. Vinici, et P. Silio auspicatus in Thracia Macedoniaeque, mox Achaia Asiaeque et omnibus ad Orientem visis provinciis et ore atque utroque maris Pontici latere, haud iniucunda tot rerum, locorum, gentium, urbium recordatione perfruor. Prior Parthus apud Gaium in nostra ripa, posterior hic apud regem in hostili epulatus est.

CII

Quo tempore M. Lollii, quem veluti moderatorem iuventae filii sui Augustus esse voluerat, perfida et plena subdoli ac versuti animi consilia, per Parthum indicata Caesari, fama vulgavit. Cuius mors intra paucos dies fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro. Sed quam hunc decessisse laetati homines, tam paulo post obiisse Censorinum in iisdem provinciis graviter tulit civitas, virum demerendis hominibus genitum. Armeniam deinde Gaius ingressus prima parte introitus prospere rem gessit; mox in conloquio, cui se temere crediderat, circa Artageram graviter a quodam, nomine Adduo, vulneratus, ex

eo ut corpus minus habile, ita animum minus utilem rei publicae habere coepit. Nec defuit conversatio hominum vitia eius adsentatione alentium (etenim semper magnae fortunae comes adest adulatio), per quae eo ductus erat, ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenescere quam Romam regredi mallet. Diu deinde reluctatus invitusque revertens in Italiam in urbe Lyciae (Limyra nominant) morbo obiit, cum ante annum ferme L. Caesar frater eius Hispanias petens Massiliae decessisset.

CIII

Sed fortuna, quae subduxerat spem magni nominis, iam tum rei publicae sua praesidia reddiderat: quippe ante utriusque horum obitum patre tuo P. Vinicio consule Ti. Nero reversus Rhodo incredibili laetitia patriam repleverat. Non est diu cunctatus Caesar Augustus; neque enim quaerendus erat quem legeret, sed legendus qui eminebat. Itaque quod post Lucii mortem adhuc Gaio vivo facere voluerat atque vehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus, post utriusque adulescentium obitum facere perseveravit, ut et tribuniciae potestatis consortionem Neroni constitueret, multum quidem eo cum domitum in senatu recusante, et eum Aelio Cato C. Sentio consulibus V. Kal. Iulias, post urbem conditam annis septingentis quinquaginta quattuor, abhinc annos septem et viginti adoptaret. Laetitiam illius diei concursumque civitatis et vota paene inserentium caelo manus spemque conceptam perpetuae securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii vix in illo iusto opere abunde persequi poterimus, nedum hic implere temptemus, contenti id unum dixisse quam ille omnibus faustus fuerit. Tum refulsit certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris matrimoniorum, dominis patrimonii, omnibus hominibus salutis, quietis, pacis, tranquillitatis, adeo ut nec plus sperari potuerit nec spei responderi felicius.

CIV

Adoptatus eadem die etiam M. Agrippa, quem post mortem Agrippae Iulia enixa erat, sed in Neronis adoptione illud adiectum his ipsis Caesaris verbis: “hoc”, inquit, “rei publicae causa facio”. Non diu vindicem custodemque imperii sui morata in urbe patria protinus in Germaniam misit, ubi ante triennium sub M. Vinicio, avo tuo, clarissimo viro, immensum exarserat bellum. Erat id ab eo quibusdam in locis gestum, quibusdam sustentatum

feliciter, eoque nomine decreta ei cum speciosissima inscriptione operum ornamenta triumphalia. Hoc tempus me, functum ante tribunatu, castrorum Ti. Caesaris militem fecit: quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris mei, caelestissimorum eius operum per annos continuos novem praefectus aut legatus spectator, tum pro captu mediocritatis meae adiutor fui. Neque illi spectaculo, quo fructus sum, simile condicio mortalis recipere videtur mihi, cum per celeberrimam Italiae partem tractumque omnem Galliae provinciarum veterem imperatorem et ante meritis ac virtutibus quam nomine Caesarem revisentes sibi quisque quam illi gratularentur plenius. At vero militum conspectu eius elicite gaudio lacrimae alacritasque et salutationis nova quaedam exultatio et contingendi manum cupiditas non continentium protinus quin adicerent, “videmus te, imperator? Salvum recepimus?” Ac deinde “ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Raetia fui, ego a te in Vindelicis, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germania donatus sum” neque verbis exprimi et fortasse vix mereri fidem potest.

CV

Intrata protinus Germania, subacti Canninefates, Attuarii, Bructeri, recepti Cherusci (gentis eius Arminius mox nostra clade nobilis), transitus Visurgis, penetrata ulteriora, cum omnem partem asperrimi et periculosissimu belli Caesar vindicaret sibi, iis, quae minoris erant discriminis, Sentium Saturninum, qui iam legatus patris eius in Germania fuerat, praefecisset, virum multiplicem virtutibus, gnavum, agilem, providum militariumque officiorum patientem ac peritum pariter, sed eundem, ubi negotia fecissent locum otio, liberaliter lauteque eo abutentem, ita tamen, ut eum splendidum atque hilarem potius quam luxuriosum aut desidem diceres. De cuius viri claro ingenio celebrique consulatu praediximus. Anni eius aestiva usque in mensem Decembrem producta inmanis emolumentum fecere victoriae. Pietas sua Caesarem paene obstructis hieme Alpibus in urbem traxit, at tutela imperii eum veris initio reduxit in Germaniam, in cuius mediis finibus ad caput Lupiae fluminis hiberna digrediens princeps locaverat.

CVI

Pro dii boni, quanti voluminis opera insequenti aestate sub duce Tiberio Caesare gessimus! Perlustrata armis tota Germania est, victae gentes paene

nominiſ incognitae, receptae Cauchorum nationes: omnis eorum iuventus infinita numero, immenſa corporibus, ſitu locorum tutiſſima, traditiſ armis una cum ducibus ſuis ſaepta fulgenti armatoque militum noſtrorum agmine ante imperatoris procubuit tribunal. Fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior; denique quod numquam antea ſpe conceptum, nedum opere temptatum erat, ad quadringentiſimum miliarium a Rheno uſque ad flumen Albim, qui Semnonum Hermundurorumque fines praeterfluit, Romanus cum ſignis perductus exercitus. Et eadem mira felicitate et cura ducis, temporum quoque obſervantia, classiſ, quae Oceani circumnavigaverat ſinus, ab inaudito atque incognito ante mari Qumine Albi ſubvecta, cum plurimarum gentium victoria parta cum abundantiſſima rerum omnium copia exercitui Caesariſque ſe iunxit.

CVII

Non tempero mihi quin tantae rerum magnitudini hoc, qualecumque eſt, inſeram. Cum citeriorem ripam praedicti fluminis caſtris occupaeſſemus et ulterior armata hoſtium virtute fulgeret, ſub omnem motum conatumque noſtrarum navium protinus refugientium, unus e barbariſ aetate ſenior, corpore excellens, dignitate, quantum oſtendebat cultus, eminens, cavatum, ut illiſ moſ eſt, ex materia conſcendit alveum ſoluſque id navigii genus temperans ad medium proceſſit fluminis et petiit, liceret ſibi ſine periculo in eam, quam armis tenebamus, egredi ripam ac videre Caesarem. Data petenti facultas. Tum adpulſo lintre et diu tacituſ contemplatuſ Caesarem, “noſtra quidem”, inquit, “furiſ iuventus, quae cum veſtrum numen abſentium colat, praeeſentium potiſ arma metuit quam ſequitur fidem. Sed ego beneficio ac permiſſu tuo, Caesar, quos ante audiebam, hodie vidi deos, nec feliciorem ullum vitae meae aut optavi aut ſenſi diem”. Impetratoque ut manum contingeret, reverſuſ in naviculam, ſine fine reſpectans Caesarem ripae ſuorum adpulſuſ eſt. Victor omnium gentium locorumque, quos adierat Caesar, incolumi inviolatoque et ſemel tantummodo magna cum clade hoſtium fraude eorum temptato exercitu in hiberna legiones reduxit, eadem qua priore anno feſtinatione urbem petens.

CVIII

Nihil erat iam in Germania, quod vinci poſſet, praeter gentem

Marcomannorum, quae Maroboduus duce excita sedibus suis atque in interiora refugiens incinctos Hercynia silva campos incolebat. Nulla festinatio huius viri mentionem transgredi debet. Maroboduus, genere nobilis, corpore praevalens, animo ferox, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, non tumultuarium neque fortuitum neque mobilem et ex voluntate parentum constantem inter suos occupavit principatum, sed certum imperium vimque regiam complexus animo statuit avocata procul a Romanis gente sua eo progredi, ubi cum propter potentiora arma refugisset, sua faceret potentissima. Occupatis igitur, quos praediximus, locis finitimos omnis aut bello domuit aut condicionibus iuris sui fecit.

CIX

Corpus suum custodientium imperium, perpetuis exercitiis paene ad Romanae disciplinae formam redactum, brevi in eminens et nostro quoque imperio timendum perduxit fastigium gerebatque se ita adversus Romanos, ut neque bello nos lacesseret, et si lacesseret, superesse sibi vim ac voluntatem resistendi ostenderet. Legati, quos mittebat ad Caesares, interdum ut supplicem commendabant, interdum ut pro pari loquebantur. Gentibus hominibusque a nobis desciscentibus erat apud eum perfugium, in totumque ex male dissimulato agebat aemulum; exercitumque, quem septuaginta milium peditum, quattuor equitum fecerat, adsiduus adversus finitimos bellis exercendo maiori quam, quod habebat, operi praeparabat: eratque etiam eo timendus, quod cum Germaniam ad laevam et in fronte, Pannoniam ad dextram, a tergo sedium suarum haberet Noricos, tamquam in omnes semper venturus ab omnibus timebatur. Nec securam incrementi sui patiebatur esse Italiam, quippe cum a summis Alpium iugis, quae finem Italiae terminant, initium eius finium haud multo plus ducentis milibus passuum abesset. Hunc virum et hanc regionem proximo anno diversis e partibus Ti. Caesar adgredi statuit. Sentio Saturnino mandatum, ut per Cattos excisis continentibus Hercyniae silvis legiones Boiohaemum (id regioni, quam incolebat Maroboduus, nomen est) duceret, ipse a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orsus est.

CX

Rumpit interdum, interdum moratur proposita hominum fortuna. Praeparaverat iam hiberna Caesar ad Danubium admotoque exercitu non plus quam quinque dierum iter a primis hostium aberat, legionesque quas Saturninum admovere placuerat, paene aequali divisae intervallo ab hoste intra paucos dies in praedicto loco cum Caesare se iuncturae erant, cum universa Pannonia, insolens longae pacis bonis, adulta viribus, Delmatia omnibusque tractus eius gentibus in societatem adductis consilii, arma corripuit. Tum necessaria gloriosis praeposita neque tutum visum abdito in interiora exercitu vacuum tam vicino hosti relinquere Italiam. Gentium nationumque, quae rebellaverant, omnis numerus amplius octingentis milibus explebat; ducenta fere peditum colligebantur armis habilia, equitum novem. Cuius immensae multitudinis, parentis acerrimis ac peritissimis ducibus, pars petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio, pars in Macedoniam se effuderat, pars suis sedibus praesidium esse destinaverat. Maxima duobus Batonibus ac Pinneti duribus auctoritas erat. Omnibus autem Pannoniis non disciplinae tantummodo, sed linguae quoque notitia Romanae, plerisque etiam litterarum usus et familiaris animorum erat exercitatio. Etaque hercules nulla umquam natio tam mature consilio belli bellum iunxit ac decreta patravit. Oppressi cives Romani, trucidati negotiatores, magnus vexillariorum numerus ad internecionem ea in regione, quae plurimum ab imperatore aberat, caesus, occupata armis Macedonia, omnia et in omnibus locis igni ferroque vastata. Quin etiam tantus huius belli metus fuit, ut stabilem illum et firmatum tantorum bellorum experientia Caesaris Augusti animum quateret atque terreret.

CXI

Habiti itaque dilectus, revocati undique et omnes veterani, viri feminaeque ex censu libertinum coactae dare militem. Audita in senatu vox principis, decimo die, ni caveretur, posse hostem in urbis Romae venire conspectum. Senatorum equitumque Romanorum exactae ad id bellum operae, pollicitati. Omnia haec frustra praeparassemus, nisi qui illa regeret fuisset. Itaque ut praesidium ultimum res publica ab Augusto ducem in bellum poposcit Tiberium. Habuit in hoc quoque bello mediocritas nostra speciosi ministerii locum. Finita equestri militia designatus quaesior necdum senator aequatus senatoribus, etiam designatis tribunis plebei, partem exercitus ab urbe traditi ab Augusto

perdixi ad filium eius. In quaestura deinde remissa sorte provinciae legatus eiusdem ad eundem missus sum. Quas nos primo anno acies hostium vidimus! Quantis prudentia ducis opportunitatibus furentes eorum vires universas elusimus, fudimus partibus! Quanto cum temperamento simul civilitatis res auctoritate imperatoria agi vidimus! Qua prudentia hiberna disposita sunt! Quanto opere inclusus custodiis exercitus nostri, ne qua posset erumpere inopsque copiarum et intra se furens viribus hostis elanguesceret!

CXII

Felix eventu, forte conatu prima aestate belli Messalini opus mandandum est memoriae. Qui vir animo etiam quam gente nobilior dignissimusque, qui et patrem Corvinum habuisset et cognomen suum Cottae fratri relinqueret, praepositus Illyrico subita rebellione cum semiplena legione vicesima circumdatus hostili exercitu amplius viginti milia fudit fugavitque et ob id ornamentis triumphalibus honoratus est. Ita placebat barbaris numerus suus, ita fiducia virium, ut ubicumque Caesar esset, nihil in se reponerent. Pars exercitus eorum, proposita ipsi duci et ad arbitrium utilitatemque nostram macerata perductaque ad exitiabilem famem, neque instantem sustinere neque cum facientibus copiam pugnandi derigentibusque aciem ausa congregi occupato monte Claudio munitione se defendit. At ea pars, quae obviam se effuderat exercitui, quem A. Caecina et Silvanus Plautius consulares ex transmarinis adducebant provinciis, circumfusa quinque legionibus nostris auxiliariis et ei equitatu regi (quippe magnam Thracum manum iunctus praedictis ducibus Rhoemetalcis, Thraciae rex, in adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat) paene exitiabilem omnibus cladem intulit: fusa regionum equestris acies, fugatae alae, conversae cohortes sunt, apud signa quoque legionum trepidatum. Sed Romani virtus militis plus eo tempore vindicavit gloriae quam ducibus reliquit, qui multum a more imperatoris sui discrepantes ante in hostem inciderunt, quam per exploratores, ubi hostis esset, cognoscerent. Iam igitur in dubiis rebus semet ipsae legiones adhortatae, iugulatis ab hoste quibusdam tribunis militum, interempto praefecto castrorum praefectisque cohortium, non incruentis centurionibus, e quibus etiam primi ordinis cecidere, invasere hostes nec sustinuisse contenti perrupta eorum acie ex insperato victoriam vindicaverunt. Hoc fere tempore Agrippa, qui eodem die quo Tiberius adoptatus ab avo suo naturali erat et iam ante biennium, qualis

esset, apparere coeperat, mira pravitae animi atque ingenii in praecipiti conversus patris atque eiusdem avi sui animum alienavit sibi, moxque crescentibus in dies vitiis dignum furore suo habuit exitum.

CXIII

Accipe nunc, M. Vinici, tantum in bello ducem, quantum in pacevides principem. Iunctis exercitibus, quique sub Caesare fuerant quique ad eum venerant, contractisque in una castra decem legionibus, septuaginta amplius cohortibus, decem alis et pluribus quam decem veteranorum milibus, ad hoc magno voluntariorum numero frequentique equite regio, tanto denique exercitu, quantus nullo umquam loco post bella fuerat civilia, omnes eo ipso laeti erant maximamque fiduciam victoriae in numero reponebant. At imperator, optimus eorum quae agebat iudex et utilia speciosis praeferens quodque semper eum facientem vidi in omnibus bellis, quae probanda essent, non quae utique probarentur sequens, paucis diebus exercitum, qui venerat, ad refovendas ex itinere eius vires moratus, cum eum maiorem, quam ut temperari posset, nequeabilem gubernaculo cerneret, dimittere statuit; prosecutusque longo et perquam laborioso itinere, cuius difficultas narrari vix potest, ut neque universos quisquam auderet adgredi et partem digredientium, suorum quisque metu finium, universi temptare non possent, remisit eo, unde venerant, et ipse asperrimae hiemis initio regressus Sisciam legatos, inter quos ipsi fuimus, partitis praefecit hibernis.

CXIV

O rem dictu non eminentem, sed solida veraque virtute atque utilitate maximam, experientia suavissimam, humanitate singularem! Per omne belli Germanici Pannonicique tempus nemo e nobis gradumve nostrum aut praecedentibus aut sequentibus imbecillus fuit, cuius salus ac valetudo non ita sustentaretur Caesaris cura, tamquam distractissimus ille tantorum onerum mole huic uni negotio vacaret animus. Erat desiderantibus paratum iunctum vehiculum, lectica eius publicata, cuius usum cum alii tum ego sensi; iam medici, iam apparatus cibi, iam in hoc solum uni portatum instrumentum balinei nullius non succurrit valetudini; domus tantum ac domestici deerant, ceterum nihil, quod ab illis aut praestari aut desiderari posset. Adiciam illud, quod, quisquis illis temporibus interfuit, ut alia, quae retuli, agnoscat protinus:

solus semper equo vectus est, solus cum iis, quos invitaverat, maiore parte aestivarum expeditionum cenavit sedens; non sequentibus disciplinam, quatenus exemplum non nocebatur, ignovit; admonitio frequens, interdum et castigatio, vindicta tamen rarissima, agebatque medium plurima dissimulantis, aliqua inhibentis. Hiems emolumentum patrati belli contulit, sed insequenti aestate omnis Pannonia reliquiis totius belli in Delmatia manentibus pacem petiit. Ferocem illam tot milium iuventutem, paulo ante servitutem minatam Italiae, conferentem arma, quibus usa erat, apud flumen nomine Bathinum prosternentemque se universam genibus imperatoris, Batonemque et Pinnetem excelsissimos duces, captum alterum, alterum a se deditum iustis voluminibus ordine narrabimus, ut spero. Autumno victor in hiberna reducitur exercitus, cuius omnibus copiis a Caesare M. Lepidus praefectus est, vir nomini ac fortunae Caesarum proximus, quem in quantum quisque aut cognoscere aut intellegere potuit, in tantum miratur ac diligit tantorumque nominum, quibus ortus est, ornamentum iudicat.

CXV

Caesar ad alteram belli Delmatici molem animum atque arma contulit. In qua regione quali adiutore legatoque fratre meo Magio Celere Velleiano' usus sit, ipsius patrisque eius praedicatione testatum est et amplissimorum donorum, quibus triumphans eum Caesar donavit, signat memoria. Initio aestatis Lepidus educto hibernis exercitu per gentis integras immunesque adhuc clade belli et eo feroces ac truces tendens ad Tiberium imperatorem et cum difficultate locorum et cum vi hostium luctatus, magna cum clade obsistentium excisis agris, exustis aedificiis, caesis viris, laetus victoria praedaeque onustus pervenit ad Caesarem, et ob ea, quae si propriis gessisset auspiciis, triumphare debuerat, ornamentis triumphalibus consentiente cum iudicio principum voluntate senatus donatus est. Illa aestas maximi belli consummavit effectus: quippe Perustae et Desidiates Delmatae, situ locorum ac montium, ingeniorum ferocia, mira etiam pugnandi scientia et praecipue angustis saltuum paene inexpugnabiles, non iam ductu, sed manibus atque armis ipsius Caesaris tum demum pacati sunt, cum paene funditus eversi forent. Nihil in hoc tanto bello, nihil in Germania aut videre maius aut mirari magis potui, quam quod imperatori numquam adeo ulla opportuna visa. est victoriae occasio, quam damno amissi pensaret militis semperque visum est

gloriosissimum, quod esset tutissimum, et ante conscientiae quam famae consultum nec umquam consilia ducis iudicio exercitus, sed exercitus providentia ducis rectus est.

CXVI

Magna in bello Delmatico experimenta virtutis in incultos ac difficilis locos praemissus Germanicus dedit; celebri etiam opera diligentique Vibius Postumus vir consularis, praepositus Delmatiae, ornamenta meruit triumphalia: quem honorem ante paucos annos Passienus et Cossus, viri quamquam diversis virtutibus celebres, in Africa meruerant. Sed Cossus victoriae testimonium etiam in cognomen filii contulit, adulescentis in omnium virtutum exempla geniti. At Postumi operum L. Apronius particeps illa quoque militia eos, quos mox consecutus est, honores excellenti virtute meruit. Utinam non maioribus experimentis testatum esset, quantum in omni re fortuna posset! Sed in hoc quoque genere abunde agnosci vis eius potest. Nam et Aelius Lamia, vir antiquissimi moris et priscam gravitatem semper humanitate temperans, in Germania Illyricoque et mox in Africa splendidissimis functus ministeriis, non merito, sed materia adipiscendi triumphalia defectus est, et A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, P. Silii filius, quem virum ne qui intellexit quidem abunde miratus est, in eo nihil non optimo civi simplicissimo duci superesse praeferens, immatura morte et fructu amplissimae principis amicitiae et consummatione evectae in altissimum paternumque fastigium imaginis defectus est. Horum virorum mentioni si quis quaesisset me dicet locum, fatentem arguet; neque enim iustus sine mendacio candor apud bonos crimini est.

CXVII

Tantum quod ultimam imposuerat Pannonico ac Delmatico bello Caesar manum, cum intra quinque consummati tanti operis dies funesta ex Germaniae epistulae nuntium attulere caesi Vari trucidatarumque legionum trium todidemque alarum et sex cohortium, velut in hoc slatem tantummodo indulgente nobis fortuna, ne occupato duce tanta clades inferretur. Sed et causa et persona moram exigit. Varus Quintilius inlustri magis quam nobili ortus familia, vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus et corpore et animo immobilior, otio magis castrorum quam bellicae adsuetus militiae, pecuniae vero quam

non contemptor, Syria, cui praefuerat, declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit; is cum exercitui, qui erat in Germania, praeesset, concepit esse homines, qui nihil praeter vocem membraque haberent hominum, quique gladiis domari non poterant, posse iure mulceri. Quo proposito mediam ingressus Germaniam velut inter viros pacis gaudentes dulcedine iurisdictionibus agendoque pro tribunali ordine trahebat aestiva.

CXVIII

At illi, quod nisi expertus vix credat, in summa feritate versutissimi natumque mendacio genus, simulantes fictas litium series et nunc provocantes alter alterum in iurgia, nunc agentes gratias, quod ea Romana iustitia finiret feritasque sua novitate incognitae disciplinae mitesceret et solita armis discerni iure terminarentur, in summam socordiam perduxere Quintilium, usque eo, ut se praetorem urbanum in foro ius dicere, non in mediis Germaniae finibus exercitui praeesse crederet. Tum iuvenis genere nobilis, manu fortis, sensu celer, ultra barbarum promptus ingenio, nomine Arminius, Sigimeri principis gentis eius filius, ardorem animi vultu oculis praeferens, adsiduus militiae nostrae prioris comes, iure etiam civitatis Romanae decus equestris consecutus gradis, segnitia ducis in occasionem sceleris opprimi, quam qui nihil timeret, et frequentissimum initium esse calamitatis securitatem. Primo igitur paucos, mox pluris in societatem consilii recepit: opprimi posse Romanos et dicit et persuadet, decretis facta iungit, tempus insidiarum constituit. Id Varo per virum eius gentis fidelum clarique nominis, Segesten, indicatur. Postulabat etiam vinciri socios. Sed praevalebant iam fata consilii omnemque animi eius aciem praestrinxerant: quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumque cuius fortunam mutaturus deus, consilia corrumpat efficiatque, quod miserrimum est, ut, quod accidit, etiam merito accidisse videatur et casus in culpam transeat. Negat itaque se credere speciemque in se benevolentiae ex merito aestimare profitetur. Nec diutius post primum indicem secundo relictus locus.

CXIX

Ordinem atrocissimae calamitatis, qua nulla post Crassi in Parthum damnum in externis gentibus gravior Romanis fuit, iustis voluminibus ut alii, ita nos conabimur exponere: nunc summa deflenda est. Exercitus omnium

fortissimus, disciplina, manu experientiaque bellorum inter Romanos milites princeps, marcove ducis, refidia hostis, iniquitate fortunae circumventus, cum ne pugnandi quidem aut egrediendi occasio iis, in quantum voluerant, data esset immunis, castigatis etiam quibusdam gravi poena, quia Romanis et armis et animis usi fuissent, inclusus silvis, paludibus, insidiis ab eo hoste ad internecionem trucidatus est, quem ita semper more pecudum trucidaverat, ut vitam aut mortem eius nunc ira nunc venia temperraret. Duci plus ad moriendum quam ad pugnandum animi fuit: quippe paterni avitique successor exempli se ipse transfixit. At e praefectis castrorum duobus quam clarum exemplum L. Eggius, tam turpe Ceionius prodidit, qui, cum longe maximam partem absumpsisset acies, auctor deditionis supplicio quam proelio mori maluit. At Vala Numonius, lagatus Vari, cetera quietus ac probus, diri auctor exempli, spoliatum equite peditem relinquens fuga cum alis Rhenum petere ingressus est. Quod factum eius fortuna ulta est; non enim desertis superfuit, sed desertor Vari corpus semiustum hostilis laceraverat feritas; caput eius abscisum latumque ad Marboduum et ab eo missum ad Caesarem gentilicii tamen tumuli sepultura honoratum est.

CXX

His auditis revolat ad patrem Caesar; perpetuus patronus Romani imperii aduetam sibi causam suscipit. Mittitur ad Germaniam, Gallias confirmat, disponit exercitus, praesidia munit et se magnitudine sua, non fiducia hostis metiens, qui Cimbricam Teutonicamque militiam Italiae minabatur, ultro Rhenum cum exercitu transgreditur. Arma infert hosti quem arcuisse pater et patria contenti erant; penetrat interius, aperit limites, vastat agros, urit domos, fundit obvios maximeque cum gloria, incolumi omnium, quos transduxerat, numero in hiberna revertitur. Reddatur verum L. Asprenati testimonium, qui legatus sub avunculo suo Varo militans gnava virilique opera duarum legionum, quibus praeerat, exercitum immunem tanta calamitate servavit matureque ad inferiora hiberna descendendo vacillantium etiam cis Rhenum sitarum gentium animos confirmavit. Sunt tamen, qui ut vivos ab eo vindicatos, ita iugulorum sub Varo occupata crediderint patrimonia hereditatemque occisi exercitus, in quantum voluerit, ab eo aditam. L. etiam Caedicii praefecti castrorum eorumque, qui una circumdati Alisone immensis Germanorum copiis obsidebaniur, laudanda virtus est, qui omnibus

difficultatibus superatis, quas inopia rerum intolerabilis, vis hostium faciebat inexsuperabilis, nec temerario consilio nec segni providentia usi speculatique opportunitatem ferro sibi ad suos peperere reditum. Ex quo apparet Varum, sane gravem et bonae voluntatis virum, magis imperatoris defectum consilio quam virtute destitutum militum se magnificentissimumque perdidisse exercitum. Cum in captivos saexiretur a Germanis, praeclari facinoris auctor fuit Calpurnius Caelius, adulescens vetustate familiae suae dignissimus, qui complexus catenarum, quibus vinctus erat, seriem, ita illas inlinit capiti suo, ut protinus pariter sanguinis cerebrique eRuvio expiraret.

CXXI

Eadem virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore ingressi Germaniam imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quae initio iuerat. Qui concussis hostium viribus classicis peditumque expeditionibus, cum res Galliarum maximae molis accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones coercitione magis quam poena mollisset, senatus populusque Romanus postulante patre eius, ut aequum ei ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus est. Etenim absurdum erat non esse sub illo, quae ab illo vindicabantur, et qui ad opem ferendam primus erat, ad vindicandum honorem non iudicari parem. In urbem reversus iam pridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum ex Pannoniis Delmatisque egit triumphum. Cuius magnificentiam quis miretur in Caesare? Fortunae vero quis non miretur indulgentiam? Quippe omnis eminentissimos hostium duces non occisos fama narravit, sed vinctos triumphus ostendit; quem mihi fratrique meo inter praecipuos praecipisque donis adornatos viros comitari contigit.

CXXII

Quis non inter reliqua, quibus singularis moderatio Ti. Caesaris elucet atque eminet, hoc quoque miretur, quod, cum sine ulla dubitatione septem triumphos meruerit, tribus contentus fuit. Quis enim dubitare potest, quin ex Armenia recepta et ex rege praeposito ei, cuius capiti insigne regium sua manu imposuerat, ordinatisque rebus Orientis ovans triumphare debuerit, et Vindelicorum Raetorumque victor curru urbem ingredi? Fractis deinde post adoptionem continua triennii militia Germaniae viribus idem illi honor et deferendus et recipiendus fuerit? Et post cladem sub Varo acceptam,

expectato ocius prosperrimo rerum eventu eadem excisa Germania triumphus summi ducis adornari debuerit? Sed in hoc viro nescias utrum magis mireris quod laborum periculorumque semper excessit modum an quod honorum temperavit.

CXXIII

Venitur ad tempus, in quo fuit plurimum metus. Quippe Caesar Augustus cum Germanicum nepotem suum reliqua belli patraturum misisset in Germaniam. Tiberium autem filium missurus esset in Illyricum ad firmanda pace quae bello subegerat, prosequens eum simulque interfuturus athletarum certaminis ludicro, quod eius honori sacratum a Neapolitanis est, processit in Campaniam. Quamquam iam motus imbecillitatis inclinataeque in deterius principia valetudinis senserat, tamen obnitente vi animi prosecutus filium digressusque ab eo Beneventi ipse Nolam petiit: et ingravescente in dies valetudine, cum sciret, quis volenti omnia post se salva remanere accersendus foret, festinanter revocavit filium; ille ad patrem patriae expectato revolavit maturius. Tum securum se Augustus praedicans circumfususque amplexibus Tiberii sui, commendans illi sua atque ipsius opera nec quidquam iam de fine, si fata poscerent, recusans, subrefectus primo conspectu alloquioque carissimi sibi spiritus, mox, cum omnem curam fata vincerent, in sua resolutus initia Pompeio Apuleioque consulibus septuagesimo et sexto anno animam caelestem caelo reddidit.

CXXIV

Quid tunc homines timuerint, quae senatus trepidatio, quae populi confusio, quis urbis metus, in quam arto salutis exitiique fuerimus confinio, neque mihi tam festinanti exprimere vacat neque cui vacat potest. Id solum voce publica dixisse satis habeo: cuius orbis ruinam timueramus, eum ne commotum quidem sensimus, tantaque unius viri maiestas fuit, ut nec pro bonis neque contra malos opus armis foret. Una tamen veluti luctatio civitatis fuit, pugnantis cum Caesare senatus populique Romani, ut stationi paternae succederet, illius, ut potius aequalem civem quam eminentem liceret agere principem. Tandem magis ratione quam honore victus est, cum quidquid tuendum non suscepisset, periturum videret, solique huic contigit paene diutius recusare principatum, quam, ut occuparent eum, alii armis

pugnauerant. Post redditum caelo patrem et corpus eius humanis honoribus, numen divinis honoratum, primum principalium eius operum fuit ordinatio comitiorum, quam manu sua scriptam divus Augustus reliquerat. Quo tempore mihi fratrique meo, candidatis Caesaris, proxime a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris destinari praetoribus contigit, consecutis quidem, ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius.

CXXV

Tulit protinus et voti et consilii sui pretium res publica, neque diu latuit aut quid non impetrando passuri fuissetis aut quid impetrando profecissetis. Quippe exercitus, qui in Germania militabat praesentisque Germanici imperio regebatur, simulque legiones, quae in Illyrico erant, rabie quadam et profunda confudendi omnia cupiditate novum ducem, novum statum, novam quaerebant rem publicam; quin etiam ausi sunt minaridaturos se senatui, daturos principi leges; modum stipendii, finem militiae sibi ipsi constituere conati sunt. Processum etiam in arma ferrumque strictum est et paene in ultima gladiatorum erupit impunitas, defuitque, qui contra rem publicam duceret, non qui sequerentur. Sed haec omnia veteris imperatoris maturitas, multa inhibentis, aliqua cum gravitate pollicentis, et inter severam praecipue noxiorum ultionem mitis aliorum castigatio brevi sopiit ac sustulit. Quo quidem tempore ut pleraque non ignave Germanicus, ita Drusus, qui a patre in id ipsum plurimo quidem igne emicans incendium militaris tumultus missus erat, prisca antiquaque severitate usus ancipitia sibi maluit tenere quam exemplo perniciosa, et his ipsis militum gladiis, quibus obsessus erat, obsidentes coercuit, singulari adiutore in eo negotio usus Iunio Blaeso, viro nescias utiliore in castris an meliore in toga: qui post paucos annos proconsul in Africa ornamenta triumphalia cum appellatione imperatoria meruit. At Hispanias exercitumque in iis cum M. Lepidus, de cuius virtutibus celeberrimaque in Illyrico militia praediximus, cum imperio obtineret, in summa pace et quiete continuit, cum ei pietas rectissima sentiendi et auctoritas quae sentiebat obtinendi superesset. Cuius curam ac fidem Dolabella quoque, vir simplicitatis generosissimae, in maritima parte Illyrici per omnia imitatus est.

Horum sedecim annorum opera quis cum ingerantur oculis animisque omnium, partibus eloquatur? Sacravit parentem suum Caesar non imperio, sed religione, non appellavit eum, sed fecit deum. Revocata in forum fides, summotae foro seditio, ambitio campo, discordia curia, sepultaeque ac situ obsitae iustitia, aequitas, industria civitati redditae; accessit magistratibus auctoritas, senatui maiestas, iudiciis gravitas; compressa theatralis seditio, recte faciendi omnibus aut incussa voluntas aut imposita necessitas: honorantur recta, prava puniuntur, suspicit potentem humilis, non timet, antecedit, non contemnit humiliorem potens. Quando annona moderatior, quando pax laetior? Diffusa in orientis occidentisque tractus et quidquid meridiano aut septentrione finitur, paxaugusta omnis terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorum metu servat immunes. Fortuita non civium tantummodo, sed urbium damna principis munificentia vindicat. Restitutae urbes Asiae, vindicatae ab iniuriis magistratuum provinciae: honor dignis paratissimus, poena in malos sera, sed aliqua: superatur aequitate gratia, ambitio virtute; nam facere recte civis suos princeps optimus faciendo docet, cumque sit imperio maximus, exemplo maior est.

CXXVII

Raro eminentes viri non magnis adiutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usi sunt, ut duo Scipiones duobus Laeliis, quos per omnia aequaverunt sibi, ut divus Augustus M. Agrippa et proxime ab eo Statilio Tauro, quibus novitas familiae haut obstitit quominus ad multiplicis consulatus triumphosque et complura eveherentur sacerdotia. Etenim magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent interestque rei publicae quod usu necessarium est, dignitate eminere utilitatemque auctoritate muniri. Sub his exemplis Ti. Caesar Seianum Aelium, principe equestris ordinis patre natum, materno vero genere clarissimas veteresque et insignes honoribus complexum familias, habentem consularis fratres, consobrinos, avunculum, ipsum vero laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori animi compage corporis, singularem principalium onerum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet, virum severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis prisco, actu otiosis simillimum, nihil sibi vindicantem eoque adsequentem omnia, semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se

metientem, vultu vitae tranquillum, animo exsomnem.

CXXVIII

In huius virtutum aestimatione iam pridem iudicia civitatis cum iudiciis principis certant; neque novus hic mos senatus populi que Romani est putandi, quod optimum sit, esse nobilissimum. Nam et illi qui ante bellum Punicum abhinc annos trecentos Ti. Coruncanium, hominem novum, cum aliis omnibus honoribus ium pontificatu etiam maximo ad principale extulere fastigium, et qui equestri loco natum Sp. Carvilius et mox M. Catonem, novum etiam Tusculo urbis inquilinum, Mummiusque Achaicum in consulatus, censuras et triumphos provexere, et qui C. Marius ignotae originis usque ad sextum consulatum sine dubitatione Romani nominis habuere principem, et qui M. Tullius tantum tribuere, ut paene adsentatione sua quibus vellet principatus conciliaret, quique nihil Asinius Pollionem negaverunt, quod nobilissimis summo cum sudore consequendum foret, profecto hoc senserunt, in cuiuscumque animo virtus inesset, ei plurimum esse tribuendum. Haec naturalis exempli imitatio ad experiendum Seianum Caesarem, ad iuvanda vero onera principis Seianum propulit senatumque et populum Romanum eo perduxit, ut, quod usu optimum intellegit, id in tutelam securitatis suae libenter advocet.

CXXIX

Sed proposita quasi universa principatus Ti. Caesaris forma singula recenseamus. Qua ille prudentia Rhascupolim, interemptorem fratris sui filii Cotyis consortisque eiusdem imperii, Romam evocavit. Singulari in eo negotio usus opera Flacci Pomponii consularis viri, nati ad omnia, quae recte facienda sunt, simplici que virtute merentis semper, numquam captantis gloriam. Cum quanta gravitate ut senator et iudex, non ut princeps, causam Drusi Libonis audivit! Quam celeriter ingratum et nova molientem oppressit! Quibus praeceptis instructum Germanicum suum imbuimusque rudimentis militiae secum actae domitorem recepit Germaniae! Quibus iuventam eius exaggeravit honoribus, respondente cultu triumphum rerum, quas gesserat, magnitudini! Quotiens populum congiariis honoravit senatorumque censum, cum id senatu auctore facere potuit, quam libenter explevit, ut neque luxuriam invitaret neque honestam paupertatem pateretur dignitate destitui! Ouanto cum honore Germanicum suum in transmarinas misit provincias! Qua vi,

consiliorum suorum ministro et adiutore usus Druso filio suo, Maroboduum inhaerentem occupati regni finibus, pace maiestatis eius dixerim, velut serpentem abstrusam terrae salubribus medicamentis coegit egredi! Quam illum ut honorate, sic secure continet! Quantae molis bellum principe Galliarum ciente Sacroviro Floroque Iulio mira celeritate ac virtute compressit, ut ante populus Romanus vicisse se quam bellare cognosceret nuntiosque periculi victoriae praecederet nuntius! Magni etiam terroris bellum Africum et cotidiano auctu maius auspiciis consiliisque eius brevi sepultum est.

CXXX

Quanta suo suorumque nomine extruxit opera! Quam pia munificentia superque humanam evecta fidem templum patri molitur! Quam magnifico animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera absumpta igni restituit! Quidquid enim umquam claritudine eminebat, id veluti cognatum censet tuendum. Qua liberalitate cum alias, tum proxime incenso monte Caelio omnis ordinis hominum iacturae patrimonio succurrit suo! Quanta cum quiete hominum rem perpetui praecipuique timoris, supplementum, sine trepidatione dilectus providet! Si aut natura patitur aut mediocritas recipit hominum, audeo cum deis queri: quid hic meruit, primurn ut scelerata Drusus Libo iniret consilia? Deinde ut Silium Pisonemque tam infestos haberet, quorum alterius dignitatem constituit, auxit alterius? Ut ad maiora transcendam, quamquam et haec ille duxit maxima, quid, ut iuvenes amitteret filios? Quid, ut nepotem ex Druso suo? Dolenda adhuc retulimus: veniendum ad erubescenda est. Quantis hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus laceravit animum eius! Quam diu abstruso, quod miserrimum est, pectus eius flagravat incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolere, indignari, erubescere coactus est. Cuius temporis aegritudinem auxit amissa mater, eminentissima et per omnia deis quam hominibus similior foemina, cuius potentiam nemo sensit nisi aut levatione periculi aut accessione dignitatis.

CXXXI

Voto finiendum volumen est. Iuppiter Capitoline, et auctor ac stator Romani nominis Gradive Mars perpetuorumque custos Vesta ignium et quidquid numinum hanc Romani imperii molem in amplissimum terrarum orbis

fastigium extulit, vos publica voce obtestor atque precor custodite, servate, protegite hunc statum, hanc pacem, hunc principem, eique functo longissima statione mortali destinate suceessores quam serissimos, sed eos, quorum cervice tam fortiter sustinendo terrarum orbis imperio sufficiant quam huius suffecisse sensimus, consiliaque omnium civiun aut pia fovete aut impia opprimite.

The Dual Text



The Euphrates near Halabiye (Syria), beside the archaeological site Zalabiye – in AD 2, Paterculus was present at the interview on the Euphrates between Gaius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, and the Parthian king Phraataces.



Coin of Phraates V with his mother Musa, minted at Seleucia. Phraates V was the King of Kings of the Parthian Empire from 2 BC to AD 2.

Dual Latin and English Text



Translated by Frederick W. Shipley, 1924

In this section, readers can view a section by section text of Velleius Paterculus' text, alternating between the original Latin and Shipley's 1924 English translation.

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BOOK I.

I

[Epeus] tempestate distractus a duce suo Nestore Metapontum condidit. Teucer, non receptus a patre Telamone ob segnitiam non vindicatae fratris iniuriae, Cyprum adpulsus cognominem patriae suae Salamina constituit: Pyrrhus, Achillis filius, Epirum occupavit, Phidippus Ephyram in Thesprotia. At rex regum Agamemnon, tempestate in Cretam insulam reiectus, tres ibi urbes statuit, duas a patriae nomine, unam a victoriae memoria, Mycenae, Tegea, Pergamum. Idem mox scelere patruelis fratris Aegisthi, hereditarium exercentis in eum odium, et facinore uxoris oppressus occiditur. Regni potitur Aegisthus per annos septem. Hunc Orestes matremque, socia consiliorum omnium sorore Electra, virilis animi femina, obtruncat. Factum eius a diis comprobatum spatio vitae et felicitate imperii apparuit; quippe vixit annis nonaginta, regnavit septuaginta. Quin se etiam a Pyrrho Achillis filio virtute vindicavit; nam quod pactae eius Menelai atque Helenae filiae Hermiones nuptias occupaverat, Delphis eum interfecit. Per haec tempora Lydus et Tyrrhenus fratres cum regnarent in Lydia, sterilitate frugum compulsi sortiti sunt, uter cum parte multitudinis patria decederet. Sors Tyrrhenum contigit. Pervectus in Italiam et loco et incolis et mari nobile ac perpetuum a se nomen dedit. Post Orestis interitum filii eius Penthilus et Tisamenus regnare triennio.

[1] (1) Epeus, separated by a storm from Nestor, his chief, founded Metapontum. Teucer, disowned by his father Telamon because of his laxity in not avenging the wrong done to his brother, was driven to Cyprus and founded Salamis, named after the place of his birth. Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, established himself in Epirus; Phidippus in Ephyra in Thesprotia. (2) Agamemnon, king of kings, cast by a tempest upon the island of Crete, founded there three cities, two of which, Mycenae and Tegea, were named after towns in his own country, and the other was called Pergamum in commemoration of his victory.

Agamemnon was soon afterwards struck down and slain by the infamous crime of Aegisthus, his cousin, who still kept up against him the feud of his house, and by the wicked act of his wife. (3) Aegisthus maintained possession of the kingdom for seven years. Orestes slew Aegisthus and his own mother,

seconded in all his plans by his sister Electra, a woman with the courage of a man. That his deed had the approval of the gods was made clear by the length of his life and the felicity of his reign, since he lived ninety years and reigned seventy. Furthermore, he also took revenge upon Pyrrhus the son of Achilles in fair fight, for he slew him at Delphi because he had forestalled him in marrying Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen who had been pledged to himself.

(4) About this time two brothers, Lydus and Tyrrhenus, were joint kings in Lydia. Hard pressed by the unproductiveness of their crops, they drew lots to see which should leave his country with part of the population. The lot fell upon Tyrrhenus. He sailed to Italy, and from him the place wherein he settled, its inhabitants, and the sea received their famous and their lasting names.

After the death of Orestes his sons Penthilus and Tisamenus reigned for three years.

II

Tum fere anno octogesimo post Troiam captam, centesimo et vicesimo quam Hercules ad deos excesserat, Pelopis progenies, quae omni hoc tempore pulsus Heraclidis Peloponnesi imperium obtinuerat, ab Herculis progenie expellitur. Duces recuperandi impeii fuere Temenus, Cresphontes, Aristodemus, quorum abavus fuerat. Eodem fere tempore Athenae sub regibus esse desierunt, quarum ultimus rex fuit Codrus, Melanthes filius, vir non praetereundus. Quippe cum Lacedaemonii gravi bello Atticos premerent respondissetque Pythius, quorum dux ab hoste esset occisus, eos futuros superiores, deposita veste regia pastorem cultum induit, immixtusque castris hostium, de industria rixam ciens, imprudenter interemptus est. Codrum cum morte aeterna gloria, Atheniensis secuta victoria est. Quis eum non miretur, qui iis artibus mortem quaesierit, quibus ab ignavis vita quaeri solet? Huius filius Medon primus archon Athenis fuit. Ab hoc postea apud Atticos dicti Medontidae, sed hic insequentesque archontes usque ad Charopem, dum viverent, eum honorem usurpabant, Peloponnesii digredientes finibus Atticis Megara, mediam Corintho Athenisque urbem, condidere. Ea tempestate et Tyria classis, plurimum pollens mari, in ultimo Hispaniae tractu, in extremo nostri orbis termino, in insula circumfusa Oceano, perexiguo a continenti divisa freto, Gadis condidit. Ab iisdem post paucos annos in Africa Utica condita est. Exclusi ab Heraclidis Orestis liberi iactatique cum variis casibus tum saevitia maris quinto decimo anno sedem cepere circa Lesbum insulam.

[2] (1) About eighty years after the capture of Troy, and a hundred and twenty after Hercules had departed to the gods, the descendants of Pelops, who, during all this time had sway in the Peloponnesus after they had driven out the descendants of Hercules, were again in turn driven out by them. The leaders in the recovery of the sovereignty were Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, the great-great-grandsons of Hercules.

It was about this time that Athens ceased to be governed by kings. The last king of Athens was Codrus the son of Melanthes, a man whose story cannot be passed over. Athens was hard pressed in war by the Lacedaemonians, and the Pythian oracle had given the response that the side whose general should be killed by the enemy would be victorious. Codrus, therefore, laying aside his kingly robes and donning the garb of a shepherd, made his way into the

camp of the enemy, deliberately provoked a quarrel, and was slain without being recognized. ⁽²⁾ By his death Codrus gained immortal fame, and the Athenians the victory. Who could withhold admiration from the man who sought death by the selfsame artifice by which cowards seek life? His son Medon was the first archon at Athens. It was after him that the archons who followed him were called Medontidae among the people of Attica. Medon and all the succeeding archons until Charops continued to hold that office for life. The Peloponnesians, when they withdrew from Attic territory, founded Megara, a city midway between Corinth and Athens.

⁽³⁾ About this time, also, the fleet of Tyre, which controlled the sea, founded in the farthest district of Spain, on the remotest confines of our world, the city of Cadiz, on an island in the ocean separated from the mainland by a very narrow strait. The Tyrians a few years later also founded Utica in Africa.

The sons of Orestes, expelled by the Heraclidae, were driven about by many vicissitudes and by raging storms at sea, and, in the fifteenth year, finally settled on and about the island of Lesbos.

III

Tum Graecia maximis concussa est motibus. Achaei ex Laconica pulsi eas occupavere sedes, quas nunc obtinent; Pelasgi Athenas commigravere, acerque belli iuvenis nomine Thessalus, natione Thesprotius, cum magna civium manu eam regionem armis occupavit, quae nunc ab eius nomine Thessalia appellatur, ante Myrmidonum vocitata civitas. Quo nomine mirari convenit eos, qui Iliaca componentes tempora de ea regione ut Thessalia commemorant. Quod cum alii faciant, tragici frequentissime faciunt, quibus minime id concedendum est; nihil enim ex persona poetae, sed omnia sub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, disserunt. Quod si quis a Thessalo Herculis filio eos appellatos Thessalos dicet, reddenda erit ei ratio, cur numquam ante hunc insequentem Thessalum ea gens id nominis usurpaverit. Paulo ante Aletes, sextus ab Hercule, Hippotis filius, Corinthum, quae antea fuerat Ephyre, claustra Peloponnesi continentem, in Isthmo condidit. Neque est quod miremur ab Homero nominari Corinthum; nam ex persona poetae et hanc urbem et quasdam Ionum colonias iis nominibus appellat, quibus vocabantur aetate eius, multo post Ilium captum conditae.

[3] (1) Greece was then shaken by mighty disturbances. The Achaeans, driven from Laconia, established themselves in those localities which they occupy to-day. The Pelasgians migrated to Athens, and a warlike youth named Thessalus, of the race of the Thesprotians, with a great force of his fellow-countrymen took armed possession of that region, which, after his name, is now called Thessaly. Hitherto it had been called the state of the Myrmidones.

(2) On this account, one has a right to be surprised that writers who deal with the times of the Trojan war speak of this region as Thessaly. This is a common practice, but especially among the tragic poets, for whom less allowance should be made; for the poets do not speak in person, but entirely through mouths of characters who lived in the time referred to. But if anyone insists that the people were named Thessalians from Thessalus the son of Hercules, he will have to explain why this people never adopted the name until the time of this second Thessalus.

(3) Shortly before these events Aletes, the son of Hippotes, descended from Hercules in the sixth generation, founded upon the isthmus the city of Corinth,

the key to the Peloponnesus, on the site of the former Ephyre. There is no need for surprise that Corinth is mentioned by Homer, for it is in his own person as poet that Homer calls this city and some of the Ionian colonies by the names which they bore in his day, although they were founded long after the capture of Troy.

IV

Athenienses in Euboea Chalcida et Eretriam colonis occupavere, Lacedaemonii in Asia Magnesiam. Nec multo post Chalcidenses orti, ut praediximus, Atticis Hippocle et Megasthene ducibus Cumas in Italia condiderunt. Huius classis corsum esse directum alii columbae antecedeatis volatu ferunt, alii nocturno aeris sono, qualis Cerealibus sacris cieri solet. Pars horum civium magno post intervallo Neapolim condidit. Utriusque urbis eximia semper in Romanos fides facit eas nobilitate atque amoenitate sua dignissimas. Sed illis diligentior ritus patrii mansit custodia, Cumanos Osca mutavit vicinia. Vires autem veteres earum urbium hodieque magnitudo ostentat moenium. Subsequenti tempore magna vis Graecae iuventutis, abundantia virium, sedes quaeritans in Asiam se effudit. Nam et Iones, duce Ione, profecti Athenis nobilissimam partem regionis maritimae occupavere, quae hodieque appellatur Ionia, urbesque constituere Ephesum, Miletum, Colophona, Prienen, Lebedum, , Clazomenas, Phocaeam, multasque in Aegaeo atque Icario occupavere Myuntem, Erythram insulas, Samum, Chium, Andrum, Tenum, Parum, Delum aliasque ignobiles. 4 Et mox Aeolii eadem profecti Graecia longissimisque acti erroribus non minus inlustres obtinuerunt locos clarasque urbes condiderunt, Smynam, Cymen, Larissam, Myrinam Mytilenenque et alias urbes, quae sunt in Lesbo insula.

[4] (1) The Athenians established colonies at Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea, and the Lacedaemonians the colony of Magnesia in Asia. Not long afterwards, the Chalcidians, who, as I have already said, were of Attic origin, founded Cumae in Italy under the leadership of Hippocles and Megasthenes. According to some accounts the voyage of this fleet was guided by the flight of a dove which flew before it; according to others by the sound at night of a bronze instrument like that which is beaten at the rites of Ceres. (2) At a considerably later period, a portion of the citizens of Cumae founded Naples. The remarkable and unbroken loyalty to the Romans of both these cities makes them well worthy of their repute and of their charming situation. The Neapolitans, however, continued the careful observance of their ancestral customs; the Cumaeans, on the other hand, were changed in character by the proximity of their Oscan neighbours. The extent of their walls at the present day serves to reveal the greatness of these cities in the past.

(3) At a slightly later date a great number of young Greeks, seeking new abodes because of an excess of population at home, poured into Asia. The Ionians, setting out from Athens under the leadership of Ion, occupied the best known portion of the sea-coast, which is now called Ionia, and established the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon, Priene, Lebedus, Myus, Erythra, Clazomenae, and Phocaea, and occupied many islands in the Aegaeon and Icarian seas, namely, Samos, Chios, Andros, Tenos, Paros, Delos, and other islands of lesser note. (4) Not long afterwards the Aeolians also set out from Greece, and after long wanderings took possession of places no less illustrious and founded the famous cities of Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, Mytilene, and other cities on the island of Lesbos.

Clarissimum deinde Homeri inluxit ingenium, sine exemplo maximum, qui magnitudine operis et fulgore carminum solus appellari poeta meruit; in quo hoc masimum est, quod neque ante illum, quem ipse imitaretur, neque post illum, qui eum imitari posset, inventus est. Neque quemquam alium, cuius operis primus auctor fuerit, in eo perfectissimum praeter Homerum et Archilochum reperiemus. Hic longius a temporibus belli, quod composuit, Troici, quam quidam rentur, abfuit; nam ferme ante annos nongentos quinquaginta floruit, intra mille natus est. Quo nomine non est mirandum, quod saepe illud usurpat “ΟΙΟΙ ΝΥΝ ΒΡΟΤΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ”; hoc enim ut hominum, ita saeculorum notatur differentia. Quem si quis caecum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est.

[5] (1) Then the brilliant genius of Homer burst upon the world, the greatest beyond compare, who by virtue of the magnitude of his work and the brilliance of his poetry alone deserves the name of poet. (2) His highest claim to greatness is that, before his day, no one was found for him to imitate, nor after his day has one been found to imitate him. Nor shall we find any other poet who achieved perfection in the field in which he was also the pioneer, with the exception of Homer and Archilochus. (3) Homer lived at a period more remote than some people think from the Trojan war of which he wrote; for he flourished only about nine hundred and fifty years ago, and it is less than a thousand since his birth. It is therefore not surprising that he often uses the expression οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν, for by it is denoted the difference, not merely in men, but in ages as well. If any man holds to the view that Homer was born blind, he is himself lacking in all his senses.

VI

Insequenti tempore imperium Asiaticum ab Assyriis, qui id obtinuerant annis mille septuaginta, translatum est ad Medos, abhinc annos ferme octingentos septuaginta. Quippe Sardanapalum eorum regem mollitiis fluentem et nimium felicem malo suo, tertio et tricensimo loco ab Nino et Semiramide, qui Babylona condiderant, natum, ita ut semper successor regni paterni foret filius, Arbaces Medus imperio vitaeque privavit. Ea aetate clarissimus Grai nominis Lycurgus Lacedaemonius, vir generis regii, fuit severissimarum iustissimarumque legum auctor et disciplinae convenientissimae viris, cuius quam diu Sparta diligens fuit, excelsissime floruit. Hoc tractu temporum ante annos quinque et sexaginta quam urbs Romana conderetur, ab Elissa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant, Carthago conditur. Circa quod tempus Caranus, vir generis regii, undecimus ab Hercule, profectus Argis regnum Macedoniae occupavit; a quo Magnus Alexander, cum fuerit septimus decimus, iure materni generis Achille auctore, paterni Hercule gloriatus est. Aemilius Sura de annis populi Romani: “Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persae, deinde Macedones; exinde duobus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui a Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam devictis summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit. Inter hoc tempus et initium regis Nini Assyriorum, qui princeps rerum potitus est, intersunt anni MDCCCXCXV.”

[6] (1) In the following age — about eight hundred and seventy years ago — the sovereignty of Asia passed to the medes from the Assyrians, who had held it for ten hundred and seventy years. (2) Indeed, it was their king Sardanapalus, a man enervated by luxurious living, whose excess of fortune was his undoing. Thirty-third, in direct succession of father and son, from Ninus and Semiramis, who had founded Babylon, he was deprived alike of his empire and of his life by Arbaces the Mede.

(3) At this time lived Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian, one of the most illustrious personages of Greece, a man of royal descent, the author of legislation most severe and most just, and of a discipline excellently adapted for the making of men. As long as Sparta followed it, she flourished in the highest degree.

(4) In this period, sixty-five years before the founding of Rome, Carthage was

established by the Tyrian Elissa, by some authors called Dido. ⁽⁵⁾ About this time also Caranus, a man of royal race, eleventh in descent from Hercules, set out from Argos and seized the kingship of Macedonia. From him Alexander the Great was descended in the seventeenth generation, and could boast that, on his mother's side, he was descended from Achilles, and, on his father's side, from Hercules. ⁽⁶⁾ Aemilius Sura says in his book on the chronology of Rome: "The Assyrians were the first of all races to hold world power, then the Medes, and after them the Persians, and then the Macedonians. Then through the defeat of Kings Philip and Antiochus, of Macedonian origin, following closely upon the overthrow of Carthage, the world power passed to the Roman people. Between this time and the beginning of the reign of Ninus king of the Assyrians, who was the first to hold world power, lies an interval of nineteen hundred and ninety-five years."

VII

Huius temporis aequalis Hesiodus fuit, circa centum et viginti annos distinctus ab Homeri aetate, vir perelegantis ingenii et mollissima dulcedine carminum memorabilis, otii quietisque cupidissimus, ut tempore tanto viro, ita operis auctoritate proximus. Qui vitavit, ne in id quod Homerus incideret, patriamque et parentes testatus est, sed patriam, quia multatus ab ea erat, contumeliosissime. Dum in externis moror, incidi in rem domesticam maximique erroris et multum discrepantem auctorum opinionibus: nam quidam huius temporis tractu aiunt a Tuscis Capuam Nolaque conditam ante annos fere octingentos et triginta. Quibus equidem adsenserim: sed M. Cato quantum differt! Qui dicat Capuam ab eisdem Tuscis conditam ac subinde Nola; stetisse autem Capuam, antequam a Romanis caperetur, annis circiter ducentis et sexaginta. Quod si ita est, cum sint a Capua capta anni ducenti et quadraginta, ut condita est, anni sunt fere quingenti. Ego, pace diligentiae Catonis dixerim, vix crediderim tam mature tantam urbem crevisse, floruisse, concidisse, resurrexisse.

[7] (1) To this period belonged Hesiod, separated from the age of Homer by about one hundred and twenty years. A man of an exquisite taste, famous for the soft charm of his poems, and an ardent lover of peace and quiet, he ranks next to Homer, not only in point of time, but also in the reverence in which his work is held. Avoiding the mistake which Homer made, he has indeed told us of his country and parents, but of his country, at whose hands he had suffered punishment, he speaks in the most disparaging terms.

(2) While dwelling on the history of foreign countries, I now come to an event pertaining to our own, one in which there has been much error, and in which the views of the authorities show great discrepancy. For some maintain that about this time, eight hundred and thirty years ago, Capua and Nola were founded by the Etruscans. With these I myself am inclined to agree, but the opinion of Marcus Cato is vastly different. (3) He admits that Capua, and afterwards Nola, were founded by the Etruscans, but maintains that Capua had been in existence for only about two hundred and sixty years before its capture by the Romans. (4) If this is so, as it is but two hundred and forty years since Capua was taken, it is but five hundred years since it was founded. For my own part, with all due regard for Cato's accuracy, I can scarcely believe

that the city could have had such growth, such prosperity, or could have fallen and risen again, in so short a space of time.

VIII

Clarissimum deinde omnium ludicrum certamen et ad excitandam corporis animique virtutem efficacissimum Olympiorum initium habuit, auctorem Iphitum Elium. Is eos ludos mercatumque instituit ante annos, quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires, DCCCXXIII. Hoc sacrum eodem loco instituisse fertur abhinc annos ferme mille ducentos quinquaginta Atreus, cum Pelopi patri funebres ludos faceret, quo quidem in ludicro omnisque generis certaminum Hercules victor extitit. Tum Athenis perpetui archontes esse desierunt, cum fuisset ultimus Alcmaeon, coeperuntque in denos annos creari. Quae consuetudo in annos septuaginta mansit ac deinde annuis commissa est magistratibus res publica. Ex iis, qui denis annis praefuerunt, primus fuit Charops, ultimus Eryxias, ex annuis primus Creon. Sexta olympiade post duo et viginti annos quam prima constituta fuerat, Romulus, Martis filius, ultus iniurias avi, Romam urbem Parilibus in Palatio condidit. A quo tempore ad vos consules anni sunt septingenti octoginta unus; id actum post Troiam captam annis quadringentis triginta septem. Id gessit Romulus adiutus legionibus Latini avi sui: libenter enim iis, qui ita prodiderunt, accesserim, cum aliter firmare urbem novam tam vicinis Veientibus aliisque Etruscis ac Sabinis cum imbelli et pastoralis manu vix potuerit, quamquam eam asylo facto inter duos lucos auxit. Hic centum homines electos appellatosque patres instar habuit consilii publici. Hanc originem nomen patriciorum habet. Raptus virginum Sabinarum [...]

magna pars libri perdit est

[8] (1) Soon afterwards the Olympic games, the most celebrated of all contests in sports, and one which was most effective in developing the qualities both of body and mind, had their beginning under the auspices of Iphitus, king of Elis. He instituted the games and the concourse eight hundred and twenty-three years before your consulship, Marcus Vinicius. (2) There is a tradition that Atreus began this sacred observance in the same place about twelve hundred and fifty years ago, when he held the funeral games in honour of his father Pelops and that at this celebration Hercules was the victor in every class of contest.

(3) It was about this time that the archons at Athens ceased to hold their office

for life. Alcmaeon was the last of the life archons. The archons now began to be elected for terms of ten years. This custom continued for seventy years, then the government was entrusted to magistrates elected annually. Charops was the first and Eryxias the last of those who held the office for ten years, and Creon was the first of the annual archons.

(4) In the sixth Olympiad, two and twenty years after the first establishment of the Olympic games, Romulus the son of Mars, after avenging the wrongs of his grandfather, founded the city of Rome on the Palatine on the day of the festival of the •Parilia. From this time to your consulship seven hundred and eighty-one years have elapsed. This event took place four hundred and thirty-seven years after the capture of Troy. (5) In the founding of Rome Romulus was assisted by the troops of his grandfather Latinus. I am glad to range myself with those who have expressed this view, since with the Veientes and other Etruscans, as well as the Sabines, in such close proximity, he could scarcely have established his new city with an unwarlike band of shepherds, even though he increased their numbers by opening an •asylum between the two hills. (6) As a council to assist him in administering affairs of state he had one hundred chosen men called patres. This is the origin of the name *patricians*. The rape of the Sabine maidens . . .

Nor at this time was Cimon, the son of Miltiades, less famous.

IX

[...] quam timuerat hostis, expetit. Nam biennio adeo varia fortuna cum consulibus conflixerat, ut plerumque superior fuerit magnamque partem Graeciae in societatem suam perduceret. Quin Rhodii quoque, fidelissimi antea Romanis, tum dubia fide speculati fortunam prouiores regis partibus fuisse visi sunt; et rex Eumenes in eo bello medius fuit animo, neque fratris initiis neque suae respondit consuetudini. Tum senatus populusque Romanus L. Aemilium Paulum, qui et praetor et consul triumphauerat, virum in tantum laudandum, in quantum intellegi virtus potest, consulem creauit, filium eius Pauli, qui ad Cannas quam tergiversanter perniciosam rei publicae pugnam inierat, tam fortiter in ea mortem obierat. Is Persam ingenti proelio apud urbem nomine Pydnam in Macedonia fusum fugatumque castris exiit deletisque eius copiis destitutum omni spe coegit e Macedonia profugere, quam ille linquens in insulam Samothraciam perfugit templique se religioni supplicem credidit. Ad eum Cn. Octavius praetor, qui classi praeerat, peruenit et ratione magis quam vi persuasit, ut se Romanorum fidei committeret. Ita Paulus maximum nobilissimumque regem in triumpho duxit. Quo anno et Octavii praetoris navalis et Anicii regem Illyriorum Gentium ante currum agentis triumphi fuere celebres. Quam sit adsidua eminentis fortunae comes inuidia altissimisque adhaereat, etiam hoc colligi potest, quod cum Anicii Octaviique triumphum nemo interpelleret, fuere, qui Pauli impedire obniterentur. Cuius tantum priores excessit vel magnitudine regis Persei vel specie simulacrorum vel modo pecuniae, ut bis miliens centiens sestertium aerario intulerit is, et omnium ante actorum comparisonem amplitudine vicerit.

[9] (1) . . . than the enemy had feared. For two years Perses had kept up the struggle with the consuls with such varying fortune that he generally had the advantage in these conflicts, and succeeded in winning over a large part of Greece to ally itself with his cause. (2) Even the Rhodians, who in the past had been most loyal to the Romans, were now wavering in their fidelity, and, watching his success, seemed inclined to join the king's side. In this war King Eumenes maintained a neutral attitude, neither following the initiative of his brother nor his own established custom. (3) Then the senate and the Roman people chose as consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus, who had previously

triumphed, both in his praetorship and in his consulship, a man worthy of the highest praise that can be associated with valour. He was a son of the Paulus who had met death at Cannae with a fortitude only equalled by his reluctance to begin a battle so disastrous to the republic. ⁽⁴⁾ Paulus defeated Perses in a great battle at a city in Macedonia named Pydna, put him to rout, despoiled his camp, destroyed his forces, and compelled him in his desperate plight to flee from Macedonia. Abandoning his country, Perses took refuge in the island of Samothrace, as a suppliant entrusting himself to the inviolability of the temple. ⁽⁵⁾ There Gnaeus Octavius, the praetor in command of the fleet, reached him and persuaded him by argument rather than force to give himself up to the good faith of the Romans. Thus Paulus led in triumph the greatest and the most illustrious of kings.

In this year two other triumphs were celebrated: that of Octavius, the praetor in charge of the fleet, and that of Anicius, who drove before his triumphal chariot Gentius, King of the Illyrians. ⁽⁶⁾ How inseparable a companion of great success is jealousy, and how she attaches herself to the most eminent, may be gathered from this fact: although no one raised objections to the triumphs of Octavius and Anicius, there were those who tried to place obstacles in the way of that of Paulus. His triumph so far exceeded all former ones, whether in the greatness of King Perses himself, or in the display of statues and the amount of money borne in the procession, that Paulus contributed to the treasury two hundred million sesterces, and by reason of this vast sum eclipsed all previous triumphs by comparison.

X

Per idem tempus, cum Antiochus Epiphanes, qui Athenis Olympieum inchoavit, tum rex Syriae, Ptolemaeum puerum Alexandriae obsideret, missus est ad eum legatus M. Popilius Laenas, qui iuberet incepto desistere. Mandataque exposuit et regem deliberaturum se dicentem, circumcristit virgula iussitque prius responsum reddere, quam egrederetur finito harenae circulo. Sic cogitationem regiam Romana disiecit constantia oboeditumque imperio. Lucio autem Paulo Macedonicae victoriae compoti quattuor filii fuere; ex iis duos natu maiores, unum P. Scipioni P. Africani filio, nihil ex paterna maiestate praeter speciem nominis vigoremque eloquentiae retinenti, in adoptionem dederat, alterum Fabio Maximo. Duos minores natu praetextatos. quo tempore victoriam adeptus est, habuit. Is cum in contione extra urbem more maiorum ante triumphi diem ordinem actorum suorum commemoraret, deos immortalis precatus est, ut, si quis eorum invideret operibus ac fortunae suae, in ipsum potius saevirent quam in rem publicam. Quae vox veluti oraculo emissa magna parte eum spoliavit sanguinis sui; nam alterum ex suis, quos in familia retinuerat, liberis ante paucos triumphi, alterum post pauciores amisit dies. Aspera circa haec tempora censura Fulvii Flacci et Postumii Albini fuit: quippe Fulvii censoris frater, et quidem consors, Cn. Fulvius senatu motus est ab iis censoribus.

[10] (1) About this time Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria — the Antiochus who began the Olympieum at Athens — was besieging Ptolemaeus, the boy king, at Alexandria. Marcus Popilius Laenas was dispatched on an embassy to order him to desist. (2) He delivered his message, and when the king replied that he would think the matter over, Popilius drew a circle around the king with his staff and told him that he must give his answer before he stepped out of the circle in the sand. In this way the firmness of the Roman cut short the king's deliberations, and the order was obeyed.

(3) Now Lucius Paulus, who won the victory in Macedonia, had four sons. The two oldest he had given by adoption, the one to Publius Scipio, the son of Africanus, who resembled his great father in nothing except in name and in his vigorous eloquence; the other to Fabius Maximus. The two younger at the time of his victory had not yesterday assumed the toga of manhood. (4) On the day before his triumph, when, in accordance with the ancient custom, he was

rendering an account of his acts before an assembly of the people outside the city walls, he prayed to the gods that if any of them envied his achievements or his fortune they should vent their wrath upon himself rather than upon the state. ⁽⁵⁾ This utterance, as though prophetic, deprived him of a great part of his family, for a few days before his triumph he lost one of the two sons whom he had kept in his household, and the other a still shorter time after it.

⁽⁶⁾ About this time occurred the censorship of Fulvius Flaccus and Postumius Albinus famed for its severity. Even Gnaeus Fulvius, who was the brother of the censor and co-heir with him in his estate, was expelled from the senate by these censors.

XI

Post victum captumque Persen, qui quadriennio post in libera custodia Albae decessit, Pseudophilippus a mendacio simulatae originis appellatus, qui se Philippum regiaeque stirpis ferebat, cum esset ultimae, armis occupata Macedonia, adsumptis regni insignibus brevi temeritatis poenas dedit; quippe Q. Metellus praetor, cui ex virtute Macedonici nomen inditum erat, praeclara victoria ipsum gentemque superavit, et immani etiam Achaeos rebellare incipientis fudit acie. Hic est Metellus Macedonicus, qui porticus, quae fuerunt circumdatae duabus aedibus sine inscriptione positae, quae nunc Octaviae porticibus ambiuntur, fecerat, quique hanc turmam statuarum equestrium, quae frontem aedium spectant, hodieque maximum ornamentum eius loci, ex Macedonia detulit. Cuius turmae hanc causam referunt, Magnum Alexandrum impetrasse a Lysippo, singulari talium auctore operum, ut eorum equitum, qui ex ipsius turma apud Granicum flumen ceciderant, expressa similitudine figurarum faceret statuas et ipsius quoque iis interponeret. 5 Metellus idem primus omnium Romae aedem ex marmore in iis ipsis monumentis molitus huius vel magnificentiae vel luxuriae princeps fuit. Vix ullius gentis aetatis ordinis hominem inveneris, cuius felicitatem fortunae Metelli compares. 6 Nam praeter excellentis triumphos honoresque amplissimos et principale in re publica fastigium extantumque vitae spatium et acris innocentisque pro re publica cum inimicis contentiones quattuor filios sustulit, omnis adultae aetatis vidit, omnis reliquit superstites et honoratissimos. Mortui eius lectum pro rostris sustulerunt quattuor filii, unus consularis et censorius, alter consularis, tertius consul, quartus candidatus consulatus, quem honorem adeptus est. Hoc est nimirum magis feliciter de vita migrare quam mori.

[11] (1) After the defeat and capture of Perses, who four years later died at Alba as a prisoner on parole, a pseudo-Philippus, so called by reason of his false claim that he was a Philip and of royal race, though he was actually of the lowest birth, took armed possession of Macedonia, assumed the insignia of royalty, but soon paid the penalty for his temerity. (2) For Quintus Metellus the praetor, who received the cognomen of Macedonicus by virtue of his valour in this war, defeated him and the Macedonians in a celebrated victory. He also defeated in a great battle the Achaeans who had begun an uprising against Rome.

(3) This is the Metellus Macedonicus who had previously built the portico about the

two temples without inscriptions which are now surrounded by the portico of Octavia, and who brought from Macedonia the group of equestrian statues which stand facing the temples, and, even at the present time, are the chief ornament of the place. (4) Tradition hands down the following story of the origin of the group: that Alexander the Great prevailed upon Lysippus, a sculptor unexcelled in works of this sort, to make portrait-statues of the horsemen in his own squadron who had fallen at the river Granicus, and to place his own statue among them.

(5) This same Metellus was the first of all to build a temple of marble, which he erected in the midst of these very monuments, thereby becoming the pioneer in this form of munificence, or shall we call it luxury? One will scarcely find a man of any race, or any age, or any rank, whose happy fortune is comparable with that of Metellus. (6) For, not to mention his surpassing triumphs, the great honours which he held, his supreme position in the state, the length of his life, and the bitter struggles on behalf of the state which he waged with his enemies without damage to his reputation, he reared four sons, saw them all reach man's estate, left them all surviving him and held in the highest honour. (7) These four sons bore the bier of their dead father to its place in front of the rostra; one was an ex-consul and ex-censor, the second an ex-consul, the third was actually consul, and the fourth was then a candidate for the consulship, an office which he duly held. This is assuredly not to die, but rather to pass happily out of life.

XII

Universa deinde instincta in bellum Achaia, cuius pars magna, ut praediximus, eiusdem Metelli Macedonici virtute armisque fracta erat, maxime Corinthiis in arma cum gravibus etiam in Romanos contumeliis instigantibus, destinatus ei bello gerendo consul L. Mummius. Et sub idem tempus, magis quia volebant Romani, quidquid de Carthaginiensibus diceretur credere quam quia credenda adferebantur, statuit senatus Carthaginem excindere. Ita eodem tempore P. Scipio Aemilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus omnibus belli ac togae dotibus ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus saeculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit aut dixit ac sensit, quem Paulo genitum, adoptatum a Scipione Africani filio diximus, aedilitatem petens consul creatus est. Is bellum Carthagini iam ante biennium a prioribus consulibus inlatum maiore vi intulit (cum ante in Hispania murali corona, in Africa obsidionali donatus esset, in Hispania vero etiam ex provocatione, ipse modicus virium, inmanis magnitudinis hostem interemisset) eamque urbem magis invidia imperii quam ullius eius temporis noxae invisam Romano nomini funditu sustulit fecit suae virtutis monumentum, quod fuerat avi eius clementiae. Carthago diruta est, cum stetisset anni sexcentis septuaginta duobus (DCLXXII), abhinc annos centum septuaginta tris (CLXXIII) Cn. Cornelio Lentulo L. Mummio consulibus. Hunc finem habuit Romani imperii Carthago aemula, cum qua bellare maiores nostri coepere Claudio et Fulvio consulibus ante annos ducentos nonaginta duos (CCXCII), quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires. Ita per annos centum et viginti aut bellum inter eos populos aut belli praeparatio aut infida pax fuit. Neque se Roma iam terrarum orbi superato securam speravit fore, si nomen usquam stantis manere Carthagini; adeo odium certamibus ortum ultra metum durat et ne in victis quidem deponitur neque ante invisum esse desinit quam esse desiit.

[12] (1) Thereafter all Achaia was aroused to war though the greater part of it had been crushed, as I have already said, by the valour and arms of this same Metellus Macedonicus. The Corinthians, in particular, were the instigators of it, going so far as to heap grave insults upon the Romans, and Mummius, the consul, was appointed to take charge of the war there.

(2) About the same time the senate resolved to destroy Carthage, rather

because the Romans were ready to believe any rumour concerning the Carthaginians, than because the reports were credible. ⁽³⁾ Accordingly at this same time Scipio Aemilianus was elected consul, though but a candidate for the aedileship. He was a man whose virtues resembled those of his grandfather, Publius Africanus, and of his father Lucius Paulus (he was, as has been already said, the son of Paulus, and had been adopted by the son of Publius Scipio) — endowed with all the qualities essential to a good soldier and a good citizen, the most eminent man of his day both in native ability and acquired knowledge, who in his whole life was guilty of no act, word, or thought that was not praiseworthy. He had already received in Spain the mural crown, and in Africa the corona obsidionalis for his bravery, and while in Spain he had challenged and slain an enemy of great stature though himself a man of but ordinary physical strength. ⁽⁴⁾ The war against Carthage begun by the consuls two years previously he now waged with greater vigour, and destroyed to its foundations the city ⁽⁵⁾ which was hateful to the Roman name more because of jealousy of its power than because of any offence at that time. He made Carthage a monument to his valour — a city which had been a monument to his grandfather's clemency. Carthage, after standing for six hundred and seventy-two years, was destroyed in the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius, one hundred and seventy-three years from the present date. ⁽⁶⁾ This was the end of Carthage, the rival of the power of Rome, with whom our ancestors began the conflict in the consulship of Claudius and Fulvius two hundred and ninety-two years before you entered upon your consulship, Marcus Vinicius. Thus for one hundred and twenty years there existed between these two people either war, or preparations for war or a treacherous peace. ⁽⁷⁾ Even after Rome had conquered the world she could not hope for security so long as the name of Carthage remained as of a city still standing: to such an extent does hatred begotten of conflict outlast the fear which caused it; it is not laid aside even when the foe is vanquished nor does the object of it cease to be hated until it has ceased to be.

XIII

Ante triennium quam Carthago deleteretur, M. Cato, perpetuus diruendae eius auctor, L. Censorino M. Manilio consulibus mortem obiit. Eodem anno, quo Carthago concidit, L. Mummius Corinthum post annos nongentos quinquaginta duos (CMLII), quam ab Alete Hipposis filio erat condita, funditus eruit. Uterque imperator devictae a se gentis nomine honoratus, alter Africanus, alter appellatus est Achaicus; nec quisquam ex novis hominibus prior Mummius cognomen virtute partum vindicavit. Diversi imperatoribus mores, diversa fuere studia: quippe Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnisque doctrinae et auctor et admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panaetiumque, praecellentes ingenio viros, domi militiaeque secum habuerit. Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit semperque aut belli aut pacis serviit artibus: semper inter arma ac studia versatus aut corpus periculis aut animum disciplinis exercuit. Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, iuberet praedici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. 5 Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro re publica fuerit manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum quam in tantum ea intellegi, et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior.

[13] (1) Cato, the constant advocate of her destruction, died three years before the fall of Carthage, in the consulship of Lucius Censorinus and Manius Manilius. In the same year in which Carthage fell Lucius Mummius destroyed Corinth to her very foundations, nine hundred and fifty-two years after her founding by Aletes, son of Hippos. (2) The two conquerors were honoured by the names of the conquered races. The one was surnamed Africanus, the other Achaicus. Before Mummius no *new man* earned for himself a cognomen won by military glory.

(3) The two commanders differed in their characters as in their tastes. Scipio was a cultivated patron and admirer of liberal studies and of every form of learning, and kept constantly with him, at home and in the field, two men of eminent genius, Polybius and Panaetius. No one ever relieved the duties of an active life by a more refined use of his intervals of leisure than Scipio, or was more constant in his devotion to the arts either of war or peace. Ever engaged

in the pursuit of arms or his studies, he was either training his body by exposing it to dangers or his mind by learning. ⁽⁴⁾ Mummius was so uncultivated that when, after the capture of Corinth, he was contracting for the transportation to Italy of pictures and statues by the hands of the greatest artists, he gave instructions that the contractors should be warned that if they lost them, they would have to replace them by new ones. Yet I do not think, Vinicius, that you would hesitate to concede that it would have been more useful to the state for the appreciation of Corinthian works of art to have remained uncultivated to the present day, than that they will be appreciated to the extent to which they now are, and that the ignorance of those days was more conducive to the public weal than our present artistic knowledge.

Cum facilius cuiusque rei in unam contracta species quam divisa temporibus oculis animisque inhaereat, statui priorem huius voluminis posterioremque partem non inutiles rerum notitias in artum contracta distinguere atque huic loco inserere, quae quoque tempore post Romam a Gallis captam deducta sit colonia iussu senatus; nam militarium et causae et auctores ex ipsarum praeferunt nomine. Huic rei per idem tempus civitates propagatas auctumque Romanum nomen communione iuris haud intempestive subtexturi videmur. Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperant, Sutrium colonia deducta est et post annum Setia novemque interiectis annis Nepe, deinde interpositis duobus et triginta Aricini in civitatem recepti. Abhinc annos autem trecentos et sexaginta, Sp. Postumio et Vetuno Calvino consulibus, Campanis data est civitas partique Samnitium sine suffragio, et eodem anno Cales deducta colonia. Interiecto deinde triennio Fundani et Formiani in civitatem recepti, eo ipso anno, quo Alexandria condita est. Insequentibusque consulibus a Sp. Postumio et Philone Publilio censoribus Acerranis data civitas. Et post triennium Tarracina deducta colonia interpositoque quadriennio Luceria ac deinde interiecto triennio Suessa Aurunca et Saticula, Interamnaque post biennium. Decem deinde hoc munere anni vacaverunt: tunc Sora atque Alba deductae coloniae et Carseoli post biennium. At Q. Fabio quintum et Decio Mure quartum consulibus, quo anno Pyrrhus regnare coepit, Sinuessam Minturnasque missi coloni, post quadriennium Venusiam, interiectoque biennio M. Curio et Rufino Cornelio consulibus Sabinis sine suffragio data civitas: id actum ante annos ferme trecentos et viginti. At Cosam et Paestum abhinc annos ferme trecentos Fabio Dorsone et Claudio Canina consulibus, interiectoque quinquennio Sempronio Sopho et Appio Caeci filio consulibus Ariminum et Beneventum coloni missi et suffragii ferendi ius Sabinis datum. At initio primi belli Punici Firmum et Castrum colonis occupata, et post annum Aesernia postque septem et decem annos Aesulum et Alsium Fregenaque post biennium proximoque anno Torquato Sempronioque consulibus Brundisium et post triennium Spoletium, quo anno Floralium ludorum factum est initium. Postque biennium deducta Valentia et sub adventum in Italiam Hannibalis Cremona atque Placentia.

when grouped together than when they are given separately in their chronological sequence, I have decided to separate the first part of this work from the second by a useful summary, and to insert in this place an account, with the date, of each colony founded by order of the senate since the capture of Rome by the Gauls; for, in the case of the military colonies, their very names reveal their origins and their founders. And it will perhaps not seem out of place, if, in this connexion, we weave into our history the various extensions of the citizenship and the growth of the Roman name through granting to others a share in its privileges.

(2) Seven years after the capture of the city by the Gauls a colony was founded at Sutrium, another a year later at Setia, and another after an interval of nine years at Nepe. Thirty-two years later the Aricians were admitted to the citizenship. Three hundred and sixty years from the present date, in the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Veturius Calvinus, the citizenship without the right of voting was given to the Campanians and a portion of the Samnites, and in the same year a colony was established at Cales. Then, after an interval of three years, the people of Fundi and of Formiae were admitted to the citizenship, in the very year of the founding of Alexandria. (4) In the following year the citizenship was granted to the inhabitants of Acerra by the censors Spurius Postumus and Philo Publilius. Three years later a colony was established at Tarracina, four years afterwards another at Luceria; others three years later at Suessa Aurunca and Satricula, and another two years after these at Interamna. (5) After that the work of colonization was suspended for ten years. Then the colonies of Sora and Alba were founded, and two years later that of Carseoli. (6) But in the fifth consulship of Quintus Fabius, and the fourth of Decius Mus, the year in which King Pyrrhus began his reign, colonists were sent to Minturnae and Sinuessa, and four years afterwards to Venusia. After an interval of two years the citizenship without the right of suffrage was given to the Sabines in the consulship of Manius Curius and Rufinus Cornelius. This event took place three hundred and twenty years ago. (7) In the consulship of Fabius Dorso and Claudius Canina, three hundred years before the present date, colonies were established at Cosa and Paestum. After an interval of five years, in the consulship of Sempronius Sophus and Appius, the son of Appius the Blind, colonists were sent to Ariminum and Beneventum and the right of suffrage was granted to the Sabines. (8) At the

outbreak of the First Punic War Firmum and Castrum were occupied by colonies, a year later Aesernia, Aefulum and •Alsium seventeen years later, and Fregenae two years afterward. Brundisium was established in the next year in the consulship of Torquatus and Sempronius, Spoletium three years afterwards in the year in which the •Floralia were instituted. Two years afterwards a colony was established at Valentia, and Cremona and Placentia were established just before Hannibal's arrival in Italy.

Deinde neque dum Hannibal in Italia moratur, neque proximis post excessum eius annis vacavit Romanis colonias condere, cum esset in bello conquirendus potius miles quam dimittendus et post bellum vires refovendae magis quam spargendae. Cn. autem Manlio Voisone et Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus Bononia deducta colonia abhinc annos ferme ducentos septendecim, et post quadriennium Pisaurum ac Potentia interiectoque triennio Aquileia et Gravisca et post quadriennium Luca. Eodem temporum tractu, quamquam apud quosdam ambigitur, Puteolos Salernumque et Buxentum missi coloni, Auximum autem in Picenum abhinc annos ferme centum octoginta quinque, ante triennium quam Cassius censor a Lupercale in Palatium versus theatrum facere instituit, cui in eo moliendo eximia civitatis severitas et consul Scipio restitere, quod ego inter clarissima publicae voluntatis argumenta numeraverim. Cassio autem Longino et Sextio Calvino, qui Sallues apud aquas, quae ab eo Sextiae appellantur, devicit, consulibus Fabreria deducta est abhinc annos ferme centum quinquaginta tris. Et post annum Scolacium Minervium, Tarentum Neptunia, Carthagoque in Africa, prima, ut praediximus, extra Italiam colonia condita est. De Dertona ambigitur, Narbo autem Martius in Gallia, Porcio Marcioque consulibus, abhinc annos circiter centum quadraginta sex colonia deducta est. Post duodeviginti annos in Bagiennis Eporedia, Mario sextum Valerioque Flacco consulibus. Neque facile memoriae mandaverim quae, nisi militans, post hoc tempus deducta sit.

[15] (1) Thereafter, during Hannibal's stay in Italy, and in the next few years subsequent to his departure, the Romans had no leisure for the founding of colonies, since, while the war lasted, they had to find soldiers, rather than muster them out, and, after it was over, the strength of the city needed to be revived and concentrated rather than to be dispersed. (2) But, about two hundred and seventeen years ago, in the consulship of Gnaeus^o Manlius Volso and Fulvius Nobilior, a colony was established at Bononia, others four years later at Pisaurum and Potentia, others three years later still at Aquileia and •Gravisca, and another four years afterwards at Luca. (3) About the same time, although the date is questioned by some, colonists were sent to Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, and to Auximum in Picenum, one hundred and eighty-five years ago, three years before Cassius the censor began the building

of a theatre beginning at the •Lupercal and facing the Palatine. But the remarkable austerity of the state and Scipio the consul successfully opposed him in its building, an incident which I regard as one of the clearest indications of the attitude of the people of that time. ⁽⁴⁾ In the consulship of Cassius Longinus and Sextius Calvinus — the Sextius who defeated the Sallues at the waters which are called Aquae Sextiae from his name — Fabrateria was founded about one hundred and fifty-three years before the present date, and in the next year Scolacium Minervium, Tarentum Neptunia, and Carthage in Africa — the first colony founded outside of Italy, as already stated. ⁽⁵⁾ In regard to Dertona the date is in question. A colony was established at Narbo Martius in Gaul about one hundred and forty-six years ago in the consulship of Porcius and Marcius. Eighteen years later Eporedia was founded in the country of the Bagienni in the consulship of Marius, then consul for the sixth time, and Valerius Flaccus.

It would be difficult to mention any colony founded after this date, except the military colonies.

XVI

Cum haec particula operis velut formam propositi excesserit, quamquam intellego mihi in hac tam praecipiti festinatione, quae me rotae pronive gurgitis ac verticis modo nusquam patitur consistere, paene magis necessaria praetereunda quam supervacua amplectenda, nequeo tamen temperare mihi, quin rem saepe agitatam animo meo neque ad liquidum ratione perductam signem stilo. Quis enim abunde mirari potest, quod eminentissima cuiusque professionis ingenia in eandem formam et in idem artati temporis congruere spatium, et quemadmodum clausa capso aliove saepto diversi generis animalia nihilo minus separata alienis in unum quodque corpus congregantur, ita cuiusque clari operis capacia ingenia in similitudine et temporum et profectuum semet ipsa ab aliis separaverunt? Una neque multorum annorum spatio divisa aetas per divini spiritus viros, Aeschylum, Sophoclen Euripiden, inlustravit tragoediam; una priscam illam et veterem sub Cratino Aristophaneque et Eupolide comoediam; ac novam comicam Menander aequalesque eius aetatis magis quam operis, Philemo ac Diphilus, et invenere intra paucissimos annos neque imitandam reliquere. Philosophorum quoque ingenia Socratico ore defluentia omnium, quos paucio ante enumeravimus, quanto post Platonis Aristotelisque mortem florere spatio? Quid ante Isocratem, quid post eius auditores eorumque discipulos clarum in oratoribus fuit? Adeo quidem artatum angustiis temporum, ut nemo memoria dignus alter ab altero videri nequiverint.

[16] (1) Although this portion of my work has already, as it were, outgrown my plan, and although I am aware that in my headlong haste — which, just like a revolving wheel or a down-rushing and eddying stream, never suffers me of stop — I am almost obliged to omit matters of essential importance rather than to include unessential details, yet I cannot refrain from noting a subject which has often occupied my thoughts but has never been clearly reasoned out. (2) For who can marvel sufficiently that the most distinguished minds in a branch of human achievement have happened to adopt the same form of effort, and to have fallen within the same narrow space of time? Just as animals of different species when shut in the same pen or other enclosure still segregate themselves from those which are not of their kind, and gather together each in its own group, so the minds that have had the capacity for

distinguished achievement of each kind have set themselves apart from the rest by doing like things in the same period of time. ⁽³⁾ A single epoch, and that only of a few years' duration, gave lustre to tragedy through three men of divine inspiration, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. So, with Comedy, a single age brought to perfection that early form, the Old Comedy, through the agency of Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis; while Menander, and Philemon and Diphilus, his equals in age rather than in performance, within the space of a very few years invented the New Comedy and left it to defy imitation. ⁽⁴⁾ The great philosophers, too, who received their inspiration from the lips of Socrates — their names we gave a moment ago — how long did they flourish after the death of Plato and of Aristotle? ⁽⁵⁾ What distinction was there in oratory before Isocrates, or after the time of his disciples and in turn of their pupils? So crowded were they into a brief epoch that there were no two worthy of mention who could not have seen each other.

XVII

Neque hoc in Graecis quam in Romanis evenit magis. Nam nisi aspera ac rudia repetas et inventi laudanda nomine, in Accio circaque eum Romana tragoedia est; dulcesque Latini leporis facetiae per Caecilium Terentiumque et Afranium subpari aetate nituerunt. Historicos etiam, ut Livium quoque priorum aetati adstruas, praeter Catonem et quosdam veteres et obscuros minus octoginta annis circumdatum aevum tulit, ut nec poetarum in antiquius citeriusve processit ubertas. At oratio ac vis forensis perfectumque prosae eloquentiae decus, ut idem separetur Cato (pace P. Crassi Scipionisque et Laelii et Gracchorum et Fannii et Servii Galbae dixerim) ita universa sub principe operis sui erupit Tullio, ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis nisi aut ab illo visum aut qui illum viderit. Hoc idem evenisse grammaticis, plasticis, pictoribus, sculptoribus quisquis temporum institerit notis, reperiet, eminentiam cuiusque operis artissimis temporum claustris circumdatam. Huius ergo recedentis in suum quodque saeculum ingeniorum similitudinis congregantisque se et in studium par et in emolumentum causas cum saepe requiro, numquam reperio, quas esse veras confidam, sed fortasse veri similes, inter quas has maxime. Alit aemulatio ingenia, et nunc invidia, nunc admiratio imitationem accendit, naturaque quod summo studio petatum est, ascendit in summum difficilisque in perfecto mora est, naturaliterque quod procedere non potest, recedit. Et ut primo ad consequendos quos priores ducimus accendimur, ita ubi aut praeteriri aut aequari eos posse desperavimus, studium cum spe senescit, et quod adsequi non potest, sequi desinit et velut occupatam relinquens materiam quaerit novam, praeteritoque eo, in quo eminere non possumus, aliquid, in quo nitamur, conquirimus, sequiturque ut frequens ac mobilis transitus maximum perfecti operis impedimentum sit.

[17] (1) This phenomenon occurred among the Romans as well as among the Greeks. For, unless one goes back to the rough and crude beginnings, and to men whose sole claim to praise is that they were the pioneers, Roman tragedy centres in and about Accius; and the sweet pleasantry of Latin humour reached its zenith in practically the same range under Caecilius, Terentius, and Afranius. (2) In the case of the historians also, if one adds Livy to the period of the older writers, a single epoch, comprised within the limits of eighty years, produced them all, with the exception of Cato and some of the

old and obscure authors. Likewise the period which was productive of poets does not go back to an earlier date or continue to a later. (3) Take oratory and the forensic art at its best, the perfected splendour of eloquence in prose, if we again except Cato — and this I say with due respect to Publius Crassus, Scipio, Laelius, the Gracchi, Fannius, and Servius Galba — eloquence, I say, in all its branches burst into flower under Cicero, its chief exponent, so that there are few before his day whom one can read with pleasure, and none whom one can admire, except men who had either seen Cicero or had been seen by him. (4) One will also find, if he follows up the dates closely, that the same thing holds true of the grammarians, the workers in clay, the painters, the sculptors, and that pre-eminence in each phase of art is confined within the narrowest limits of time.

(5) Though I frequently search for the reasons why men of similar talents occur exclusively in certain epochs and not only flock to one pursuit but also attain like success, I can never find any of whose truth I am certain, though I do find some which perhaps seem likely, and particularly the following. (6) Genius is fostered by emulation, and it is now envy, now admiration, which enkindles imitation, and, in the nature of things, that which is cultivated with the highest zeal advances to the highest perfection; but it is difficult to continue at the point of perfection, and naturally that which cannot advance must recede. (7) And as in the beginning we are fired with the ambition to overtake those whom we regard as leaders, so when we have despaired of being able either to surpass or even to equal them, our zeal wanes with our hope; it ceases to follow what it cannot overtake, and abandoning the old field as though preempted, it seeks a new one. Passing over that in which we cannot be pre-eminent, we seek for some new object of our effort. It follows that the greatest obstacle in the way of perfection in any work is our fickle way of passing on at frequent intervals to something else.

XVIII

Transit admiratio ab conditione temporum et ad urbium. Una urbs Attica pluribus omnis eloquentiae quam universa Graecia operibus usque floruit adeo ut corpora gentis illius separata sint in alias civitates, ingenia vero solis Atheniensium muris clausa existimes. Neque hoc ego magis miratus sim quam neminem Argivum Thebanum Lacedaemonium oratorem aut dum vixit auctoritate aut post mortem memoria dignum existimatum. Quae urbes eximiae alias talium studiorum fuere steriles, nisi Thebas unum os Pindari inluminaret: nam Alcmana Lacones falso sibi vindicant.

[18] (1) From the part played by epochs our wonder and admiration next passes to that played by individual cities. A single city of Attica blossomed with more masterpieces of every kind of eloquence than all the rest of Greece together — to such a degree, in fact, that one would think that although the bodies of the Greek race were distributed among the other states, their intellects were confined within the walls of Athens alone. (2) Nor have I more reason for wonder at this than that not a single Argive or Theban or Lacedaemonian was esteemed worthy, as an orator, of commanding influence while he lived, or of being remembered after his death. (3) These cities, otherwise distinguished, were barren of such literary pursuits with the single exception of the lustre which Pindar gave to Thebes; for, in the case of Alcman, the claim which the Laconians lay to him is spurious.

BOOK II.

I

Potentiae Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriae posterior aperuit: quippe remoto Carthaginis metu sublataque imperii aemula non gradu, sed praecipiti cursu a virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum; vetus disciplina deserta, nova inducta; in somnum a vigiliis, ab armis ad voluptates, a negotiis in otium conversa civitas. Tum Scipio Nasica in Capitolio porticus, tum, quas praediximus, Metellus, tum in circo Cn. Octavius multo amoenissimam moliti sunt, publicamque magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est. Triste deinde et contumeliosum bellum in Hispania duce latronum Viriatho secutum est: quod ita varia fortuna gestum est, ut saepius Romanorum gereretur adversa. Sed interempto Viriatho fraude magis quam virtute Servilii Caepionis Numantinum gravius exarsit. Haec urbs numquam plura quam decem milia propriae iuventutis armavit, sed vel ferocia ingenii vel inscitia nostrorum ducum vel fortunae indulgentia cum alios duces, tum Pompeium magni nominis virum ad turpissima deduxit foedera (hic primus e Pompeis consul fuit), nec minus turpia ac detestabilia Mancinum Hostilium consulem. Sed Pompeium gratia impunitum habuit, Mancinum verecundia poenam non recusando perduxit huc, ut per fetialis nudus ac post tergum religatis manibus dederetur hostibus. Quem illi recipere se negaverunt, sicut quondam Caudini fecerant, dicentes publicam violationem fidei non debere unius lui sanguine.

[1] (1) The first of the Scipios opened the way for the world power of the Romans; the second opened the way for luxury. For, when Rome was freed of the fear of Carthage, and her rival in empire was out of her way, the path of virtue was abandoned for that of corruption, not gradually, but in headlong course. The older discipline was discarded to give place to the new. The state passed from vigilance to slumber, from the pursuit of arms to the pursuit of pleasure, from activity to idleness. (2) It was at this time that there were built, on the Capitol, the porticoes of Scipio Nasica, the porticoes of Metellus already mentioned, and, in the Circus, the portico of Gnaeus Octavius, the most splendid of them all; and private luxury soon followed public extravagance.

(3) Then followed a war that was disaster and disgraceful to the Romans, the war in Spain with Viriathus, a guerilla chief. The fortunes of this war during

its progress shifted constantly and were, more frequently than not, adverse to the Romans. On the death of Viriathus through the perfidy rather than the valour of Servilius Caepio, there broke out in Numantia a war that was more serious still. ⁽⁴⁾ Numantia city was never able to arm more than ten thousand men of its own; but, whether it was owing to her native valour, or to the inexperience of our soldiers, or to the mere kindness of fortune, she compelled first other generals, and then Pompey, a man of great name (he was the first of his family to hold the consulship) to sign disgraceful treaties, and forced Mancinus Hostilius to terms no less base and hateful. ⁽⁵⁾ Pompey, however, escaped punishment through his influence. As for Mancinus his sense of shame, in that he did not try to evade the consequences, caused him to be delivered to the enemy by the fetial priests, naked, and with his hands bound behind his back. The Numantines, however, refused to receive him, following the example of the Samnites at an earlier day at Caudium, saying that a national breach of faith should not be atoned for by the blood of one man.

II

Inmanem deditio Mancini civitatis movit dissensionem. Quippe Tiberius Gracchus, Tiberii Gracchi clarissimi atque eminentissimi viri filius, P. Africani ex filia nepos, quo quaestore et auctore id foedus ictum erat, nunc graviter ferens aliquid a se pactum infirmari, nunc similis vel iudicii vel poenae metuens discrimen, tribunus pl. creatus, vir alioqui vita innocentissimus, ingenio florentissimus, proposito sanctissimus, tantis denique adornatus virtutibus, quantas perfecta et natura et industria mortalis condicio recipit, P. Mucio Scaevola L. Calpurnio consulibus abhinc annos centum sexaginta duos descivit a bonis, pollicitusque toti Italiae civitatem, simul etiam promulgatis agrariis legibus, omnibus statim concupiscentibus, summa imis miscuit et in praeruptum atque anceps periculum adduxit rem publicam. Octavioque collegae pro bono publico stanti imperium abrogavit, triumviros agris dividendis colonisque deducendis creavit se socerumque suum, consularem Appium, et Gaium fratrem admodum iuvenem.

[2] (1) The surrender of Mancinus aroused in the state a quarrel of vast proportions. Tiberius Gracchus, the son of Tiberius Gracchus, an illustrious and eminent citizen, and the grandson, on his mother's side, of Scipio Africanus, had been quaestor in the army of Mancinus and had negotiated the treaty. Indignant, on the one hand, that any of his acts should be disavowed, and fearing the danger of a like trial or a like punishment, he had himself elected tribune of the people. (2) He was a man of otherwise blameless life, of brilliant intellect, of upright intentions, and, in a word, endowed with the highest virtues of which a man is capable when favoured by nature and by training. In the consulship of Publius Mucius Scaevola and Lucius Calpurnius (one hundred and sixty-two years ago), he split with the party of the nobles, promised the citizenship to all Italy, (3) and at the same time, by proposing agrarian laws which all immediately desired to see in operation, turned the state topsyturvy, and brought it into a position of critical and extreme danger. He abrogated the power of his colleague Octavius, who defended the interests of the state, and appointed a commission of three to assign lands and to found colonies, consisting of himself, his father-in-law the ex-consul Appius, and his brother Gaius, then a very young man.

III

Tum P. Scipio Nasica, eius qui optimus vir a senatu iudicatus erat, nepos, eius qui censor porticus in Capitolio fecerat, filius, pronepos autem Cn. Scipionis, celeberrimi viri P. Africani patruī, privatusque et togatus, cum esset consobrinus Ti. Gracchi, patriam cognationi praeferens et quidquid publice salutare non esset, privatim alienum existimans (ob eas virtutes primus omnium absens pontifex maximus factus est), circumdata laevo brachio togae lacinia ex superiore parte Capitolii summis gradibus insistens hortatus est, qui salvam vellent rem publicam, se sequerentur. Tum optimates, senatus atque equestris ordinis pars melior et maior, et intacta perniciosi consilii plebs intrare in Gracchum stantem in area cum catervis suis et concientem paene totius Italiae frequentiam. Is fugiens decurrensque clivo Capitolino, fragmine subsellii ictus vitam, quam gloriosissime degere potuerat, immatura morte finivit. Hoc initium in urbe Roma civilis sanguinis gladiatorumque impunitatis fuit. Inde ius vi obrutum potentiorque habitus prior, discordiaeque civium antea condicionibus sanari solitae ferro diiudicatae bellaeque non causis inita, sed prout eorum merces fuit. Quod haut mirum est: non enim ibi consistunt exempla, unde coeperunt, sed quamlibet in tenuem recepta tramitem latissime evagandi sibi viam faciunt, et ubi semel recto deerratum est, in praeceps pervenitur, nec quisquam sibi putat turpe, quod alii fuit fructuosum.

[3] (1) At this crisis Publius Scipio Nasica appeared. He was the grandson of the Scipio who had been adjudged by the senate the best citizen of the state, the son of the Scipio who, as censor, had built the porticoes on the Capitol, and great-grandson of Gnaeus Scipio, that illustrious man who was the paternal uncle of Publius Scipio Africanus. Although he was a cousin of Tiberius Gracchus, he set his country before all ties of blood, choosing to regard as contrary to his private interests everything that was not for the public weal, a quality which earned for him the distinction of being the first man to be elected pontifex maximus *in absentia*. He held no public office at this time and was clad in the toga. Wrapping the fold of his toga about his left forearm he stationed himself on the topmost steps of the Capitol and summoned all those who wished for the safety of the state to follow him. (2) Then the optimates, the senate, the larger and better part of the equestrian order, and those of the plebs who were not yet infected by pernicious theories rushed

upon Gracchus as he stood with his hands in the area of the Capitol and was haranguing a throng assembled from almost every part of Italy. As Gracchus fled, and was running down the steps which led from the Capitol, he was struck by the fragment of a bench, and ended by an untimely death the life which he might have made a glorious one. ⁽³⁾ This was the beginning in Rome of civil bloodshed, and of the licence of the sword. From this time on right was crushed by might, the most powerful now took precedence in the state, the disputes of the citizens which were once healed by amicable agreements were now settled by arms, and wars were now begun not for good cause but for what profit there was in them. Nor is this to be wondered at; ⁽⁴⁾ for precedents do not stop where they begin, but, however narrow the path upon which they enter, they create for themselves a highway whereon they may wander with the utmost latitude; and when once the path of right is abandoned, men are hurried into wrong in headlong haste, nor does anyone think a course is base for himself which has proven profitable to others.

IV

Interim, dum haec in Italia geruntur, Aristonicus, qui mortuo rege Attalo, a quo Asia populo Romano hereditate relicta erat, sicut relicta postea est a Nicomede Bithynia, mentitus regiae stirpis originem armis eam occupaverat, is victus a M. Perpenna ductusque in triumpho, set a M'. Aquilio, capite poenas dedit, cum initio belli Crassum Mucianum, virum iuris scientissimum, decedentem ex Asia proconsulem interemisset. At P. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, qui Carthaginem deleverat, post tot acceptas circa Numantiam clades creatus iterum consul missusque in Hispaniam fortunae virtutique expertae in Africa respondit in Hispania, et intra annum ac tris menses, quam eo venerat, circumdatam operibus Numantiam excisamque aequavit solo. Nec quisquam ullius gentis hominum ante eum clariore urbium excidio nomen suum perpetuae commendavit memoriae: quippe excisa Carthagine ac Numantia ab alterius nos metu, alterius vindicavit contumeliis. Hic, eum interrogante tribuno Carbone, quid de Ti. Gracchi caede sentiret, respondit, si is occupandae rei publicae animum habuisset, iure caesum. Et cum omnis contio adclamasset, hostium, inquit, armatorum totiens clamore non territus, qui possum vestro moveri, quorum noverca est Italia? Reversus in urbem intra breve tempus, M. Aquilio C. Sempronio consulibus abhinc annos centum et sexaginta, post duos consulatus duosque triumphos et bis excisos terrores rei publicae mane in lectulo repertus est mortuus, ita ut quaedam elisarum faucium in cervice reperirentur notae. De tanti viri morte nulla habita est quaestio eiusque corpus velato capite elatum est, cuius opera super totum terrarum orbem Roma extulerat caput. Seu fatalem, ut plures, seu conflatum insidiis, ut aliqui prodidere memoriae, mortem obiit, vitam certe dignissimam egit, quae nullius ad id temporis praeterquam avito fulgore vinceretur. Decessit anno ferme sexto et quinquagesimo: de quo si quis ambiget, recurrit ad priorem consulatum eius, in quem creatus est anno octavo et tricesimo: ita dubitare desinet.

[4] (1) While these events were taking place in Italy King Attalus had died, bequeathing Asia in his will to the Roman people, as Bithynia was later bequeathed to them by Nicomedes, and Aristonicus, falsely claiming to be a scion of the royal house, had forcibly seized the province. Aristonicus was subdued by Marcus Perpenna and was later led in triumph, but by Manius

Aquilius. He paid with his life the penalty for having put to death at the very outset of the war the celebrated jurist Crassus Mucianus, proconsul of Asia, as he was leaving his province.

(2) After all the defeats experienced at Numantia, Publius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, was a second time elected consul and then dispatched to Spain, where he confirmed the reputation for good fortune and for valour which he had earned in Africa. Within a year and three months after his arrival in Spain he surrounded Numantia with his siege works, destroyed the city and levelled it to the ground. (3) No man of any nationality before his day had immortalized his name by a more illustrious feat of destroying cities; for by the destruction of Carthage and Numantia he liberated us, in the one case from fear, in the other from a reproach upon our name. (4) This same Scipio, when asked by Carbo the tribune what he thought about the killing of Tiberius Gracchus, replied that he had been justly slain if his purpose had been to seize the government. When the whole assembly cried out at this utterance he said, "How can I, who have so many times heard the battle shout of the enemy without feeling fear, be disturbed by the shouts of men like you, to whom Italy is only a stepmother?" (5) A short time after Scipio's return to Rome, in the consulship of Manius Aquilius and Gaius Sempronius — one hundred sixty years ago — this man who had held two consulships, had celebrated two triumphs, and had twice destroyed cities which had brought terror to his country, was found in the morning dead in his bed with marks as though of strangulation upon his throat. (6) Great man though he was, no inquest was held concerning the manner of his death, and with covered head was borne to the grave the body of him whose services had enabled Rome to lift her head above the whole world. Whether his death was due to natural causes as most people think, or was the result of a plot, as some historians state, the life he lived was at any rate so crowded with honours that up to this time it was surpassed in brilliance by none, excepting only his grandsire. He died in his fifty-sixth year. (7) If anyone questions this let him call to mind his first consulship, to which he was elected in his thirty-eighth year, and he will cease to doubt.

Ante tempus excisae Numantiae praeclara in Hispania militia D.Bruti fuit, qui penetratis omnibus Hispaniae gentibus ingenti vi hominum urbiumque potitus numero, aditis quae vix audita erant, Gallaeci cognomen meruit. Et ante eum paucis annis tam severum illius Q.Macedonici in his gentibus imperium fuit, ut, cum urbem Contrebiam nomine in Hispania oppugnaret, pulsas praecipiti loco quinque cohortes legionarias eodem protinus subire iuberet, facientibusque omnibus in procinctu testamenta, velut ad certam mortem eundum foret, non deterritus proposito, quem morituum miserat militem victorem recepit: tantum effecit mixtus timori pudor spesque desperatione quaesita. Hic virtute ac severitate facti, at Fabius Aemilianus Pauli exemplo disciplina in Hispania fuit clarissimus.

[5] (1) In Spain, even before the destruction of Numantia, Decimus Brutus had conducted a brilliant campaign in which he penetrated to all the peoples of the country, took a great number of men and cities and, by extending his operations to regions which hitherto had scarcely been heard of, earned for himself the cognomen of Gallaecus.

(2) A few years before in this same country Quintus Macedonicus had exercised command as general with a discipline of remarkable rigour. For instance, in an assault upon a Spanish town called Contrebia he ordered five legionary cohorts, which had been driven down from a steep escarpment, forthwith to march up it again. (2) Though the soldiers were making their wills on the battlefield, as though they were about to march to certain death, he was not deterred, but afterwards received the men, whom he sent forth to die, back in camp victorious. Such was the effect of shame mingled with fear, and of a hope born of despair. Macedonicus won renown in Spain by the uncompromising bravery of this exploit; Fabius Aemilianus, following the example of Paulus on the other hand, by the severity of his discipline.

VI

Decem deinde interpositis annis, qui Ti.Gracchum, idem Gaium fratrem eius occupavit furor, tam virtutibus eius omnibus quam huic errori similem, ingenio etiam eloquentiaque longe praestantior. Qui cum summa quiete animi civitatis princeps esse posset, vel vindicandae fraternae mortis gratia vel praemuniendae regalis potentiae eiusdem exempli tribunatum ingressus, longe maiora et aciora petens dabat civitatem omnibus Italicis, extendebat eam paene usque Alpibus, dividebat agros, vetabat quemquam civem plus quingentis iugeribus habere, quod aliquando lege Licinia cautum erat, nova constituebat portoria, novis coloniis replebat provincias, iudicia a senatu transferebat ad equites, frumentum plebi dari instituerat; nihil immotum, nihil tranquillum, nihil quietum, nihil denique in eodem statu relinquebat; quin alterum etiam continuavit tribunatum. Hunc L.Opimius consul, qui praetor Fregellas exciderat, persecutus armis unaque Fulvium Flaccum, consularem ac triumphalem virum, aequae prava cupientem, quem C.Gracchus in locum Tiberii fratris triumvirum nominaverat, eumque socium regalis adsumpserat potentiae, morte adfecit. Id unum nefarie ab Opimio proditum, quod capitis non dicam Gracchi, sed civis Romani pretium se daturum idque auro repensurum proposuit. Flaccus in Aventino armatos ac pugnam ciens cum filio maiore iugulatus est; Gracchus profugiens, cum iam comprehenderetur ab iis, quos Opimius miserat, cervicem Euporo servo praeiungit, qui non segnius se ipse interemit, quam domino succurrerat. Quo die singularis Pomponii equitis Romani in Gracchum fides fuit, qui more Coclitis sustentatis in ponte hostibus eius, gladio se transfixit. Ut Ti. Gracchi antea corpus, ita Gaius mira crudelitate victorum in Tiberim deiectum est.

[6] (1) After an interval of ten years the same madness which had possessed Tiberius Gracchus now seized upon his brother Gaius, who resembled him in his general virtues as well as in his mistaken ambition, but far surpassed him in ability and eloquence. (2) Gaius might have been the first man in the state had he held his spirit in repose; but, whether it was with the object of avenging his brother's death or of paving the way for kingly power, he followed the precedent which Tiberius had set and entered upon the career of a tribune. His aims, however, were far more ambitious and drastic. He was for giving the citizenship to all Italians, extending it almost to the Alps, (3)

distributing the public domain, limiting the holdings of each citizen to five hundred acres as had once been provided by the Licinian law, establishing new customs duties, filling the provinces with new colonies, transferring the judicial powers from the senate to the equites, and began the practice of distributing grain to the people. He left nothing undisturbed, nothing untouched, nothing unmolested, nothing, in short, as it had been. Furthermore he continued the exercise of his office for a second term.

(4) The consul, Lucius Opimius, who, as praetor, had destroyed Fregellae, hunted down Gracchus with armed men and put him to death, slaying with him Fulvius Flaccus, a man who, though now entertaining the same distorted ambitions, had held the consulship and had won a triumph. Gaius had named Flaccus triumvir in the place of his brother Tiberius and had made him his partner in his plans for assuming kingly power. (5) The conduct of Opimius was execrable in this one respect, that he had proposed a reward to be paid for the head, I will not say of a Gracchus, but of a Roman citizen, and had promised to pay it in gold. (6) Flaccus, together with his elder son, was slain upon the Aventine while summoning to battle his armed supporters. Gracchus, in his flight, when on the point of being apprehended by the emissaries of Opimius, offered his neck to the sword of his slave Euporus. Euporus then slew himself with the same promptness with which he had given assistance to his master. On the same day Pomponius, a Roman knight, gave remarkable proof of his fidelity to Gracchus; for, after holding back his enemies upon the bridge, as Cocles had done of yore, he threw himself upon his sword. The body of Gaius, like that of Tiberius before him, was thrown into the Tiber by the victors, with the same strange lack of humanity.

VII

Hunc Ti.Gracchi liberi, P.Scipionis Africani nepotes, viva adhuc matre Cornelia, Africani filia, viri optimis ingeniis male usi, vitae mortisque habuere exitum: qui si civilem dignitatis concupissent modum, quidquid tumultuando adipisci gestierunt, quietis obtulisset res publica. Huic atrocitati adiectum scelus unicum. Quippe iuvenis specie excellens necdum duodevicesimum transgressus annum immunisque delictorum paternorum, Fulvii Flacci filius, quem pater legatum de condicionibus miserat, ab Opimio interemptus est. Quem cum haruspex Tuscus amicus flentem in vincula duci vidisset, quin tu hoc potius, inquit, facis? Protinusque inliso capite in postem lapideum ianuae carceris effusoque cerebro expiravit. Crudelesque mox quaestiones in amicos clientesque Gracchorum habitae sunt. Sed Opimium, virum alioqui sanctum et gravem, damnatum postea iudicio publico memoria istius saevitiae nulla civilis prosecuta est misericordia. Eadem Rupilium Popiliumque, qui consules asperime in Tiberii Gracchi amicos saevierant, postea iudiciorum publicorum merito oppressit invidia. Rei tantae parum ad notitiam pertinens interponetur. Hic est Opimius, a quo consule celeberrimum Opimiani vini nomen; quod iam nullum esse spatio annorum colligi potest, cum ab eo sint ad te, M.Vinici, consulem anni centum et quinquaginta. Factum Opimii, quod inimicitiarum quaesita erat ultio, minor secuta auctoritas, et visa ultio privato odio magis quam publicae vindictae data. In legibus Gracchi inter perniciosissima numerarim, quod extra Italiam colonias posuit. Id maiores, cum viderent tanto potentiores Tyro Carthaginem, Massiliam Phocaea, Syracusas Corintho, Cyzicum ac Byzantium Mileto, genitili solo, diligenter vitaverant et civis Romanos ad censendum ex provinciis in Italiam revocaverant. Prima autem extra Italiam colonia Carthago condita est. Subinde Porcio Marcioque consulibus deducta colonia Narbo Martius.

[7] (1) Such were the lives and such the deaths of the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, and the grandsons of Publius Scipio Africanus, and their mother Cornelia, the daughter of Africanus, still lived to witness their end. An ill use they made of their excellent talents. Had they but coveted such honours as citizens might lawfully receive, the state would have conferred upon them through peaceful means all that they sought to obtain by unlawful agitations.

(2) To this atrocity was added a crime without precedent. The son of Fulvius

Flaccus, a youth of rare beauty who had not yet passed his eighteenth year and was in no way involved in the acts of his father, when sent by his father as an envoy to ask for terms, was put to death by Opimius. An Etruscan soothsayer, who was his friend, seeing him dragged weeping to prison, said to him, “Why not rather do as I do?” At these words he forthwith dashed out his brains against the stone portal of the prison and thus ended his life.

(3) Severe investigations, directed against the friends and followers of the Gracchi, followed. But when Opimius, who during the rest of his career had been a man of sterling and upright character, was afterwards condemned by public trial, his conviction aroused no sympathy on the part of the citizens because of the recollection of his cruelty in this instance. (4) Rupilius and Popilius, who, as consuls, had prosecuted the friends of Tiberius Gracchus with the utmost severity, deservedly met at a later date with the same mark of popular disapproval at their public trials.

I shall insert here a matter hardly relevant to these important events. (5) It was this same Opimius from whose consulship the famous Opimian wine received its name. That none of this wine is now in existence can be inferred from the lapse of time, since it is one hundred and fifty years, Marcus Vinicius, from his consulship to yours.

(6) The conduct of Opimius met with a greater degree of disapproval because it was a case of seeking revenge in a private feud, and this act of revenge was regarded as having been committed rather in satisfaction of a personal animosity than in defence of the rights of the state.

(7) In the legislation of Gracchus I should regard as the most pernicious his planting of colonies outside of Italy. This policy the Romans of the older time had carefully avoided; for they saw how much more powerful Carthage had been than Tyre, Massilia than Phocaea, Syracuse than Corinth, Cyzicus and Byzantium than Miletus, — all these colonies, in short, than their mother cities — and had summoned all Roman citizens from the provinces back to Italy that they might be enrolled upon the census lists. (8) The first colony to be founded outside of Italy was Carthage. Shortly afterwards the colony of Narbo Martius was founded, in the consulship of Porcius and Marcius.

VIII

Mandetur deinde memoriae severitas iudiciorum. Quippe C.Cato consularis, M.Catonis nepos, Africani sororis filius, repetundarum ex Macedonia damnatus est, cum lis eius HS. quattuor milibus aestimaretur: adeo illi viri magis voluntatem peccandi intuebantur quam modum, factaque ad consilium dirigebant et quid, non in quantum admissum foret, aestimabant. Circa eadem tempora M. C.Metelli fratres uno die triumphaverunt. Non minus clarum exemplum et adhuc unicum Fulvii Flacci, eius qui Capuam ceperat, filiorum, sed alterius in adoptionem dati, in collegio consulatus fuit; adoptivus in Acidini Manlii familiam datus. Nam censura Metellorum patruium, non germanorum fratrum fuit, quod solis contigerat Scipionibus. Tum Cimbri et Teutoni transcendere Rhenum, multis mox nostris suisque cladibus nobiles. Per eadem tempora clarus eius Minucii, qui porticus, quae hodieque celebres sunt, molitus est, ex Scordiscis triumphus fuit.

[8] (1) I must next record the severity of the law courts in condemning for extortion in Macedonia Gaius Cato, an ex-consul, the grandson of Marcus Cato, and son of the sister of Africanus, though the claim against him amounted to but four thousand sesterces. But the judges of that day looked rather at the purpose of the culprit than at the measure of the wrong, applying to actions the criterion of intention and weighing the character of the sin and not the extent of it.

(2) About the same time the two brothers Marcus and Gaius Metellus celebrated their triumphs on one and the same day. A coincidence equally celebrated which still remains unique, was the conjunction in the consulship of the sons of Fulvius Flaccus, the general who had conquered Capua, but one of these sons, however, had passed by adoption into the family of Acidinus Manlius. As regards the joint censorship of the two Metelli, they were cousins, not brothers, a coincidence which had happened to the family of the Scipios alone.

(3) At this time the Cimbri and Teutons crossed the Rhine. These peoples were soon to become famous by reason of the disasters which they inflicted upon us and we upon them. About the same time took place the famous triumph over the Scordisci of Minucius, the builder of the porticoes which are famous even

in our day.

IX

Eodem tractu temporum nituerunt oratores Scipio Aemilianus Laeliusque, Ser.Galba, duo Gracchi, C.Fannius, Carbo Papirius; nec praetereundus Metellus Numidicus et Scaurus, et ante omnes L. Crassus et M. Antonius: quorum aetati ingeniisque succedere C. Caesar Strabo, P. Sulpicius; nam Q. Mucius iuris scientia quam proprie eloquentiae nomine celebrior fuit. Clara etiam per idem aevi spatium fuere ingenia in togatis Afranii, in tragoediis Pacuvii atque Accii, usque in Graecorum ingeniorum comparationem evecti, magnumque inter hos ipsos facientis operi suo locum, adeo quidem, ut in illis limae, in hoc paene plus videatur fuisse sanguinis, celebre et Lucilii nomen fuit, qui sub P. Africano Numantino bello eques militaverat. Quo quidem tempore iuvenes adhuc Iugurtha ac Marius sub eodem Africano militantes in iisdem castris didicere, quae postea in contrariis facerent. Historiarum auctor iam tum Sisenna erat iuvenis, sed opus belli civilis Sullanique post aliquot annos ab eo seniore editum est. Vetustior Sisenna fuit Caelius, aequalis Sisennae Rutilius Claudiusque Quadrigarius et Valerius Antias. Sane non ignoremus eadem aetate fuisse Pomponium sensibus celebrem, verbis rudem et novitate inventi a se operis commendabilem.

[9] (1) At this same period flourished the illustrious orators Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius, Sergius Galba, the two Gracchi, Gaius Fannius, and Carbo Papirius. In this list we must not pass over the names of Metellus Numidicus and Scaurus, and above all of Lucius Crassus and Marcus Antonius. (2) They were followed in time as well as in talents by Gaius Caesar Strabo and Publius Sulpicius. As for Quintus Mucius, he was more famous for his knowledge of jurisprudence than, strictly speaking, for eloquence.

(3) In the same epoch other men of talent were illustrious: Afranius in the writing of native comedy, in tragedy Pacuvius and Accius, a man who rose into competition even with the genius of the Greeks, and made a great place for his own work among theirs, with this distinction, however, that, while they seemed to have more polish, Accius seemed to possess more real blood. (4) The name of Lucilius was also celebrated; he had served as a knight in the Numantine war under Publius Africanus. At the same time, Jugurtha and Marius, both still young men, and serving under the same Africanus, received in the same camp the military training which they were later destined to

employ in opposing camps. ⁽⁵⁾ At this time Sisenna, the author of the Histories, was still a young man. His works on the Civil Wars and the Wars of Sulla were published several years later, when he was a relatively old man. ⁽⁶⁾ Caelius was earlier than Sisenna, while Rutilius, Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias were his contemporaries. Let us not forget that at this period lived Pomponius, famed for his subject matter, though untutored in style, and noteworthy for the new kind of composition which he invented.

X

Prosequamur nota severitatem censorum Cassii Longini Caepionisque, qui abhinc annos centum quinquaginta tris Lepidum Aemilium augurem, quod sex milibus HS. aedes conduxisset, adesse iusserunt. At nunc si quis tanti habitet, vix ut senator agnoscitur: adeo natura a rectis in prava, a pravis in vitia, a vitiis in praecipitia pervenitur. Eodem tractu temporum et Domitii ex Arvernus et Fabii ex Allobrogibus victoria fuit nobilis; Fabio Pauli nepoti ex victoria cognomen Allobrogico inditum. Notetur Domitiae familiae peculiaris quaedam et ut clarissima, ita artata numero felicitas. Septem ante hunc nobilissimae simplicitatis iuvenem, Cn. Domitium, fuere, singuli omnes parentibus geniti, sed omnes ad consulatum sacerdotiaque, ad triumphi autem paene omnes pervenerunt insignia.

[10] (1) Let us now go on to note the severity of the censors Cassius Longinus and Caepio, who summoned before them the augur Lepidus Aemilius for renting a house at six thousand sesterces. This was a hundred and fifty-three years ago. Nowadays, if any one takes a residence at so low a rate he is scarcely recognized as a senator. Thus does nature pass from the normal to the perverted, from that to the vicious, and from the vicious to the abyss of extravagance.

(2) At the same period took place the notable victory of Domitius over the Arverni, and of Fabius over the Allobroges. Fabius, who was the grandson of Paulus, received the cognomen of Allobrogicus in commemoration of his victory. I must also note the strange fortune which distinguished the family of the Domitii, the more remarkable in view of the limited number of the family. Before the present Gnaeus Domitius, a man of notable simplicity of life, there have been seven Domitii, all only sons, but they all attained to the consulate and priesthoods and almost all to the distinction of a triumph.

XI

Bellum deinde Iugurthinum gestum est per Q.Metellum nulli secundum saeculi sui. Huius legatus fuit C.Marius, quem praediximus, natus agresti loco, hirtus atque horridus vitaque sanctus, quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus, immodicus gloriae, insatiabilis, impotens semperque inquietus. Hic per publicanos aliosque in Africa negotiantis criminatus Metelli lentitudinem, trahentis iam in tertium annum bellum, et naturalem nobilitatis superbiam morandique in imperiis cupiditatem effecit, ut, cum commeatu petito Romam venisset, consul crearetur bellique paene patrati a Metello, qui bis Iugurtham acie fuderat, summa committeretur sibi. Metelli tamen et triumphus fuit clarissimus et meritum ex virtute ei cognomen Numidici inditum. Ut paulo ante Domitiae familiae, ita Caeciliae notanda claritudo est. Quippe intra duodecim ferme annos huius temporis consules fuere Metelli aut censores aut triumpharunt amplius duodecies, ut appareat, quemadmodum urbium imperiorumque, ita gentium nunc florere fortunam, nunc senescere, nunc interire.

[11] (1) Then followed the Jugurthan war waged under the generalship of Quintus Metellus, a man inferior to no one of his time. His second in command was Gaius Marius, whom we have already mentioned, a man of rustic birth, rough and uncouth, and austere in his life, as excellent a general as he was an evil influence in time of peace, a man of unbounded ambition, insatiable, without self-control, and always an element of unrest. (2) Through the agency of the tax-gatherers and others who were engaged in business in Africa he criticized the delays of Metellus, who was now dragging on the war into its third year, charging him with the haughtiness characteristic of the nobility and with the desire to maintain himself in military commands. Having obtained a furlough he went to Rome, where he succeeded in procuring his election as consul and had the chief command of the war placed in his own hands, although the war had already been practically ended by Metellus, who had twice defeated Jugurtha in battle. The triumph of Metellus was none the less brilliant, and the cognomen of Numidicus earned by his valour was bestowed upon him. (3) As I commented, a short time ago, on the glory of the family of the Domitii, let me now comment upon that of the Caecilii. Within the compass of about twelve years during this period, the Metelli were distinguished by consulships, censorships, or triumph more than twelve times. Thus it is clear that, as in the case of cities and empires, so the fortunes of families flourish, wane, and pass away.

XII

At C. Marius L.Sullam iam tunc ut praecaventibus fatis copulatum sibi quaestorem habuit et per eum missum ad regem Bocchum Iugurtha rege abhinc annos ferme centum triginta quattuor potitus est; designatusque iterum consul in urbem reversus secundi consulatus initio Kal. Ianuariis eum in triumpho duxit. Effusa, ut praediximus, immanis vis Germanarum gentium, quibus nomen Cimbris ac Teutonis erat, cum Caepionem Manliumque consules et ante Carbonem Silanumque fudissent fugassentque in Galliis et exuissent exercitu, Scaurumque Aurelium consularem et alios celeberrimi nominis viros trucidassent, populus Romanus non alium repellendis tantis hostibus magis idoneum imperatorem quam Marium est ratus. Tum multiplicati consulatus eius. Tertius in apparatu belli consumptus; quo anno Cn.Domitius tribunus plebis legem tulit, ut sacerdotes, quos antea conlegae sufficiebant, populus crearet. Quarto trans Alpīs circa Aquas Sextias cum Teutonis confligit, amplius centum quinquaginta milia hostium priore ac postero die ab eo trucidata gensque excisa Teutonum. Quinto citra Alpīs in campis, quibus nomen erat Raudiis, ipse consul et proconsul Q.Lutatius Catulus fortunatissimo decertavere proelio; caesa aut capta amplius centum milia hominum. Hac victoria videtur meruisse Marius, ne eius nati rem publicam paeniteret, ac mala bonis repensasse. Sextus consulatus veluti praemium ei meritorum datus. Non tamen huius consulatus fraudetur gloria, quo Servillii Glauciae Saturninique Apulei furorem continuatis honoribus rem publicam lacerantium et gladiis quoque et caede comitia discutientium, consul armis compescuit hominesque exitiabiles in Hostilia curia morte multavit.

[12] (1) Gaius Marius, even at this time, had Lucius Sulla associated with him as quaestor, as though the fates were trying to avoid subsequent events. He sent Sulla to King Bocchus and through him gained possession of Jugurtha, about one hundred and thirty-four years before the present time. He returned to the city as consul designate for the second time, and on the kalends of January, at the inauguration of his second consulship, he led Jugurtha in triumph. (2) Since, as has already been stated, an immense horde of the German races called the Cimbri and the Teutons had defeated and routed the Consuls Caepio and Manlius in Gaul, as before them Carbo and Silanus, had scattered their armies, and had put to death Scaurus Aurelius an ex-consul, and other men of

renown, the Roman people was of the opinion that no general was better qualified to repel these mighty enemies than Marius. ⁽³⁾ His consulships then followed each other in succession. The third was consumed in preparation for this war. In this year Gnaeus Domitius, the tribune of the people, passed a law that the priests, who had previously been chosen by their colleagues, should now be elected by the people. ⁽⁴⁾ In his fourth consulship Marius met the Teutons in battle beyond the Alps in the vicinity of Aquae Sextiae. More than a hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy were slain by him on that day and the day after, and the race of the Teutons was exterminated. ⁽⁵⁾ In his fifth consulship the consul himself and the proconsul Quintus Lutatius Catulus fought a most successful battle on this side of the Alps on the plain called the Raudian Plain. More than a hundred thousand of the enemy were taken or slain. By this victory Marius seems to have earned some claim upon his country that it should not regret his birth and to have counterbalanced his bad by his good deeds. ⁽⁶⁾ A sixth consulship was given him in the light of a reward for his services. He must not, however, be deprived of the glory of this consulship, for during this term as consul he restrained by arms the mad acts of Servilius Glaucia and Saturninus Apuleius who were shattering the constitution by continuing in office, and were breaking up the elections with armed violence and bloodshed, and caused these dangerous men to be put to death in the Curia Hostilia.

XIII

Deinde interiectis paucis annis tribunatum iniit M.Livius Drusus, vir nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, sanctissimus, meliore in omnia ingenio animoque quam fortuna usus. Qui cum senatui priscum restituere cuperet decus et iudicia ab equitibus ad eum transferre ordinem (quippe eam potestatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus cum in multos clarissimos atque innocentissimos viros saevissent, tum P.Rutilium, virum non saeculi sui, sed omnis aevi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum maximo cum gemitu civitatis damnaverant), in iis ipsis, quae pro senatu moliebatur, senatum habuit adversarium non intellegendum, si qua de plebis commodis ab eo agerentur, veluti inescandae inlicendaeque multitudinis causa fieri, ut minoribus perceptis maiora permetteret. Denique ea fortuna Drusi fuit, ut malefacta collegarum quam quaevis optime ab ipso cogitata senatus probaret magis, et honorem, qui ab eo deferebatur, sperneret, iniurias, quae ab illis intendebantur, aequo animo reciperet, et huius summae gloriae invideret, illorum modicam ferret.

[13] (1) After an interval of a few years Marcus Livius Drusus entered the tribunate, a man of noble birth, of eloquent tongue and of upright life; but in all his acts, his success was not in keeping with his talents or his good intentions. (2) It was his aim to restore to the senate its ancient prestige, and again to transfer the law courts to that order from the knights. The knights had acquired this prerogative through the legislation of Gracchus, and had treated with severity many noted men who were quite innocent, and, in particular, had brought to trial on a charge of extortion and had condemned, to the great sorrow of all the citizens, Publius Rutilius, one of the best men not only of his age, but of all time. But in these very measures which Livius undertook on behalf of the senate he had an opponent in the senate itself, which failed to see that the proposals he also urged in interest of the plebs were made as a bait and a sop to the populace, that they might, by receiving lesser concessions, permit the passage of more important measures. (3) In the end it was the misfortune of Drusus to find that the senate gave more approval to the evil measures of his colleagues than to his own plans, however excellent, and that it spurned the dignity which he would confer it only to accept tamely the real slights levelled against it by the others, tolerating the mediocrity of his

colleagues while it looked with jealous eyes upon his own distinction.

XIV

Tum conversus Drusi animus, quando bene incepta male cedebant, ad dandam civitatem Italiae. Quod cum moliens revertisset e foro, immensa illa et incondita, quae eum semper comitabatur, cinctus multitudine in area domus suae cultello percussus, qui adfixus lateri eius relictus est, intra paucas horas decessit. Sed cum ultimum redderet spiritum, intuens circumstantium maerentiumque frequentiam, effudit vocem convenientissimam conscientiae suae: ecquandone, inquit, propinqui amicique, similem mei civem habebit res publica? Hunc finem clarissimus iuvenis vitae habuit: cuius morum minime omittatur argumentum. Cum aedificaret domum in Palatio in eo loco, ubi est quae quondam Ciceronis, mox Censorini fuit, nunc Statilii Sisennae est, promitteretque ei architectus, ita se eam aedificaturum, ut liber a conspectu immunisque ab omnibus arbitris esset neque quisquam in eam despicere posset, tu vero, inquit, si quid in te artis est, ita compone domum meam, ut, quidquid agam, ab omnibus perspici possit.

[14] (1) Since his excellent programme had fared so badly, Drusus turned his attention to granting the citizenship to the Italians. While he was engaged in this effort, and was returning from the forum surrounded by the large and unorganized crowd which always attended him, he was stabbed in the area before his house and died in a few hours, the assassin leaving the weapon in his side. (2) As he breathed his last and gazed at the throng of those who stood weeping about him, he uttered the words, most expressive of his own feelings: "O my relatives and friends, will my country ever have another citizen like me?" Thus ended the life of this illustrious man. One index of his character should not be passed over. (3) When he was building his house on the Palatine on the site where now stands the house which once belonged to Cicero, and later to Censorinus, and which now belongs to Statilius Sisenna, the architect offered to build it in such a way that he would be free from the public gaze, safe from all espionage, and that no one could look down into it. Livius replied, "If you possess the skill you must build my house in such a way that whatever I do shall be seen by all."

Mors Drusi iam pridem tumescens bellum excitavit Italicum; quippe L.Caesare et P.Rutilio consulibus abhinc annos centum viginti, universa Italia, cum id malum ab Asculanis ortum esset (quippe Servilium praetorem Fonteiumque legatum occiderant) ac deinde a Marsis exceptum in omnis penetrasset regiones, arma adversus Romanos cepit. Quorum ut fortuna atrox, ita causa fuit iustissima: petebant enim eam civitatem, cuius imperium armis tuebantur: per omnis annos atque omnia bella duplici numero se militum equitumque fungi neque in eius civitatis ius recipi, quae per eos in id ipsum pervenisset fastigium, per quod homines eiusdem et gentis et sanguinis ut externos alienosque fastidire posset. Id bellum amplius trecenta milia iuventutis Italicae abstulit. Clarissimi autem imperatores fuerunt Romani eo bello Cn.Pompeius, Cn.Pompei Magni pater, C.Marius, de quo praediximus, L.Sulla anno ante praetura functus, Q.Metellus, Numidici filius, qui meritum cognomen Pii consecutus erat: quippe expulsum civitate a L.Saturnino tribuno plebis, quod solus in leges eius iurare noluerat, pietate sua, auctoritate senatus, consensu rei publicae restituit patrem. Nec triumphis honoribusque quam aut causa exilii aut exilio aut reditu clarior fuit Numidicus.

[15] (1) The long smouldering fires of an Italian war were now fanned into flame by the death of Drusus. One hundred and twenty years ago, in the consulship of Lucius Caesar and Publius Rutilius, all Italy took up arms against the Romans. The rebellion began with the people of Asculum, who had put to death the praetor Servilius and Fonteius, his deputy; it was then taken up by the Marsi, and from them it made its ways into all the districts of Italy. (2) The fortune of the Italians was as cruel as their cause was just; for they were seeking citizenship in the state whose power they were defending by their arms; every year and in every war they were furnishing a double number of men, both of cavalry and of infantry, and yet were not admitted to the rights of citizens in the state which, through their efforts, had reached so high a position that it could look down upon men of the same race and blood as foreigners and aliens.

(3) This war carried off more than three hundred thousand of the youth of Italy. On the Roman side in this war the most illustrious commanders were Gnaeus Pompeius, father of Pompeius Magnus, Gaius Marius, already mentioned,

Lucius Sulla, who in the previous year had filled the praetorship, and Quintus Metellus, son of Metellus Numidicus, who had deservedly received the cognomen of Pius, ⁽⁴⁾ for when his father had been exiled from the state by Lucius Saturninus, the tribune of the people, because he alone refused to observe the laws which the tribune had made, the son had effected his restoration through his own devotion, aided by the authority of the senate and the unanimous sentiment of the whole state. Numidicus earned no greater renown by his triumphs and public honours than he earned by the cause of his exile, his exile, and the manner of his return.

XVI

Italicorum autem fuerunt celeberrimi duces Silo Popaedi, Herius Asinius, Insteius Cato, C. Pontidius, Telesinus Pontius, Marius Egnatius, Papius Mutilus. Neque ego verecundia domestici sanguinis gloriae quidquam, dum verum refero, subtraham: quippe multum Minatii Magii, avi mei, Aeculanensis, tribuendum est memoriae, qui nepos Decii Magii, Campanorum principis, celeberrimi et fidelissimi viri, tantam hoc bello Romanis fidem praestitit, ut cum legione, quam ipse in Hirpinis conscripserat, Herculaneum simul cum T. Didio caperet, Pompeios cum L. Sulla oppugnaret Compsamque occuparet: cuius de virtutibus cum alii, tum maxime dilucide Q. Hortensius in annalibus suis rettulit. Cuius illi pietati plenam populus Romanus gratiam rettulit ipsum virum civitate donando, duos filios eius creando praetores, cum seni adhuc crearentur. Tam varia atque atrox fortuna Italici belli fuit, ut per biennium continuum duo Romani consules, Rutilius ac deinde Cato Porcius, ab hostibus occiderentur, exercitus populi Romani multis in locis funderetur, utque ad saga iretur diuque in eo habitu maneretur. Caput imperii sui Corfinium legerant atque appellarant Italicam. Paulatim deinde recipiendo in civitatem, qui arma aut non ceperant aut deposuerant maturius, vires refectae sunt, Pompeio Sullaque et Mario fluentem procumbentemque rem populi Romani restituentibus.

[16] (1) On the Italian side the most celebrated generals were Silo Popaedi, Herius Asinius, Insteius Cato, Gaius Pontidius, Telesinus Pontius, Marius Ignatius, and Papius Mutilus; (2) nor ought I, through excess of modesty, to deprive my own kin of glory, especially when that which I record is the truth; for much credit is due to the memory of my great-grandfather Minatius Magius of Aeculanum, grandson of Decius Magius, leader of the Campanians, of proven loyalty and distinction. Such fidelity did Minatius display towards the Romans in this war that, with a legion which he himself had enrolled among the Hirpini, he took Herculaneum in conjunction with Titus Didius, was associated with Lucius Sulla in the siege of Pompeii, and occupied Compsa. (3) Several historians have recorded his services, but the most extensive and clearest testimony is that of Quintus Hortensius in his *Annals*. The Romans abundantly repaid his loyal zeal by a special grant of the citizenship to himself, and by making his sons praetors at a time when the

number elected was still confined to six.

(4) So bitter was this Italian war, and such its vicissitudes, that in two successive years two Roman consuls, first Rutilius and subsequently Cato Porcius, were slain by the enemy, the armies of the Roman people were routed in many places, and the Romans were compelled to resort to military dress and to remain long in that garb. The Italians chose Corfinium as their capital, and named it Italica. Then little by little the strength of the Romans was recruited by admitting to the citizenship those who had not taken arms or had not been slow to lay them down again, and Pompeius, Sulla, and Marius restored the tottering power of the Roman people.

XVII

Finito ex maxima parte, nisi quae Nolani belli manebant reliquiae, Italico bello, quo quidem Romani victis adflctisque ipsi exarmati quam integri universis civitatem dare maluerunt, consulatum inierunt Q.Pompeius et L.Cornelius Sulla, vir qui neque ad finem victoriae satis laudari neque post victoriam abunde vituperari potest. Hic natus familia nobili, sextus a Cornelio Rufino, qui bello Pyrrhi inter celeberrimos fuerat duces, cum familiae eius claritudo intermissa esset, diu ita se gessit, ut nullam petendi consulatum cogitationem habere videretur: deinde post praeturam inlustratus bello Italico et ante in Gallia legatione sub Mario, qua eminentissimos duces hostium fuderat, ex successu animum sumpsit petensque consulatum paene omnium civium suffragiis factus est; sed eum honorem undequinquagesimo aetatis suae anno adsecutus est.

[17] (1) Except for the remnants of hostility which lingered at Nola the Italian war was now in large measure ended, the Romans, themselves exhausted, consenting to grant the citizenship individually to the conquered and humbled states in preference to giving it to them as a body when their own strength was still unimpaired. This was the year in which Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Cornelius Sulla entered upon the consulship. Sulla was a man to whom, up to the conclusion of his career of victory, sufficient praise can hardly be given, and for whom, after his victory, no condemnation can be adequate. (2) He was sprung of a noble family, the sixth in descent from the Cornelius Rufinus who had been one of the famous generals in the war with Pyrrhus. As the renown of his family had waned, Sulla acted a long while as though he had no thought of seeking the consulship. (3) Then, after his praetorship, having earned distinction not only in the Italian war but also, even before that, in Gaul, where he was second in command to Marius, and had routed the most eminent leaders of the enemy, encouraged by his successes, he became a candidate for the consulship and was elected by an almost unanimous vote of the citizens. But this honour did not come to him until the forty-ninth year of his age.

XVIII

Per ea tempora Mithridates, Ponticus rex, vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura, bello acerrimus, virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus, consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Hannibal, occupata Asia necatisque in ea omnibus civibus Romanis, quos quidem eadem die atque hora redditis civitatibus litteris ingenti cum pollicitatione praemiorum interimi iusserat, quo tempore neque fortitudine adversus Mithridatem neque fide in Romanos quisquam Rhodiis par fuit (horum fidem Mytilenaeorum perfidia inluminavit, qui M.Aquilius aliosque Mithridati vinctos tradiderunt, quibus libertas in unius Theophanis gratiam postea a Pompeio restituta est), cum terribilis Italiae quoque videretur imminere, sorte obvenit Sullae Asia provincia. Is egressus urbe cum circa Nola moraretur (quippe ea urbs pertinacissime arma retinebat exercituque Romano obsidebatur, velut paeniteret eius fidei, quam omnium sanctissimam bello praestiterat Punico), P.Sulpicius tribunus plebis, disertus, acer, opibus gratia amicitii vigore ingenii atque animi celeberrimus, cum antea rectissima voluntate apud populum maximam quaesisset dignitatem, quasi pigeret eum virtutum suarum et bene consulta ei male cederent, subito pravus et praeceps se C.Mario post septuagesimum annum omnia imperia et omnis provincias concupiscenti addixit legemque ad populum tulit, qua Sullae imperium abrogaretur, C.Mario bellum decerneretur Mithridaticum, aliasque leges perniciosas et exitiabiles neque tolerandas liberae civitati tulit. Quin etiam Q. Pompei consulis filium eundemque Sullae generum per emissarios factionis suae interfecit.

[18] (1) It was about this time that Mithridates, king of Pontus, seized Asia and put to death all Roman citizens in it. He was a man about whom one cannot speak except with concern nor yet pass by in silence; he was ever eager for war, of exceptional bravery, always great in spirit and sometimes in achievement, in strategy a general, in bodily prowess a soldier, in hatred to the Romans a Hannibal. (2) He had sent messages to various cities of Asia in which he had held out great promises of reward, ordering that all Romans should be massacred on the same day and hour throughout the province. (3) In this crisis none equalled the Rhodians either in courageous opposition to Mithridates or in loyalty to the Romans. Their fidelity gained lustre from the perfidy of the people of Mytilene, who handed Manius Aquilius and other

Romans over to Mithridates in chains. The Mytilenians subsequently had their liberty restored by Pompey solely in consideration of his friendship for Theophanes. When Mithridates was now regarded as a formidable menace to Italy herself, the province of Asia fell to the lot of Sulla, as proconsul.

(4) Sulla departed from the city, but was still lingering in the vicinity of Nola, since that city, as though regretting its exceptional loyalty so sacredly maintained in the Punic war, still persisted in maintaining armed resistance to Rome and was being besieged by a Roman army. (5) While he was still there Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the people, a man of eloquence and energy, who had earned situation by his wealth, his influence, his friendships, and by the vigour of his native ability and his courage, and had previously won great influence with the people by honourable means, now, as if regretting his virtues, and discovering that an honourable course of conduct brought him only disappointment, (6) made a sudden plunge into evil ways, and attached himself to Marius, who, though he had passed his seventieth year, still coveted every position of power and every province. Along with other pieces of pernicious and baleful legislation intolerable in a free state, he proposed a bill to the assembly of the people abrogating Sulla's command, and entrusting the Mithridatic war to Gaius Marius. He even went so far as to cause, through emissaries of his faction, the assassination of a man who was not only son of Quintus Pompeius the consul but also son-in-law of Sulla.

XIX

Tum Sulla contracto exercitu ad urbem rediit eamque armis occupavit, duodecim auctores novarum pessimarumque rerum, inter quos Marium cum filio et P.Sulpicio, urbe exturbavit ac lege lata exules fecit. Sulpicium etiam adsecuti equites in Laurentinis paludibus iugulavere, caputque eius erectum et ostentatum pro rostris velut omen imminentis proscriptionis fuit. Marius post sextum consulatum annumque septuagesimum nudus ac limo obrutus, oculis tantummodo ac naribus eminentibus, extractus arundineto circa paludem Maricae, in quam se fugiens consecrantis Sullae equites abdiderat, iniecto in collum loro in carcerem Minturnensium iussu duumviri perductus est. Ad quem interficiendum missus cum gladio servus publicus natione Germanus, qui forte ab imperatore eo bello Cimbrico captus erat, ut agnovit Marium, magno eiulatu expromens indignationem casus tanti viri abiecto gladio profugit e carcere. Tum cives, ab hoste misereri paulo ante principis viri docti, instructum eum viatico conlataque veste in navem imposuerunt. At ille adsecutus circa insulam Aenariam filium cursum in Africam direxit inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit, cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solacio.

[19] (1) Thereupon Sulla assembled his army, returned to the city, took armed possession of it, drove from the city the twelve persons responsible for these revolutionary and vicious measures — among them Marius, his son, and Publius Sulpicius — and caused them by formal decree to be declared exiles. Sulpicius was overtaken by horsemen and slain in the Laurentine marshes, and his head was raised aloft and exhibited on the front of the rostra as a presage of the impending proscription. (2) Marius, who had held six consulships and was now more than seventy years of age, was dragged, naked and covered with mud, his eyes and nostrils alone showing above the water, from a reed-bed near the marsh of Marica, where he had taken refuge when pursued by the cavalry of Sulla. A rope was cast about his neck and he was led to the prison of Minturnae on the order of its duumvir. (3) A public slave of German nationality was sent with a sword to put him to death. It happened that this man had been taken a prisoner by Marius when he was commander in the war against the Cimbri; when he recognized Marius, giving utterance with loud outcry to his indignation at the plight of this great man, he threw away

his sword and fled from the prison. ⁽⁴⁾ Then the citizens, taught by a foreign enemy to pity one who had so short a time before been the first man in the state, furnished Marius with money, brought clothing to cover him, and put him on board a ship. Marius, overtaking his son near Aenaria, steered his course for Africa, where he endured a life of poverty in a hut amid the ruins of Carthage. There Marius, as he gazed upon Carthage, and Carthage as she beheld Marius, might well have offered consolation the one to the other.

Hoc primum anno sanguine consulis Romani militis imbutae manus sunt; quippe Q.Pompeius, collega Sullae, ab exercitu Cn.Pompei proconsulis seditione, sed quam dux creaverat, interfectus est. Non erat Mario Sulpicioque Cinna temperator. Itaque cum ita civitas Italiae data esset, ut in octo tribus contribuerentur novi cives, ne potentia eorum et multitudo veterum civium dignitatem frangeret plusque possent recepti in beneficium quam auctores beneficii, Cinna in omnibus tribubus eos se distributurum pollicitus est: quo nomine ingentem totius Italiae frequentiam in urbem acciverat. E qua pulsus collegae optimatumque viribus cum in Campaniam tenderet, ex auctoritate senatus consulatus ei abrogatus est suffectusque in eius locum L.Cornelius Merula flamen dialis. Haec iniuria homine quam exemplo dignior fuit. Tum Cinna corruptis primo centurionibus ac tribunis, mox etiam spe largitionis militibus, ab eo exercitu, qui circa Nolam erat, receptus est. Is cum universus in verba eius iurasset, retinens insignia consulatus patriae bellum intulit, fretus ingenti numero novorum civium, e quorum delectu trecentas amplius cohortes conscripserat ac triginta legionum instar impleverat. Opus erat partibus auctoritate, cuius augendae gratia C.Marium cum filio de exilio revocavit quique cum iis pulsi erant.

[20] (1) In this year the hands of Roman soldiers were first stained with the blood of a consul. Quintus Pompeius, the colleague of Sulla, was slain by the army of Gnaeus Pompeius the proconsul in a mutiny which their general himself had stirred up.

(2) Cinna was a man as lacking in restraint as Marius and Sulpicius. Accordingly, although the citizenship had been given to Italy with the proviso that the new citizens should be enrolled in but eight tribes, so that their power and numbers might not weaken the prestige of the older citizens, and that the beneficiaries might not have greater power than the benefactors, Cinna now promised to distribute them throughout all the tribes. With this object he had brought together into the city a great multitude from all parts of Italy. (3) But he was driven from the city by the united strength of his college and the optimates, and set out for Campania. His consulship was abrogated by the authority of the senate and Lucius Cornelius Merula, priest of Jupiter, was chosen consul in his place. This illegal act was more appropriate in the case of

Cinna than it was a good precedent. ⁽⁴⁾ Cinna was then received by the army at Nola, after corrupting first the centurions and tribunes and then even the private soldiers with promises of largesse. When they all had sworn allegiance to him, while still retaining the insignia of the consulate he waged war upon his country, relying upon the enormous number of new citizens, from whom he had levied more than three hundred cohorts, thus raising the number of his troops to the equivalent of thirty legions. ⁽⁵⁾ But his party lacked the backing of strong men; to remedy this defect he recalled Gaius Marius and his son from exile, and also those who had been banished with them.

XXI

Dum bellum autem infert patriae Cinna, Cn.Pompeius, Magni pater, cuius praeclara opera bello Marsico praecipue circa Picenum agrum, ut praescripsimus, usa erat res publica quique Asculum ceperat, circa quam urbem, cum in multis aliis regionibus exercitus dispersi forent, quinque et septuaginta milia civium Romanorum, amplius sexaginta Italicorum una die conflixerant, frustratus spe continuandi consulatus ita se dubium mediumque partibus praestitit, ut omnia ex proprio usu ageret temporibusque insidiari videretur, et huc atque illuc, unde spes maior adfulsisset potentiae, sese exercitumque deflecteret. Sed ad ultimum magno atrocique proelio cum Cinna conflixit: cuius commissi patratique sub ipsis moenibus focusque urbis Romanae pugnantibus spectantibusque quam fuerit eventus exitiabilis, vix verbis exprimi potest. Post hoc cum utrumque exercitum velut parum bello exhaustum laceraret pestilentia, Cn.Pompeius decessit. Cuius interitus voluptas amissorum aut gladio aut morbo civium paene damno repensata est, populusque Romanus quam vivo iracundiam debuerat, in corpus mortui contulit. Seu duae seu tres Pompeiorum fuere familiae, primus eius nominis ante annos fere centum sexaginta septem Q.Pompeius cum Cn.Servilio consul fuit. Cinna et Marius haud incruentis utrimque certaminibus editis urbem occupaverunt, sed prior ingressus Cinna de recipiendo Mario legem tulit.

[21] (1) While Cinna was waging war against his country, the conduct of Gnaeus Pompeius, the father of Pompeius Magnus, was somewhat equivocal. As I have already told, the state had made use of his distinguished services in the Marsian war, particularly in the territory of Picenum; he had taken Asculum, in the vicinity of which, though armies were scattered in other regions also, seventy-five thousand Roman citizens and more than sixty thousand Italians had met in battle on a single day. (2) Foiled in his hope of a second term in the consulship, he maintained a doubtful and neutral attitude as between the two parties, so that he seemed to be acting entirely in his own interest and to be watching his chance, turning with his army now to one side and now to the other, according as each offered a greater promise for power for himself. (3) In the end, however, he fought against Cinna in a great and bloody battle. Words almost fail to express how disastrous to combatants and spectators alike was the issue of this battle, which began and ended beneath the walls and close to

the very hearths of Rome. ⁽⁴⁾ Shortly after this battle, while pestilence was ravaging both armies, as though their strength had not been sapped enough by the war, Gnaeus Pompeius died. The joy felt at his death almost counterbalanced the feeling of loss for the citizens who had perished by sword or pestilence, and the Roman people vented upon his dead body the hatred it had owed him while he lived.

⁽⁵⁾ Whether there were two families of the Pompeii or three, the first of that name to be consul was Quintus Pompeius, who was colleague of Gnaeus Servilius, about one hundred and sixty-seven years ago.

⁽⁶⁾ Cinna and Marius both seized the city after conflicts which caused much shedding of blood on both sides, but Cinna was the first to enter it, whereupon he proposed a law authorizing the recall of Marius.

XXII

Mox C.Marius pestifero civibus suis reditu intravit moenia. Nihil illa victoria fuisset crudelius, nisi mox Sullana esset secuta; neque licentia gladiatorum in mediocris saevitum, sed excelsissimi quoque atque eminentissimi civitatis viri variis suppliciorum generibus adfecti. In iis consul Octavius, vir lenissimi animi, iussu Cinnae interfectus est. Merula autem, qui se sub adventum Cinnae consulatu abdicaverat, incisis venis superfusoque altaribus sanguine, quos saepe pro salute rei publicae flamen dialis precatus erat deos, eos in execrationem Cinnae partiumque eius tum precatus optime de re publica meritum spiritum reddidit. M.Antonius, princeps civitatis atque eloquentiae, gladiis militum, quos ipsos facundia sua moratus erat, iussu Marii Cinnaeque confossus est. Q.Catulus, et aliarum virtutum et belli Cimbrici gloria, quae illi cum Mario communis fuerat, celeberrimus, cum ad mortem conquireretur, conclusit se loco nuper calce harenaque perpolito inlatoque igni, qui vim odoris excitaret, simul exitiali hausto spiritu, simul incluso suo mortem magis voto quam arbitrio inimicorum obiit. Omnia erant praecipitia in re publica, nec tamen adhuc quisquam inveniebatur, qui bona civis Romani aut donare auderet aut petere sustineret. Postea id quoque accessit, ut saevitiae causam avaritia praeberet et modus culpae ex pecuniae modo constitueretur et qui fuisset locuples, fieret is nocens, suique quisque periculi merces foret, nec quidquam videretur turpe, quod esset quaestuosum.

[22] (1) Then Gaius Marius entered the city, and his return was fraught with calamity for the citizens. No victory would ever have exceeded his in cruelty had Sulla's not followed soon afterwards. Nor did the licence of the sword play havoc among the obscure alone; the highest and most distinguished men in the state were made the victims of many kinds of vengeance. (2) Amongst these Octavius the consul, a man of the mildest temper, was slain by the command of Cinna. Merula, however, who had abdicated his consulship just before the arrival of Cinna, opened his veins and, as his blood drenched the altars, he implored the gods to whom, as priest of Jupiter, he had formerly prayed for safety of the state, to visit their wrath upon Cinna and his party. Thus did he yield up the life which had served the state so well. (3) Marcus Antonius, the foremost statesman and orator of Rome, was struck down, at the order of Marius and Cinna, by the swords of soldiers, though he caused even

these to hesitate by the power of his eloquence. Then there was Quintus Catulus, renowned for his virtues in general and for the glory, ⁽⁴⁾ which he had shared with Marius, of having won the Cimbrian war; when he was being hunted down for death, he shut himself in a room that had lately been plastered with lime and sand; then he brought fire that it might cause a powerful vapour to issue from the plaster, and by breathing the poisonous air and then holding his breath he died a death according rather with his enemies' wishes than with their judgement.

⁽⁵⁾ The whole state was now plunging headlong into ruin; and yet no one had so far appeared who either dared to offer for pillage the goods of a Roman citizen, or could bring himself to demand them. Later, however, even this extreme was reached, and avarice furnished a motive for ruthlessness; the magnitude of one's crime was determined by the magnitude of his property; he who possessed riches became a malefactor and was in each case the prize set up for his own murder. In short nothing was regarded as dishonourable that brought profit.

XXIII

Secundum deinde consulatum Cinna et septimum Marius in priorum dedecus iniit, cuius initio morbo oppressus decessit, vir in bello hostibus, in otio civibus infestissimus quietisque impatientissimus. In huius locum suffectus Valerius Flaccus, turpissimae legis auctor, qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi iusserat, cuius facti merita eum poena intra biennium consecuta est. Dominante in Italia Cinna maior pars nobilitatis ad Sullam in Achaïam ac deinde post in Asiam perfugit. Sulla interim cum Mithridatis praefectis circa Athenas Boeotiamque et Macedoniam ita dimicavit, ut et Athenas reciperet et plurimo circa multiplicis Piraei portus munitiones labore expleto amplius ducenta milia hostium interficeret nec minus multa caperet. Si quis hoc rebellandi tempus, quo Athenae oppugnatae a Sulla sunt, imputat Atheniensibus, nimirum veri vetustatisque ignarus est: adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit, ut semper et in omni re, quidquid sincera fide gereretur, id Romani Attica fieri praedicarent. Ceterum tum oppressi Mithridatis armis homines miserrimae condicionis cum ab inimicis tenerentur, oppugnabantur ab amicis et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitati servientes intra muros habebant. Transgressus deinde in Asiam Sulla parentem ad omnia supplicemque Mithridatem invenit, quem multatum pecunia ac parte navium Asia omnibusque aliis provinciis, quas armis occupaverat, decedere coëgit, captivos recepit, in perfugas noxiosque animadvertit, paternis, id est Ponticis finibus contentum esse iussit.

[23] (1) Cinna then entered upon his second consulship, and Marius upon his seventh, only to bring dishonour upon his former six. An illness which came upon Marius at the very beginning of his year of office ended the life of this man, who, impatient as he was of tranquillity, was as dangerous to his fellow-citizens in peace as he had been in war to Rome's enemies. (2) In his place was chosen as consul suffectus Valerius Flaccus, the author of a most disgraceful law, by which he had ordained that one-fourth only of a debt should be paid to the creditors, an act for which a well-deserved punishment overtook him within two years. (3) During this time, while Cinna held the reins of power in Italy, a large proportion of the nobles took refuge with Sulla in Achaëa, and afterwards in Asia.

In the meantime Sulla fought with the generals of Mithridates at Athens, in

Boeotia, and in Macedonia with such success that he recovered Athens, and, after surmounting many difficulties in overcoming the manifold fortifications of Piraeus, slew more than two hundred thousand of the enemy and made prisoners of as many more. ⁽⁴⁾ If anyone regards this period of rebellion, during which Athens suffered siege at the hands of Sulla, as a breach of good faith on the part of the Athenians, he shows a strange ignorance of the facts of history; for so constant was the loyalty of the Athenians towards the Romans that always and invariably, whenever the Romans referred to any act of unqualified loyalty, they called it an example of "Attic faith." ⁽⁵⁾ But at this time, overwhelmed as they were by the arms of Mithridates, the Athenians were in a most unhappy plight. Held in subjection by their enemies and besieged by their friends, although in obedience to necessity they kept their bodies within the walls, their hearts were outside their fortifications. ⁽⁶⁾ After the capture of Athens Sulla crossed into Asia, where he found Mithridates submissive to all his demands and in the attitude of a suppliant. He compelled him, after paying a fine in money and giving up half his fleet, to evacuate Asia and all the other provinces which he had seized; he also secured the return of all prisoners, inflicted punishment upon deserters and others who had been in any way culpable, and obliged Mithridates to be satisfied with the boundaries of his inheritance, that is to say, with Pontus.

C.Flavius Fimbria, qui praefectus equitum ante adventum Sullae Valerium Flaccum consularem virum interfecerat exercituque occupato imperator appellatus forti Mithridatem pepulerat proelio, sub adventu Sullae se ipse interemit, adulescens, quae pessime ausus erat, fortiter executus. Eodem anno P. Laenas tribunus plebis Sex.Lucilium, qui priore anno tribunus plebis fuerat, saxo Tarpeio deiecit, et cum collegae eius, quibus diem dixerat, metu ad Sullam profugissent, aqua ignique iis interdixit. Tum Sulla compositis transmarinis rebus, cum ad eum primum omnium Romanorum legati Parthorum venissent, et in iis quidam magi ex notis corporis respondissent caelestem eius vitam et memoriam futuram, revector in Italiam haud plura quam triginta armatorum milia adversum ducenta amplius hostium exposuit Brundisii. Vix quidquam in Sullae operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod cum per triennium Cinnanae Marianaefque partes Italiam obsiderent, neque inlaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit nec quod erat in manibus omisit, existimavitque ante frangendum hostem quam ulciscendum civem, repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. Ante adventum L.Sullae Cinna seditione orta ab exercitu interemptus est, vir dignior, qui arbitrio victorum moreretur quam iracundia militum. De quo vere dici potest, ausum esse eum quae nemo auderet bonus, perfecisse quae a nullo nisi fortissimo perfici possent, et fuisse eum in consultando temerarium, in exequendo virum. Carbo nullo suffecto collega solus toto anno consul fuit.

[24] (1) Before the arrival of Sulla, Gaius Flavius Fimbria, prefect of horse, had put to death Valerius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, had taken command of his army, by which he was saluted as imperator, and had succeeded in defeating Mithridates in battle. Now, on the eve of Sulla's arrival, he took his own life. He was a young man who, however reprehensible his bold designs might be, at any rate executed them with bravery. (2) In the same year Publius Laenas, tribune of the people, threw Sextus Lucilius, tribune of the previous year, from the Tarpeian rock. When his colleagues, whom he also indicted, fled in fear to Sulla, he had a decree of banishment passed against them.

(3) Sulla had now settled affairs across the sea. There came to him ambassadors of the Parthians — he was the first of the Romans to be so

honoured — and among them some wise men who, from the marks on his body, foretold that his life and his fame would be worthy of a god. Returning to Italy he landed at Brundisium, having not more than thirty thousand men to face more than two hundred thousand of the enemy. ⁽⁴⁾ Of all the exploits of Sulla there is nothing that I should consider more noteworthy than that, during the three years in which the party of Marius and Cinna were continuously masters of Italy, he never hid from them his intention to wage war on them, but at the same time he did not interrupt the war which he then had on his hands. He considered that his duty was to crush the enemy before taking vengeance upon citizens, and that after he had repelled the menace of the foreigner and won a victory in this way abroad, he should then prove himself the master in a war at home. ⁽⁵⁾ Before Lucius^o Sulla's arrival Cinna was slain in a mutiny of his army. He was a man who deserved to die by the sentence of his victorious enemies rather than at the hands of his angry soldiers. Of him one can truly say that he formed daring plans, such as no good citizen would have conceived, and that he accomplished what none but a most resolute man could have accomplished, and that he was foolhardy enough in the formulation of his plans, but in their execution a man. Carbo remained sole consul throughout the year without electing a colleague in the place of Cinna.

Putares Sullam venisse in Italiam non belli vindicem, sed pacis auctorem: tanta cum quiete exercitum per Calabriam Apuliamque cum singulari cura frugum, agrorum, hominum, urbium perduxit in Campaniam temptavitque iustis legibus et aequis condicionibus bellum componere; sed iis, quibus et res pessima et immodica cupiditas erat, non poterat pax placere. Crescebat interim in dies Sullae exercitus confluentibus ad eum optimo quoque et sanissimo. Felici deinde circa Capuam eventu Scipionem Norbanumque consules superat, quorum Norbanus acie victus, Scipio ab exercitu suo desertus ac proditus inviolatus a Sulla dimissus est. Adeo enim Sulla dissimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut dum vincit, mitis ac iustissimo lenior, post victoriam audito fuerit crudelior. Nam et consulem, ut praediximus, exarmatum Quintumque Sertorium, pro quanti mox belli facem! et multos alios, potitus eorum, dimisit incolumes, credo ut in eodem homine duplicis ac diversissimi animi conspiceretur exemplum. Post victoriam — namque ascendens montem Tifata cum C. Norbano concurrerat — Sulla gratis Dianae, cuius numini regio illa sacrata est, solvit; aquas salubritate medendisque corporibus nobiles agrosque omnis addixit deae. Huius gratae religionis memoriam et inscriptio templi adfixa posti hodieque et tabula testatur aerea intra aedem.

[25] (1) One would think that Sulla had come to Italy, not as the champion of war but as the establisher of peace, so quietly did he lead his army through Calabria and Apulia into Campania, taking unusual care not to inflict damage on crops, fields, men, or cities, and such efforts did he make to end the war on just terms and fair conditions. But peace could not be to the liking of men whose cause was wicked and whose cupidity was unbounded. (2) In the meantime Sulla's army was daily growing, for all the better and saner citizens flocked to his side. By a fortunate issue of events he overcame the consuls Scipio and Norbanus near Capua. Norbanus was defeated in battle, while Scipio, deserted and betrayed by his army, was allowed by Sulla to go unharmed. (4) So different was Sulla the warrior from Sulla the victor that, while his victory was in progress he was mild and more lenient than was reasonable, but after it was won his cruelty was unprecedented. For instance, as we have already said, he disarmed the consul and let him go, and after

gaining possession of many leaders including Quintus Sertorius, so soon to become the firebrand of a great war, he dismissed them unharmed. The reason, I suppose, was that we might have a notable example of a double and utterly contradictory personality in one and the same man.

It was while Sulla was ascending Mount Tifata that he had encountered Gaius Norbanus. After his victory over him he paid a vow of gratitude to Diana, to whom that region is sacred, and consecrated to the goddess the waters renowned for their salubrity and water to heal, as well as all the lands in the vicinity. The record of this pleasing act of piety is witnessed to this day by an inscription on the door of the temple, and a bronze tablet within the edifice.

XXVI

Deinde consules Carbo tertium et C. Marius, septiens consulis filius, annos natus sex et viginti, vir animi magis quam aevi paterni, multa fortiterque molitus neque usquam inferior nomine suo. Is apud Sacriportum pulsus a Sulla acie Praeneste, quod ante natura munitum praesidiis firmaverat, se exercitumque contulit. Ne quid usquam malis publicis deesset, in qua civitate semper virtutibus certatum erat, certabatur sceleribus, optimusque sibi videbatur, qui fuerat pessimus. Quippe dum ad Sacriportum dimicatur, Damasippus praetor Domitium consularem, Scaevolam Mucium, pontificem maximum et divini humanique iuris auctorem celeberrimum, et C. Carbonem praetorium, consulis fratrem, et Antistium aedilicium velut faventis Sullae partibus in curia Hostilia trucidavit. Non perdat nobilissimi facti gloriam Calpurnia, Bestiae filia, uxor Antistii, quae iugulato, ut praediximus, viro gladio se ipsa transfixit. Quantum huius gloriae famaeque accessit nunc virtute feminae! nec propria latet.

[26] (1) Carbo now became consul for the third time, in conjunction with Gaius Marius, now aged twenty-six, the son of a father who had been seven times consul. He was a man who showed his father's spirit, though not destined to reach his years, who displayed great fortitude in the many enterprises he undertook, and never belied the name. Defeated by Sulla at Sacriportus he retired with his army to Praeneste, which town, though already strong by nature, he had strengthened by a garrison.

(2) In order that nothing should be lacking to the calamities of the state, in Rome, a city in which there had already been rivalry in virtues, there was now a rivalry in crimes, and that man now regarded himself as the best citizen who had formerly been the worst. While the battle was being fought at Sacriportus, within the city the praetor Damasippus murdered in the Curia Hostilia, as supposed partisans of Sulla, Domitius, a man of consular rank; Scaevola Mucius, pontifex maximus and famous author of works on religious and civil law; Gaius Carbo, a former praetor, and brother of the consul, and Antistius, a former aedile. (3) May Calpurnia, the daughter of Bestia and wife of Antistius, never lose the glory of a noble deed; for, when her husband was put to death, as I have just said, she pierced her own breast with the sword. What increment has his glory and fame received through this brave act of a woman! and yet

his own name is by no means obscure.

At Pontius Telesinus, dux Samnitium, vir domi bellicque fortissimus penitusque Romano nomini infestissimus, contractis circiter quadraginta milibus fortissimae pertinacissimaeque in retinendis armis iuventutis, Carbone ac Mario consulibus abhinc annos centum et novem Kal. Novembribus ita ad portam Collinam cum Sulla dimicavit, ut ad summum discrimen et eum et rem publicam perduceret, quae non maius periculum adiit Hannibalis intra tertium miliarium castra conspicata, quam eo die, quo circumvolans ordines exercitus sui Telesinus dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem vociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adiiciens numquam defuturos raptos Italicae libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent, esset excisa. Post primam demum horam noctis et Romana acies respiravit et hostium cessit. Telesinus postera die semianimis repertus est, victoris magis quam morientis vultum praeferens, cuius abscisum caput ferro figi gestarigae circa Praeneste Sulla iussit. Tum demum desperatis rebus suis C. Marius adulescens per cuniculos, qui miro opere fabricati in diversas agrorum partis ferebant, conatus erumpere, cum foramine e terra emersisset, a dispositis in id ipsum interemptus est. Sunt qui sua manu, sunt qui concurrentem mutuis ictibus cum minore fratre Telesini una obsesso et erumpente occubuisse prodiderint. Utcumque cecidit, hodieque tanta patris imagine non obscuratur eius memoria. De quo iuvene quid existimaverit Sulla, in promptu est; occiso enim demum eo Felicis nomen adsumpsit, quod quidem usurpasset iustissime, si eundem et vincendi et vivendi finem habuisset. Oppugnationi autem Praenestis ac Marii praefuerat Ofella Lucretius, qui cum antea Marianarum fuisset partium praetor, ad Sullam transfugerat. Felicitatem diei, quo Samnitium Telesinique pulsus est exercitus, Sulla perpetua ludorum circensium honoravit memoria, qui sub eius nomine Sullanae Victoriae celebrantur.

[27] (1) While Carbo and Marius were still consuls, one hundred and nine years ago, on the Kalends of November, Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite chief, brave in spirit and in action and hating to the core the very name of Rome, having collected about him forty thousand of the bravest and most steadfast youth who still persisted in retaining arms, fought with Sulla, near the Colline gate, a battle so critical as to bring both Sulla and the city into the gravest peril. (2)

Rome had not faced a greater danger when she saw the camp of Hannibal within the third milestone, than on this day when Telesinus went about from rank to rank exclaiming: "The last day is at hand for the Romans," and in a loud voice exhorted his men to overthrow and destroy their city, adding: "These wolves that made such ravages upon Italian liberty will never vanish until we have cut down the forest that harbours them."⁽³⁾ It was only after the first hour of the night that the Roman army was able to recover its breath, and the enemy retired. The next day Telesinus was found in a half-dying condition, but with the expression of a conqueror upon his face rather than that of a dying man. Sulla ordered his severed head to be fixed upon a spear point and carried around the walls of Praeneste.

⁽⁴⁾ The young Marius, now at last despairing of his cause, endeavoured to make his way out of Praeneste through the tunnels, wrought with great engineering skill, which led into the fields in different directions; but, on emerging from the exit, he was cut off by men who had been stationed there for that purpose. ⁽⁵⁾ Some authorities have asserted that he died by his own hand, some that he died in company with the younger brother of Telesinus, who was also besieged and was endeavouring to escape with him, and that each ran upon the other's sword. Whatever the manner of his death, his memory is not obscured even to-day by the great figure of his father. Sulla's estimate of the young man is manifest; for it was only after he was slain that he took the name of Felix, a name which he would have been completely justified in assuming had his life ended with his victory.

⁽⁶⁾ The siege of Marius in Praeneste was directed by Ofella Lucretius, who had been a general on the Marian side but had deserted to Sulla. Sulla commemorated the great good fortune which fell to him on this day by instituting an annual festival of games held in the circus, which are still celebrated as the games of Sulla's victory.

Paulo ante quam Sulla ad Sacriportum dimicaret, magnificis proeliis partium eius viri hostium exercitum fuderant, duo Servilii apud Clusium, Metellus Pius apud Faventiam, M.Lucullus circa Fidentiam. Videbantur finita belli civilis mala, cum Sullae crudelitate aucta sunt. Quippe dictator creatus (cuius honoris usurpatio per annos centum et viginti intermissa; nam proximus post annum quam Hannibal Italia excesserat, uti adpareat populum Romanum usum dictatoris ut in metu desiderasse tali quo timuisset potestatem) imperio, quo priores ad vindicandam maximis periculis rem publicam olim usi erant, eo in inmodicae crudelitatis licentiam usus est. Primus ille, et utinam ultimus, exemplum proscriptionis invenit, ut in qua civitate petulantis convicii iudicium histrioni ex albo redditur, in ea iugulati civis Romani publice constitueretur auctoramentum, plurimumque haberet, qui plurimos interemisset, neque occisi hostis quam civis uberius foret praemium fieretque quisque merces mortis suae. Nec tantum in eos, qui contra arma tulerant, sed in multos insontis saevitum. Adiectum etiam, ut bona proscriptorum venirent exclusique paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum iure prohiberentur simulque, quod indignissimum est, senatorum filii et onera ordinis sustinerent et iura perderent.

[28] (1) Shortly before Sulla's victory at Sacriportus, several leaders of his party had routed the enemy in successful engagements; the two Servilii at Clusium, Metellus Pius at Faventia, and Marcus Lucullus in the vicinity of Fidentia.

(2) The terrors of the civil war seemed nearly at an end when they received fresh impetus from the cruelty of Sulla. Being made dictator (the office had been obsolete for one hundred and twenty years, and had been last employed in the year after Hannibal's departure from Italy; it is therefore clear that the fear which caused the Roman people to feel the need of a dictator was outweighed by the fear of his excessive power) Sulla now wielded with unbridled cruelty the powers which former dictators had employed only to save their country in times of extreme danger. (3) He was the first to set the precedent for proscription — would that he had been the last! The result was that in the very state in which an actor who had been hissed from the stage has legal redress for wilful abuse, a premium for the murder of a citizen was now publicly announced; that the richest man was he who had slain the greatest

number; that the bounty for slaying an enemy was no greater than that for slaying a citizen; and that each man became the prize set up for his own death.

(4) Nor was vengeance wreaked upon those alone who had borne arms against him, but on many innocents as well. In addition the goods of the proscribed were sold, and their children were not only deprived of their fathers' property but were also debarred from the right of seeking public office, and to cap the climax of injustice, the sons of senators were compelled to bear the burdens and yet lose the rights pertaining to their rank.

Sub adventum in Italiam L.Sullae Cn.Pompeius, eius Cn. Pompei filius, quem magnificentissimas res in consulatu gessisse bello Marsico praediximus, tris et viginti annos natus, abhinc annos centum et tredecim privatis ut opibus, ita consiliis magna ausus magnificeque conata executus, ad vindicandam restituendamque dignitatem patriae firmuma ex agro Piceno, qui totus paternis eius clientelis refertus erat, contraxit exercitum: cuius viri magnitudo multorum voluminum instar exigit, sed operis modus paucis eum narrari iubet. Fuit hic genitus matre Lucilia stirpis senatoriae, forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur aetatis, sed ea dignitate constantiaque, quae in illam conveniens amplitudinem fortunamque eum ad ultimum vitae comitata est diem; innocentia eximius, sanctitate praecipuus, eloquentia medius, potentiae, quae honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non vi ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus, dux bello peritissimus, civis in toga, nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem, modestissimus, amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, in accipienda satisfactione facillimus, potentia sua numquam aut raro ad impotentiam usus, paene omnium vitiorum expers, nisi numeraretur inter maxima in civitate libera dominaque gentium indignari, cum omnes cives iure haberet pares, quemquam aequalem dignitate conspicere. Hic a toga virili adsuetus commilitio prudentissimi ducis, parentis sui, bonum et capax recta discendi ingenium singulari rerum militarium prudentia excoluerat, ut a Sertorio Metellus laudaretur magis, Pompeius timeretur validius.

[29] (1) Just before the arrival of Lucius Sulla in Italy, Gnaeus Pompeius, the son of the Gnaeus Pompeius who, as has already been mentioned, won such brilliant successes in the Marsian war during his consulship, though but twenty-three years of age — it was one hundred and thirteen years ago — on his own initiative and with his own private funds conceived and brilliantly executed a daring plan. To avenge his country and restore her dignity he raised a strong army from the district of Picenum which was filled with the retainers of his father. (2) To do justice to the greatness of this man would require many volumes, but the brief compass of my work compels me to limit my description to a few words.

On the side of his mother Lucilia he was of senatorial stock. He was

distinguished by a personal beauty, not of the sort which gives the bloom of youth its charm, but stately and unchanging, as befitted the distinction and good fortune of his career, and this beauty attended him to the last day of his life. He was a man of exceptional purity of life, of great uprightness of character, ⁽³⁾ of but moderate oratorical talent, ambitious of such power as might be conferred upon him as a mark of honour, but not that which had to be forcibly usurped. In war a resourceful general, in peace a citizen of temperate conduct except when he feared a rival, constant in his friendships, easily placated when offended, loyal in re-establishing terms of amity, very ready to accept satisfaction, never or at least rarely abusing his power, ⁽⁴⁾ Pompey was free from almost every fault, unless it be considered one of the greatest of faults for a man to chafe at seeing anyone his equal in dignity in a free state, the mistress of the world, where he should justly regard all citizens as his equals. ⁽⁵⁾ From the day on which he had assumed the toga he had been trained to military service on the staff of that sagacious general, his father, and by a singular insight into military tactics had so developed his excellent native talent, which showed great capacity to learn what was best, that, while Sertorius bestowed the greater praise upon Metellus, it was Pompey he feared the more strongly.

Tum M.Perpenna praetorius, e proscriptis, gentis clarioris quam animi, Sertorium inter cenam Oscae interemit Romanisque certam victoriam, partibus suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem pessimo auctoravit facinore. Metellus et Pompeius ex Hispaniis triumphaverunt; sed Pompeius, hoc quoque triumpho adhuc eques Romanus, ante diem quam consulatum iniret, curru urbem invectus est. Quem virum quis non miretur per tot extraordinaria imperia in summum fastigium evectum iniquo tulisse animo, C.Caesaris absentis in altero consulatu petendo senatum populumque Romanum rationem habere: adeo familiare est hominibus omnia sibi ignoscere, nihil aliis remittere, et invidiam rerum non ad causam, sed ad voluntatem personasque dirigere. Hoc consulatu Pompeius tribuniciam potestatem restituit, cuius Sulla imaginem sine re reliquerat. Dum Sertorianum bellum in Hispania geritur, quattuor et sexaginta fugitivi e ludo gladiatorio Capua profugientes duce Spartaco, raptis ex ea urbe gladiis, primo Vesuvium montem petiere, mox crescente in dies multitudine gravibus variisque casibus adfecere Italiam. Quorum numerus in tantum adulevit, ut qua ultima dimicavere acie, nonaginta milia hominum se Romano exercitui opposuerint. Huius patrati gloria penes M.Crassum fuit, mox rei publicae omnium consensu principem.

[30] (1) Shortly afterwards Marcus Perpenna, an ex-praetor, one of those who had been proscribed, a man more distinguished for his birth than for his character, assassinated Sertorius at Osca at a banquet. By this wicked deed he ensured success to the Romans, and destruction to his own faction, and for himself a death of extreme dishonour. Metellus and Pompey won triumphs for their victories in Spain. (2) Pompey, who even at the time of his triumph was still a Roman knight, entered the city in his triumphal car on the day before his entrance upon his consulate. (3) Who is there who does not feel surprise that this man, who owed his elevation to the highest position in the state to so many extraordinary commands, should have taken it ill that the senate and the Roman people were willing to consider Gaius Caesar as a candidate for the consulship a second time, though suing for it *in absentia*? So common a failing is it for mankind to overlook every irregularity in their own case, but to make no concessions to others, and to let their discontent with conditions be vented upon suspected motives and upon persons instead of the real cause. (4)

In this consulship Pompey restored the power of the tribunes, of which Sulla had left the shadow without the substance.

(5) While war was being waged against Sertorius in Spain sixty-four runaway slaves, escaping from a gladiatorial school in Capua, seized swords in that city, and at first took refuge on Mount Vesuvius; then, as their number increased daily, they afflicted Italy with many serious disasters. (6) Their number grew to such an extent that in the last battle which they fought they confronted the Roman army with ninety thousand men. The glory of ending this war belongs to Marcus Crassus, who was soon by unanimous consent to be regarded as the first citizen in the state.

Converterat Cn.Pompei persona totum in se terrarum orbem et per omnia maior civi habebatur. Qui cum consul perquam laudabiliter iurasset se in nullam provinciam ex eo magistratu iturum idque servasset, post biennium A.Gabinius tribunus legem tulit, ut cum belli more, non latrociniorum, orbem classibus iam, non furtivis expeditionibus piratae terrerent quasdamque etiam Italiae urbes diripuissent, Cn.Pompeius ad eos opprimendos mitteretur essetque ei imperium aequum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus usque ad quinquagesimum miliarium a mari. Quo scito paene totius terrarum orbis imperium uni viro deferebatur; sed tamen idem hoc ante septennium in M.Antonii praetura decretum erat. Sed interdum persona ut exemplo nocet, ita invidiam auget aut levat: in Antonio homines aequo animo passi erant; raro enim invidetur eorum honoribus, quorum vis non timetur: contra in iis homines extraordinaria reformidant, qui ea suo arbitrio aut deposituri aut retenturi videntur et modum in voluntate habent. Dissuadebant optimates, sed consilia impetu victa sunt.

[31] (1) The personality of Pompey had now turned the eyes of the world upon itself, and in all things he was now regarded as more than a mere citizen. As consul he made the laudable promise, which he also kept, that he would not go from that office to any province. (2) But, two years afterwards, when the pirates were terrifying the world, not as heretofore by furtive marauding expeditions but with fleets of ships in the manner of regular warfare, and had already plundered several cities of Italy, Aulus Gabinius, a tribune, proposed an enactment to the effect that Gnaeus Pompeius should be sent to crush them, and that in all the provinces he should have a power equal to that of the proconsular governors to a distance of fifty miles from the sea. By this decree the command of almost the entire world was being entrusted to one man. (3) Seven years before, it is true, like power had been decreed to Marcus Antonius as praetor. (4) But sometimes the personality of the recipient of such power, just as it renders the precedent more or less dangerous, increases or diminishes its invidiousness. In the case of Antonius people had looked upon his position with no concern. For it is not often that we begrudge honours to those whose power we do not fear. On the other hand men shrink from conferring extraordinary powers upon those who seem likely to retain them or

lay them aside only as they themselves choose, and whose inclinations are their only check. The optimates advised against the grant to Pompey, but sane advice succumbed to impulse.

Digna est memoria Q.Catuli cum auctoritas tum verecundia. Qui cum dissuadens legem in contione dixisset esse quidem praeclarum virum Cn.Pompeium, sed nimium iam liberae rei publicae neque omnia in uno reponenda adiecissetque: “si quid huic acciderit, quem in eius locum substituetis?” subclamavit universa contio, te, Q.Catule. Tum ille victus consensu omnium et tam honorifico civitatis testimonio e contione discessit. Hic hominis verecundiam, populi iustitiam mirari libet, huius, quod non ultra contendit, plebis, quod dissuadentem et adversarium voluntatis suae vero testimonio fraudare noluit. Per idem tempus Cotta iudicandi munus, quod C.Gracchus ereptum senatui ad equites, Sulla ab illis ad senatum transtulerant, aequaliter in utrumque ordinem partitus est; Otho Roscius lege sua equitibus in theatro loca restituit. At Cn.Pompeius multis et praeclaris viris in id bellum adsumptis discriptoque paene in omnis recessus maris praesidio navium, brevi inextinguibili manu terrarum orbem liberavit praedonesque saepe multis iam aliis locis victos circa Ciliciam classe adgressus fudit ac fugavit; et quo maturius bellum tam late diffusum conficeret, reliquias eorum contractas in urbibus remotoque mari loco in certa sede constituit. Sunt qui hoc carpant, sed quamquam in auctore satis rationis est, tamen ratio quemlibet magnum auctorem faceret; data enim facultate sine rapto vivendi rapinis arcuit.

[32] (1) The sterling character of Quintus Catulus and his modesty on this occasion are worthy of record. Opposing the law before the assembled people he had said that Pompey was without question a great man, but that he was now becoming too great for a free republic, and that all powers ought not to be reposed in one man. “If anything happens to Pompey,” he added, “whom will you put in his place?” The people shouted with one accord, “You, Catulus.” Then, yielding to the unanimous desire of the people for the proposed law and to this honourable tribute of his fellow-citizens, he left the assembly. (2) At this point one would fain express admiration for the modesty of the man and the fairness of the people; in the case of Catulus, because he ceased his opposition, and, in the case of the people, because it was unwilling to withhold from one who was speaking against the measure in opposition to them this real evidence of their esteem.

(3) About the same time Cotta divided service upon the juries equally between

the senatorial and equestrian orders. Gaius Gracchus had taken this privilege from the senate and given it to the knights, while Sulla had again transferred it from the knights to the senate. Otho Roscius by his law restored to the knights their places in the theatre.

(4) Meanwhile Gnaeus Pompey enlisted the services of many illustrious men, distributed detachments of the fleet to all the recesses of the sea, and in a short time with an invincible force he freed the world from the menace of piracy. Near the Cilician coast he delivered his final attack upon the pirates, who had already met with frequent defeats in many other places, and completely routed them. Then, in order that he might the more quickly put an end to a war that spread over so wide an area, (5) he collected the remnants of the pirates and established them in fixed abodes in cities far from the sea. (6) Some criticize him for this; but although the plan is sufficiently recommended by its author, it would have made its author great whoever he might have been; for, by giving the pirates the opportunity to live without brigandage, he restrained them from brigandage.

Cum esset in fine bellum piraticum et L. Lucullus, qui ante septem annos ex consulatu sortitus Asiam Mithridati oppositus erat magnasque et memorabiles res ibi gesserat, Mithridatem saepe multis locis fuderat, egregia Cyzicum liberarat victoria, Tigranem, regum maximum, in Armenia vicerat ultimamque bello manum paene magis noluerat imponere quam non potuerat, quia alioqui per omnia laudabilis et bello paene invictus pecuniae pellebatur cupidine, idem bellum adhuc administraret, Manilius tribunus plebis, semper venalis et alienae minister potentiae, legem tulit, ut bellum Mithridaticum per Cn. Pompeium administraretur. Accepta ea magnisque certatum inter imperatores iurgiis, cum Pompeius Lucullo infamiam pecuniae, Lucullus Pompeio interminatam cupiditatem obiiceret imperii neuterque ab altero quod arguebat mentitus argui posset. Nam neque Pompeius, ut primum ad rem publicam adgressus est, quemquam omnino parem tulit, et in quibus rebus primus esse debebat, solus esse cupiebat (neque eo viro quisquam aut alia omnia minus aut gloriam magis concupiit, in adpetendis honoribus inmodicus, in gerendis verecundissimus, ut qui eos ut libentissime iniret, ita finiret aequo animo, et quod cupisset, arbitrio suo sumeret, alieno deponeret) et Lucullus, summus alioqui vir, profusae huius in aedificiis convictibusque et apparatus luxuriae primus auctor fuit, quem ob iniectas moles mari et receptum suffossis montibus in terras mare haud infacete Magnus Pompeius Xerxen togatum vocare adsueverat.

[33] (1) When the war with the pirates was drawing to a close, Pompey was assigned to the command against Mithridates in place of Lucius Lucullus. Seven years before this, Lucullus, at the conclusion of his consulship, had obtained the proconsulship of Asia, and had been placed in command against Mithridates. In this post he had performed some great and notable exploits, having defeated Mithridates several times in different regions, freed Cyzicus by a brilliant victory, and conquered Tigranes, the greatest of kings, in Armenia. That he had not put an end to the war was due, one might say, to lack of inclination rather than of ability; for although in all other respects he was a man of laudable character and in war had scarcely ever been defeated, he was a victim to the love of money. He was still engaged in carrying on the same struggle when Manilius, tribune of the people, a man of venal character

always, and ready to abet the ambitions of others, proposed a law that Pompey should be given the chief command in the Mithridatic war. ⁽²⁾ The law was passed, and the two commanders began to vie with each other in recriminations, Pompey charging Lucullus with his unsavoury greed for money, and Lucullus taunting Pompey with his unbounded ambition for military power. Neither could be convicted of falsehood in his charge against the other. ⁽³⁾ In fact Pompey, from the time when he first took part in public life, could not brook an equal at all. In undertakings in which he should have been merely the first he wished to be the only one. No one was ever more indifferent to other things or possessed a greater craving for glory; he knew no restraint in his quest for office, though he was moderate to a degree in the exercise of his powers. Entering upon each new office with the utmost eagerness, he would lay them aside with unconcern, and, although he consulted his own wishes in attaining what he desired, he yielded to the wishes of others in resigning it. ⁽⁴⁾ As for Lucullus, who was otherwise a great man, he was the first to set the example for our present lavish extravagance in building, in banquets, and in furnishings. Because of the massive piles which he built in the sea, and of his letting the sea in upon the land by digging through mountains, Pompey used to call him, and not without point, the Roman Xerxes.

Per id tempus a Q. Metello Creta insula, in populi Romani potestatem redacta est, quae ducibus Panare et Lasthene quattuor et viginti milibus iuvenum coactis, velocitate pernicious, armorum laborumque patientissimis, sagittarum usu celeberrimis, per triennium Romanos exercitus fatigaverat. Ne ab huius quidem usura gloriae temperavit animum Cn. Pompeius, quin victoriae partem conaretur vindicare. Sed et Luculli et Metelli triumphum cum ipsorum singularis virtus, tum etiam invidia Pompei apud optimum quemque fecit favorabilem. Per haec tempora M. Cicero, qui omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit, vir novitatis nobilissimae et ut vita clarus, ita ingenio maximus, quique effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur, consul Sergii Catilinae Lentulique et Cethegi et aliorum utriusque ordinis virorum coniurationem singulari virtute, constantia, vigilia curaque aperuit. Catilina metu consularis imperi urbe pulsus est; Lentulus consularis et praetor iterum Cethegusque et alii clari nominis viri auctore senatu, iussu consulis in carcere necati sunt.

[34] (1) During the same period the island of Crete was brought under the sovereignty of the Roman people by Quintus Metellus. For three years this island, under the leadership of Panares and Lasthenes who had collected a force of twenty-four thousand men, swift in their movements, hardened to the toils of war, and famous in their use of the bow, had worn out the Roman armies. (2) Gnaeus Pompeius could not refrain from coveting some of this glory also, and sought to claim a share in his victory. But the triumphs, both of Lucullus and of Metellus, were rendered popular in the eyes of all good citizens not only by the distinguished merits of the two generals themselves but also by the general unpopularity of Pompey.

(3) At this time the conspiracy of Sergius Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and other men of both the equestrian and senatorial orders was detected by the extraordinary courage, firmness, and careful vigilance of the consul Marcus Cicero, a man who owed his elevation wholly to himself, who had ennobled his lowly birth, who was as distinguished in his life as he was great in genius, and who saved us from being vanquished in intellectual accomplishments by those whom we had vanquished in arms. (4) Catiline was driven from the city by fear of the authority of the consul; Lentulus, a man of consular rank and

twice a praetor, Cethegus, and other men of illustrious family were put to death in prison on the order of the consul, supported by the authority of the senate.

Ille senatus dies, quo haec acta sunt, virtutem M. Catonis iam multis in rebus conspicuam atque praenitentem in altissimo culmine locavit. Hic genitus proavo M. Catone, principe illo familiae Porciae, homo Virtuti simillimus et per omnia ingenio diis quam hominibus propior, qui numquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non potuerat, cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod haberet iustitiam, omnibus humanis vitiis immunis semper fortunam in sua potestate habuit. Hic tribunus plebis designatus et adhuc admodum adulescens, cum alii suaderent, ut per municipia Lentulus coniuratique custodirentur, paene inter ultimos interrogatus sententiam, tanta vi animi atque ingenii inductus est in coniurationem, eo ardore oris orationem omnium lenitatem suadentium societate consilii suspectam fecit, sic irpendentia ex ruinis incendiisque urbis et commutatione status publici pericula exposuit, ita consulis virtutem amplificavit, ut universus senatus in eius sententiam transiret animadvertendumque in eos, quos praediximus, censeret maiorque pars ordinis eius Ciceronem prosequerentur domum. At Catilina non segnius conata obiit, quam sceleris conandi consilia inierat: quippe fortissime dimicans quem spiritum supplicio debuerat, proelio reddidit.

[35] (1) The meeting of the senate at which this action had been taken raised the character of Marcus Cato, (2) which had already shone forth conspicuously in other matters, to a lofty pinnacle. Descended from Marcus Cato, the first of the Porcian house, who was his great-grandfather, he resembled Virtue herself, and in all his acts he revealed a character nearer to that of gods than of men. He never did a right action solely for the sake of seeming to do the right, but because he could not do otherwise. To him that alone seemed reasonable which was likewise just. Free from all the failings of mankind he always kept fortune subject to his control. (3) At this time, though he was only tribune elect and still quite a young man, while others were urging that Lentulus and the other conspirators should be placed in custody in the Italian towns, Cato, though among the very last to be asked for his opinion, inveighed against the conspiracy with such vigour of spirit and intellect and such earnestness of expression that he caused those who in their speeches had urged leniency to be suspected of complicity in the plot. (4) Such a picture did he present of the dangers which threatened Rome, by the burning and destruction of the city

and the subversion of the constitution, and such a eulogy did he give of the consul's firm stand, that the senate as a body changed to the support of his motion and voted the imposition of the death penalty upon the conspirators, and a large number of the senators escorted Cicero to his home.

(5) As for Catiline, he proceeded to carry out his criminal undertaking with as much energy as he had shown in planning it. Fighting with desperate courage, he gave up in battle the life which he had forfeited to the executioner.

Consulatus Ciceronis non mediocre adiecit decus natus eo anno divus Augustus abhinc annos LXXXII, omnibus omnium gentium viris magnitudine sua inducturus caliginem. Iam paene supervacaneum videri potest eminentium ingeniorum notare tempora. Quis enim ignorat diremptos gradibus aetatis floruisse hoc tempore Ciceronem, Hortensium, antequam Crassum, Cottam, Sulpicium, moxque Brutum, Calidum, Caelium, Calvurn et proximum Ciceroni Caesarem eorumque velut alumnos Corvinum ac Pollionem Asinium, aemulumque Thucydidis Sallustium, auctoresque carminum Varronem ac Lucretium neque ullo in suscepto carminis sui opere minorem Catullum. Paene stulta est inhaerentium oculis ingeniorum enumeratio, inter quae maxime nostri aevi eminent princeps carminum Vergilius Rabiriusque et consecutus Sallustium Livius Tibullusque et Naso, perfectissimi in forna operis sui; nam vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis est.

[36] (1) No slight prestige is added to the consulship of Cicero by the birth in that year — ninety-two years ago — of the emperor Augustus, who was destined by his greatness to overshadow all men of all races.

(2) It may now seem an almost superfluous task to indicate the period at which men of eminent talent flourished. For who does not know that at this epoch, separated only by differences in their ages, there flourished Cicero and Hortensius; a little earlier Crassus, Cotta, and Sulpicius; a little later Brutus, Calidius, Caelius, Calvus, and Caesar, who ranks next to Cicero; next to them, and, as it were, their pupils, come Corvinus and Pollio Asinius, Sallust, the rival of Thucydides, the poets Varro and Lucretius, and Catullus, who ranks second to none in the branch of literature which he undertook. (3) It is almost folly to proceed to enumerate men of talent who are almost beneath our eyes, among whom the most important in our age are Virgil, the prince of poets, Rabirius, Livy, who follows close upon Sallust, Tibullus, and Naso, each of whom achieved perfection in his own branch of literature. As for living writers, while we admire them greatly, a critical list is difficult to make.

Dum haec in urbe Italiaque geruntur, Cn. Pompeius memorabile adversus Mithridaten, qui post Luculli profectionem magnas novi exercitus viris reparaverat, bellum gessit. At rex fusus fugatusque et omnibus exutus copiis Armeniam Tigranemque socer generum petiit, regem eius temporis, nisi qua Luculli armis erat infractus, potentissimum. Simul itaque duos persecutus Pompeius intravit Armeniam. Prior filius Tigranis, sed discors patri, pervenit ad Pompeium; mox ipse supplex et praesens se regnumque ditioni eius permissit, praefatus neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cuius se societati commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pompeium; proin omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam, cuius auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram: non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas, neque inhoneste aliquem summitti huic, quem fortuna super omnis extulisset. Servatus regi honos imperii, sed multato ingenti pecunia, quae omnis, sicuti Pompeio moris erat, redacta in quaestoris potestatem ac publicis descripta litteris. Syria aliaeque, quas occupaverat, provinciae ereptae, et aliae restitutae populo Romano, aliae tum primum in eius potestatem redactae, ut Syria, quae tum primum facta est stipendiaria. Finis imperii regii terminatus Armenia.

[37] (1) While these occurrences were taking place in the city and in Italy, Gnaeus Pompeius carried on a notable campaign against Mithridates, who after the departure of Lucullus had again prepared a new army of great strength. (2) The king was defeated and routed, and after losing all his forces sought refuge in Armenia with his son-in-law Tigranes, the most powerful king of his day, though his power had been somewhat broken by Lucullus. (3) Pompey accordingly entered Armenia in pursuit of both kings at once. First a son of Tigranes, who was at variance with his father, came to Pompey. (4) Then the king in person, and, in the guise of a suppliant, placed himself and his kingdom under the jurisdiction of Pompey, prefacing this act with the statement that he would not have submitted himself to the alliance of any man but Gnaeus Pompeius, whether Roman or of any other nationality; that he would be ready to bear any condition, favourable or otherwise, upon which Pompey might decide; that there was no disgrace in being beaten by one whom it would be a sin against the gods to defeat, and that there was no

dishonour in submitting to one whom fortune had elevated above all others. ⁽⁵⁾ The king was permitted to retain the honours of royalty, he was compelled to pay a large sum of money, all of which, as was Pompey's practice, was remitted to the quaestor and listed in the public accounts. Syria and the other provinces which Mithridates had seized were wrested from him. Some were restored to the Roman people, and others were then for the first time brought under its sway — Syria, for instance — which first became a tributary province at this time. The sovereignty of the king was now limited to Armenia.

Haud absurdum videtur propositi operis regulae paucis percurrere, quae cuiusque ductu gens ac natio redacta in formulam provinciae stipendiaria facta sit, ut quae partibus notavimus, facilius simul universa conspici possint. Primus in Siciliam traiecit exercitum consul Claudius, sed provinciam eam post annos ferme duos et quinquaginta captis Syracusis fecit Marcellus Claudius. Primus Africam Regulus nono ferme anno primi Punici belli aggressus est; sed post centum et novem annos P. Scipio Aemilianus eruta Carthagine abhinc annos centum septuaginta tris Africam in formulam redegit provinciae. Sardinia inter primum et secundum bellum Punicum ductu T. Manlii consulis certum recepit imperi iugum. Immane bellicae civitatis argumentum, quod semel sub regibus, iterum hoc T. Manlio consule, tertio Augusto principe certae pacis argumentum Ianus geminus clausus dedit. In Hispaniam primi omnium duxere exercitus Cn. et P. Scipiones initio secundi belli Punici abhinc annos ducentos quinquaginta; inde varie possessa et saepe amissa partibus, universa ductu Augusti facta stipendiaria est. Macedoniam Paulus, Mummius Achaïam, Fulvius Nobilior subegit Aetoliam, Asiam L. Scipio, Africani frater, eripuit Antiocho, sed beneficio senatus populique Romani mox ab Attalis possessam regibus M. Perpenna capto Aristonico fecit tributariam. Cyprus devicta nullius adsignanda gloriae est; quippe senatus consulto, ministerio Catonis, regis morte, quam ille conscientia acciverat, facta provincia est. Creta Metelli ductu longissimae libertatis fine multata est. Syria Pontusque Cn. Pompei virtutis monumenta sunt.

[38] (1) It does not seem out of keeping with the plan which I have set before me in my work to give a brief synopsis of the races and nations which were reduced to provinces and made tributary to Rome, and by what generals. Thus it will be easier to see at a glance when grouped together, the facts already given in detail.

(2) Claudius the consul was the first to cross into Sicily with an army, but it was only after the capture of Syracuse, fifty years later, that it was converted into a province by Marcellus Claudius. Regulus was the first to invade Africa, in the ninth year of the First Punic war. It was one hundred and nine years later, one hundred and seventy-three years ago, that Publius Scipio Aemilianus destroyed Carthage and reduced Africa to the form of a province.

Sardinia finally became subject to the yoke in the interval between the First and Second Punic War, through the agency of Titus Manlius the consul. ⁽³⁾ It is a strong proof of the warlike character of our state that only three times did the closing of the temple of the double-faced Janus give proof of unbroken peace: once under the kings, a second time in the consulship of the Titus Manlius just mentioned, and a third time in the reign of Augustus. ⁽⁴⁾ The two Scipios, Gnaeus and Publius, were the first to lead armies into Spain, at the beginning of the Second Punic War, two hundred and fifty years ago; from that time on we alternately acquired and lost portions of it until under Augustus the whole of it became tributary. ⁽⁵⁾ Paulus conquered Macedonia, Mummius Achaea, Fulvius Nobilior Aetolia, Lucius Scipio, the brother of Africanus, wrested Asia from Antiochus, but, by the gift of the senate and the Roman people, it soon afterwards passed to the ownership of the Attalids. It was made a tributary province by Marcus Perpenna after the capture of Aristonicus. ⁽⁶⁾ No credit for the conquest of Cyprus can be assigned to any general, since it was by a decree of the Senate, carried out by Cato, that it became a province on the death of its king, self-inflicted in consciousness of guilt. Crete was punished by Metellus by the termination of the liberty which she had long enjoyed. Syria and Pontus are monuments to the valour of Gnaeus Pompeius.

Gallias primum a Domitio Fabioque, nepote Pauli, qui Allobrogicus vocatus est, intratas cum exercitu, magna mox clade nostra, saepe et adfectavimus et omisimus. Sed fulgentissimum C. Caesaris opus in his conspicitur; quippe eius ductu auspiciisque infractae paene idem, quod totus terrarum orbis, in aerarium conferunt stipendium. Ab eodem facta [...] Numidicus. Ciliciam perdomuit Isauricus et post bellum Antiochinum Vulso Manlius Gallograeciam. Bithynia, ut praediximus, testamento Nicomedis relicta hereditaria. Divus Augustus praeter Hispanias aliasque gentis, quarum titulis forum eius praenitet, paene idem facta Aegypto stipendiaria, quantum pater eius Galliis, in aerarium reditus contulit. At Ti. Caesar quam certam Hispanis parendi confessionem extorserat parens, Illyriis Delmatisque extorsit. Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias. Ut has armis, ita auctoritate Cappadociam populo Romano fecit stipendariam. Sed revertamur ad ordinem.

[39] (1) Domitius and Fabius, son of Paulus, who was surnamed Allobrogicus, first entered the Gauls with an army; later these provinces cost us much blood in our attempts at conquest alternating with our loss of them. In all these operations the work of Caesar is the most brilliant and most conspicuous. Reduced under his auspices and generalship, they pay almost as much tribute into the treasury as the rest of the world. (2) Caesar also made Numidia a province, from which Metellus had long before won by his valour the cognomen of Numidicus.

Isauricus conquered Cilicia, and Vulso Manlius Gallograecia after the war with Antiochus. Bithynia, as has been already said, was bequeathed to the Romans by the will of Nicomedes. Besides Spain and other countries whose names adorn his Forum, Augustus made Egypt tributary, thereby contributing nearly as much revenue to the treasury as his father had brought to it from the Gauls. (3) Tiberius Caesar extorted from the Illyrians and Dalmatians a definite confession of submission such as that which Augustus had wrested from Spain. He also added to our empire as new provinces Raetia, Vindelicia, Noricum, Pannonia, and the Scordisci. These he conquered by arms. Cappadocia he made tributary to the Roman people through the mere prestige of his name. But let us now return to the order of events.

Secuta deinde Cn. Pompei militia, gloriae laborisne maioris incertum est. Penetratae cum victoria Media, Albania, Hiberia; deinde flexum agmen ad eas nationes, quae dextra atque intima Ponti incolunt, Colchos Heniochosque et Achaeos, et oppressus auspiciis Pompei, insidiis filii Pharnacis Mithridates, ultimus omnium iuris sui regum praeter Parthicos. Tum victor omnium quas adierat gentium Pompeius suoque et civium voto maior et per omnia fortunam hominis egressus revertit in Italiam. Cuius reditum favorabilem opinio fecerat; quippe plerique non sine exercitu venturum in urbem adfirmarunt et libertati publicae statuturum arbitrio suo modum. Quo magis hoc homines timuerant, eo gratior civilis tanti imperatoris reditus fuit: omni quippe Brundusii dimisso exercitu nihil praeter nomen imperatoris retinens cum privato comitatu, quem semper illi astare moris fuit, in urbem rediit magnificentissimumque de tot regibus per biduum egit triumphum longeque maiorem omni ante se inlata pecunia in aerarium, praeterquam a Paulo, ex manubiis intulit. Absente Cn. Pompeio T. Ampius et T. Labienus tribuni plebis legem tulerant, ut is ludis circensibus corona aurea et omni cultu triumphantium uteretur, scaenicis autem praetexta coronaque aurea. Id ille non plus quam semel, et hoc sane nimium fuit, usurpare sustinuit. Huius viri fastigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Asia triumpharet et, quot partes terrarum orbis sunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriae suae. Numquam eminentia invidia carent. Itaque et Lucullus et Metellus Creticus memor tamen acceptae iniuriae, non iniuste querens (quippe ornamentum triumphi eius captivos duces Pompeius subduxerat) et cum iis pars optimatum refragabatur, ne aut promissa civitatibus a Pompeio aut bene meritis praemia ad arbitrium eius persolverentur.

[40] (1) Then followed the military exploits of Gnaeus Pompeius, in regard to which it would be difficult to say whether the glory they earned or labour they cost was the greater. Media, Albania, and Iberia were invaded with victorious arms. Then he changed the direction of his march to the regions of the interior, to the right of the Black Sea — the Colchians, the Heniochi, and the Achaei. Mithridates was crushed, the last of the independent kings except the rulers of the Parthians, through the treachery of his son Pharnaces, it is true, but during the period of Pompey's command. (2) Then, after conquering all the

races in his path, Pompey returned to Italy, having achieved a greatness which exceeded both his own hopes and those of his fellow-citizens, and having, in all his campaigns, surpassed the fortune of a mere mortal. It was owing to this impression that his return created such favourable comment; for the majority of his countrymen had insisted that he would not enter the city without his army, and that he would set a limit upon public liberty according to his own caprice. ⁽³⁾ The return of so great a general as an ordinary citizen was all the more welcome because of the apprehensions which had been entertained. For, dismissing his whole army at Brundisium, and retaining none of his former power except the title of imperator, he returned to the city with only the retinue which regularly attended him. There he celebrated, for a period of two days, a most magnificent triumph over the many kings whom he had conquered, and from the spoils he contributed to the treasury a far larger sum of money than any other general had ever done except Paulus.

⁽⁴⁾ In Pompey's absence the tribunes of the people, Titus Ampius and Titus Labienus, proposed a law that at the games of the circus Pompey should be permitted to wear a golden crown and the full dress of the triumphator, and at the theatre the purple-bordered toga and the golden crown. But he forbore to use this honour more than once, and indeed that was itself too often. This man was raised by fortune to the pinnacle of his career by great leaps, first triumphing over Africa, then over Europe, then over Asia, and the three divisions of the world thus became so many monuments of his victory. Greatness is never without envy. ⁽⁵⁾ Pompey met with opposition from Lucullus and from Metellus Creticus, who did not forget the slight he had received (indeed he had just cause for complaint in that Pompey had robbed him of the captive generals who were to have adorned his triumph), and from a section of the optimates who sought to prevent the fulfilment of Pompey's promises to the various cities and the payment of rewards in accordance with his wishes to those who had been of service to him.

Secutus deinde est consulatus C. Caesaris, qui scribenti manum iniicit et quamlibet festinantem in se morari cogit. Hic nobilissima Iuliorum genitus familia et, quod inter omnis antiquitatis studiosos constabat, ab Anchise ac Venere deducens genus, forma omnium civium excellentissimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentia effusissimus, animo super humanam et naturam et fidem evectus, magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus, qui denique semper et cibo et sommo in vitam, non in voluptatem uteretur, cum fuisset C. Mario sanguine coniunctissimus atque idem Cinnae gener, cuius filiam ut repudiaret nullo metu compelli potuit, cum M. Piso consularis Anniam, quae Cinnae uxor fuerat, in Sullae dimisisset gratiam, habuissetque fere duodeviginti annos eo tempore, quo Sulla rerum potitus est, magis ministris Sullae adiutoribusque partium quam ipso conquiritibus eum ad necem mutata veste dissimilemque fortunae suae indutus habitum nocte urbe elapsus est. Idem postea admodum iuvenis, cum a piratis captus esset, ita se per omne spatium, quo ab iis retentus est, apud eos gessit, ut pariter iis terrori venerationique esset, neque umquam aut nocte aut die (cur enim quod vel maximum est, si narrari verbis speciosis non potest, omittatur?) aut exalcearetur aut discingeretur, in hoc scilicet, ne si quando aliquid ex solito variaret, suspectus iis, qui oculis tantummodo eum custodiebant, foret.

[41] (1) Then followed the consulship of Gaius Caesar, who now lays hold upon my pen and compels, whatever my haste, to linger a while upon him. Sprung from the noble family of the Julii, and tracing his descent from Venus and Anchises, a claim conceded by all investigators of antiquity, he surpassed all his fellow-citizens in beauty of person. He was exceedingly keen and vigorous of mind, lavish in his generosity, and possessed a courage exceeding the nature, and even the credence, of man. In the magnitude of his ambitions, in the rapidity of his military operations, and in his endurance of danger, he closely resembled Alexander the Great, but only when Alexander was free from the influence of wine and master of his passions (2) for Caesar, in a word, never indulged in food or in sleep except as they ministered, not to pleasure, but to life. To Gaius Marius he was closely related by blood; he was also the son-in-law of Cinna, whose daughter no consideration of fear would induce

him to divorce, whereas Marcus Piso, a man of consular rank, had divorced Annia, who had been the wife of Cinna, in order to win Sulla's favour. Caesar was only about eighteen years of age at the time of Sulla's dictatorship; and when a search was made for him with a view to putting him to death, not, it is true, by Sulla himself, but by his minions and partisans, he escaped from the city at night by assuming a disguise which effectually concealed his rank. ⁽³⁾ Later, but when still quite a young man, he was captured by pirates and so conducted himself during the entire period of his detention as to inspire in them to an equal degree both fear and respect. Neither by day nor by night did he remove his shoes or loosen his girdle — for why should a detail of the greatest significance be omitted merely because it cannot be adorned in imposing language? — lest the slightest change in his usual garb might cause him to be suspected by his captors, who guarded him only with their eyes.

XLII

Longum est narrare, quid et quotiens ausus sit, quanto opere conata eius qui obtinebat Asiam magistratus populi Romani metu suo destituerit. Illud referatur documentum tanti mox evasuri viri: quae nox eam diem secuta est, qua publica civitatum pecunia redemptus est, ita tamen, ut cogeret ante obsides a piratis civitatibus dari, et privatus et contracta classe tumultuaria invectus in eum locum, in quo ipsi praedones erant, partem classis fugavit, partem mersit, aliquot navis multosque mortalis cepit; laetusque nocturnae expeditionis triumpho ad suos revectus est, mandatisque custodiae quos ceperat, in Bithyniam perrexit ad proconsulem Iuncum (idem enim Asiam eamque obtinebat) petens, ut auctor fieret sumendi de captivis supplicii: quod (cum) ille se facturum negasset venditurumque captivos dixisset (quippe sequebatur invidia inertiam), incredibili celeritate revectus ad mare, priusquam de ea re ulli proconsulis redderentur epistulae, omnes, quos ceperat, suffixit cruci.

[42] (1) It would take too long to tell of his many bold plans for the punishment of the pirates, or how obstinately the timid governor of Asia refused to second them. The following story, however, may be told as a presage of his future greatness. (2) On the night following the day on which his ransom was paid by the cities of Asia — he had, however, compelled the pirates before payment to give hostages to these cities — although he was but a private citizen without authority, and his fleet had been collected on the spur of the moment, he directed his course to the rendezvous of the pirates, put to flight part of their fleet, sank part, and captured several ships and many men. (3) Well satisfied with the success of his night expedition he returned to his friends and, after handing his prisoners into custody, went straight to Bithynia to Juncus, the proconsul — for the same man was governor of Bithynia as well as of Asia — and demanded his sanction for the execution of his captives. When Juncus, whose former inactivity had now given way to jealousy, refused, and said that he would sell the captives as slaves, Caesar returned to the coast with incredible speed and crucified all his prisoners before anyone had had time to receive a dispatch from the consul in regard to the matter.

XLIII

Idem mox ad sacerdotium ineundum (quippe absens pontifex factus erat in Cottae consularis locum, cum paene puer a Mario Cinnaque flamen dialis creatus victoria Sullae, qui omnia ab iis acta fecerat irrita, amisisset id sacerdotium) festinans in Italiam, ne conspiceretur a praedonibus omnia tunc obtinentibus maria et merito iam infestis sibi, quattuor scalmorum navem una cum duobus amicis decemque servis ingressus effusissimum Adriatici maris traiecit sinum. Quo quidem in cursu conspectis, ut putabat, piratarum navibus cum exisset vestem alligas setque pugionem ad femur alterutri se fortunae parans, mox intellexit frustratum esse visum suum arborumque ex longinquo ordinem antemnarum praebuisse imaginem. Reliqua eius acta in urbe, nobilissima Cn. Dola bellae accusatio et maior civitatis in ea favor, quam reis praestari solet, contentionesque civiles cum Q. Catulo atque aliis eminentissimis viris celeberrimae, et ante praeturam victus in maximi pontificatus petitione Q. Catulus, omnium confessione senatus princeps, et restituta in aedilitate adversante quidem nobilitate monumenta C. Marii, simulque revocati ad ius dignitatis proscriptorum liberi, et praetura quaesturaque mirabili virtute atque industria obita in Hispania (cum esset quaestor sub Vetere Antistio, avo huius Veteris consularis atque pontificis, duorum consularium et sacerdotum patris, viri in tantum boni, in quantum humana simplicitas intellegi potest) quo notiora sunt, minus egent stilo.

[43] (1) Not long afterwards he was hastening to Italy to enter upon the priestly office of pontifex to which he had been elected in his absence in place of the ex-consul Cotta. Indeed, while still little more than a boy he had already been made priest of Jupiter by Marius and Cinna, but all their acts had been annulled in consequence of Sulla's victory, and Caesar had thus lost this priesthood. On the journey just mentioned, wishing to escape the notice of the pirates who then infested all the seas and by this time had good reasons for being hostile to him, he took two friends and ten slaves and embarked in a four-oared boat, and in this way crossed the broad expanse of the Adriatic Sea. (2) During the voyage, sighting, as he thought, some pirate vessels, he removed his outer garments, bound a dagger to his thigh, and prepared himself for any event; but soon he saw that his eyes had deceived him and that the illusion had been caused by a row of trees in the distance (3) which looked

like masts and yards.

As for the rest of his acts after his return to the city, they stand in less need of description, since they are better known. I refer to his famous prosecution of Gnaeus Dolabella, to whom the people showed more favour than is usually exhibited to men under impeachment; to the well-known political contests with Quintus Catulus and other eminent men; to his defeat of Quintus Catulus, the acknowledged leader of the Senate, for the office of pontifex maximus, before he himself had even been praetor; ⁽⁴⁾ to the restoration in his aedileship of the monuments of Gaius Marius in the teeth of the opposition of the nobles; to the reinstatement of the children of proscribed persons in the rights pertaining to their rank; and to his praetorship and quaestorship passed in Spain, in which he showed wonderful energy and valour. He was quaestor under Vetus Antistius, the grandfather of our own Vetus, the consular and pontiff, himself the father of two sons who have held the consulship and the priesthood and a man whose excellence reaches our highest conception of human integrity.

Hoc igitur consule inter eum et Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum inita potentiae societas, quae urbi orbique terrarum nec minus diverso cuique tempore ipsis exitiabilis fuit. Hoc consilium sequendi Pompeius causam habuerat, ut tandem acta in transmarinis provinciis, quibus, ut praediximus, multi obtrecebant, per Caesarem confirmarentur consulem, Caesar autem, quod animadvertibat se cedendo Pompei gloriae aucturum suam et invidia communis potentiae in illum relegata confirmaturum vires suas, Crassus, ut quem principatum solus adsequi non poterat, auctoritate Pompei, viribus teneret Caesaris, adfinitas etiam inter Caesarem Pompeiumque contracta nuptis, quippe Iuliam, filiam C. Caesaris, Cn. Magnus duxit uxorem. In hoc consulatu Caesar legem tulit, ut ager Campanus plebei divideretur, suasore legis Pompeio. Ita circiter viginti milia civium eo deducta et ius urbis restitutum post annos circiter centum quinquaginta duos quam bello Punico ab Romanis Capua in formam praefecturae redacta erat. Bibulus, collega Caesaris, cum actiones eius magis vellet impedire quam posset, maiore parte anni domi se tenuit. Quo facto dum augere vult invidiam collegae, auxit potentiam. Tum Caesari decretae in quinquennium Galliae.

[44] (1) But to resume. It was in Caesar's consulship that there was formed between himself, Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus the partnership in political power which proved so baleful to the city, to the world, and, subsequently at different periods to each of the triumvirs themselves. (2) Pompey's motive in the adoption of this policy had been to secure through Caesar as consul the long delayed ratification of his acts in the provinces across the seas, to which, as I have already said, many still raised objections; Caesar agreed to it because he realized that in making this concession to the prestige of Pompey he would increase his own, and that by throwing on Pompey the odium for their joint control he would add to his own power; while Crassus hoped by the influence of Pompey and the power of Caesar he might achieve a place of pre-eminence in the state which he had not been able to reach single-handed. (3) Furthermore, a tie of marriage was cemented between Caesar and Pompey, in that Pompey now wedded Julia, Caesar's daughter.

(4) In this consulship, Caesar, with Pompey's backing, passed a law

authorizing a distribution to the plebs of the public domain in Campania. And so about twenty thousand citizens were established there, and its rights as a city were restored to Capua one hundred and fifty-two years after she had been reduced to a prefecture in the Second Punic War. Bibulus, Caesar's colleague, with the intent rather than the power of hindering Caesar's acts, confined himself to his house for the greater part of the year. By this conduct, whereby he hoped to increase his colleague's unpopularity, he only increased his power. At this time the Gallic provinces were assigned to Caesar for a period of five years.

Per idem tempus P. Clodius, homo nobilis, disertus, audax, quique neque dicendi neque faciendi ullum nisi quem vellet nosset modum, malorum propositorum executor acerrimus, infamis etiam sororis stupro et actus incesti reus ob initum inter religiosissima populi Romani sacra adulterium, cum graves inimicitias cum M. Cicerone exerceret (quid enim inter tam dissimiles amicum esse poterat?) et a patribus ad plebem transisset, legem in tribunatu tulit, qui civem Romanum indemnatum interemisset, ei aqua et igni interdiceretur: cuius verbis etsi non nominabatur Cicero, tamen solus petebatur. Ita vir optime meritis de re publica conservatae patriae pretium calamitatem exilii tulit. Non caruerunt suspicione oppressi Ciceronis Caesar et Pompeius. Hoc sibi contraxisse videbatur Cicero, quod inter viginti viros dividendo agro Campano esse noluisset. Idem intra biennium sera Cn. Pompei cura, verum ut coepit intenta, votisque Italiae ac decretis senatus, virtute atque actione Annii Milonis tribuni plebis dignitati patriaeque restitutus est. Neque post Numidici exilium aut reditum quisquam aut expulsus invidiosius aut receptus est laetius. Cuius domus quam infeste a Clodio disiecta erat, tam speciose a senatu restituta est. Idem P. Clodius in tribunatu sub honorificentissimo ministerii titulo M. Catonem a re publica relegavit: quippe legem tulit, ut is quaestor cum iure praetorio, adiecto etiam quaestore, mitteretur in insulam Cyprum ad spoliandum regno Ptolemaeum, omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritu. Sed ille sub adventum Catonis vitae suae vim intulit. Unde pecuniam longe sperata maiorem Cato Romam retulit. Cuius integritatem laudari nefas est, insolentia paene argui potest, quod una cum consulibus ac senatu effusa civitate obviam, cum per Tiberim subiret navibus, non ante iis egressus est, quam ad eum locum pervenit, ubi erat exponenda pecunia.

[45] (1) About the same time Publius Clodius, a man of noble birth, eloquent and reckless, who recognized no limits either in speech or in act except his own caprice, of ill-repute as the debaucher of his own sister, and accused of adulterous profanation of the most sacred rites of the Roman people, having conceived a violent hatred against Marcus Cicero — for what friendship could there be between men so unlike? — caused himself to be transferred from a patrician into a plebeian family and, as tribune, proposed a law that whoever

put to death a Roman citizen without trial should be condemned to exile. Although Cicero was not expressly named in the wording of the bill, it was aimed at him alone. ⁽²⁾ And so this man, who had earned by his great services the gratitude of his country, gained exile as his reward for saving the state. Caesar and Pompey were not free from the suspicion of having had a share in the fall of Cicero. Cicero seemed to have brought upon himself their resentment by refusing to be a member of the commission of twenty charged with the distribution of lands in Campania. ⁽³⁾ Within two years Cicero was restored to his country and to his former status, thanks to the interest of Gnaeus Pompeius — somewhat belated, it is true, but effective when once exerted — and thanks to the prayers of Italy, the decrees of the senate, and the zealous activity of Annius Milo, tribune of the people. Since the exile and return of Numidicus no one had been banished amid greater popular disapproval or welcomed back with greater enthusiasm. As for Cicero's house, the maliciousness of its destruction by Clodius was now compensated for by the magnificence of its restoration by the senate.

⁽⁴⁾ Publius Clodius in his tribunate also removed Marcus Cato from the state, under the pretence of an honourable mission. For he proposed a law that Cato should be sent to the island of Cyprus in the capacity of quaestor, but with the authority of a praetor and with a quaestor as his subordinate, with instructions to dethrone Ptolemaeus, who by reason of his unmitigated viciousness of character well deserved this humiliation. ⁽⁵⁾ However, just before the arrival of Cato, Ptolemy took his own life. Cato brought home from Cyprus a sum of money which greatly exceeded all expectations. To praise Cato's integrity would be sacrilege, but he can almost be charged with eccentricity in the display of it; for, in spite of the fact that all the citizens, headed by the consuls and the senate, poured out of the city to meet him as he ascended the Tiber, he did not disembark and greet them until he arrived at the place where the money was to be put ashore.

Cum deinde inmanis res vix multis voluminibus explicandas C. Caesar in Gallia gereret nec contentus plurimis ac felicissimis victoriis innumerabilibusque caesis et captis hostium milibus etiam in Britanniam traiecisset exercitum, alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quaerens orbem, vetus par consulum, Cn. Pompeius et M. Crassus, alterum iniere consulatum, qui neque petitus honeste ab iis neque probabiliter gestus est. Caesari lege, quam Pompeius ad populum tulit, prorogatae in idem spatium temporis provinciae, Crasso bellum Parthicum iam animo molienti Syria decreta. Qui vir cetera sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus neque in pecunia neque in gloria concupiscenda aut modum norat aut capiebat terminum. Hunc proficiscentem in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni plebis frustra retinere conati. Quorum execrationes si in ipsum tantummodo valuissent, utile imperatoris damnum salvo exercitu fuisset rei publicae. Transgressum Euphraten Crassum petentemque Seleuciam circumfusus inmanibus copiis equitum rex Orodes una cum parte maiore Romani exercitus interemit. Reliquias legionum C. Cassius, atrocissimi mox auctor facinoris, tum quaestor, conservavit Syriamque adeo in populi Romani potestate retinuit, ut transgressos in eam Parthos felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet.

[46] (1) Meanwhile, in Gaul, Gaius Caesar was carrying on his gigantic task, which could scarcely be covered in many volumes. Not content with his many fortunate victories, and with slaying or taking as prisoners countless thousands of the enemy, he even crossed into Britain, as though seeking to add another world to our empire and to that which he had himself won. Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus, who had once been consuls together, now entered upon their second consulship, which office they not only won by unfair means, but also administered without popular approval. (2) In a law which Pompey proposed in the assembly of the people, Caesar's tenure of office in his provinces was continued for another five years, and Syria was decreed to Crassus, who was now planning to make war upon Parthia. Although Crassus was, in his general character, entirely upright and free from base desires, in his lust for money and his ambition for glory he knew no limits, and accepted no bounds. On his departure for Asia the tribunes of the people made ineffectual efforts to detain him by the announcement of baleful

omens. ⁽³⁾ If the curses which they called down upon him had affected Crassus alone, the loss of the commander would not have been without advantage to the state, had but the army been saved. ⁽⁴⁾ He had crossed the Euphrates and was now marching toward Seleucia when he was surrounded by King Orodes with his innumerable bands of cavalry and perished together with the greater part of his army. Remnants of the legions were saved by Gaius Cassius — (he was later the perpetrator of a most atrocious crime, but was at that time quaestor) — who not only retained Syria in its allegiance to the Roman people, but succeeded, by a fortunate issue of events, in defeating and putting to rout the Parthians when they crossed its borders.

XLVII

Per haec insequentiaque et quae praediximus tempora amplius quadringenta milia hostium a C. Caesare caesa sunt, plura capta; pugnatum saepe directae acie, saepe in agminibus, saepe eruptionibus, bis penetrata Britannia, novem denique aestatibus vix ulla non iustissimus triumphus emeritus. Circa Alesiam vero tantae res gestae, quantas audere vix hominis, perficere paene nullius nisi dei fuerit. Quarto ferme anno Caesar morabatur in Gallia, cum medium iam ex invidia potentiae (et viva illa) male cohaerentis inter Cn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem concordiae pignus Iulia, uxor Magni, decessit: atque omnia inter destinatos tanto discrimini duces dirimente fortuna filius quoque parvus Pompei, Iulia natus, intra breve spatium obiit. Tum in gladios caedesque civium furente ambitu, cuius neque finis reperiebatur nec modus, tertius consulatus soli Cn. Pompeio etiam adversantium antea dignitati eius iudicio delatus est, cuius ille honoris gloria veluti reconciliatis sibi optimatibus maxime a C. Caesare alienatus est; sed eius consulatus omnem vim in coercionem ambitus exercuit. Quo tempore P. Clodius a Milone candidato consulari exemplo inutili, facto salutari rei publicae circa Bovillas contracta ex occurso rixa iugulatus est. Milonem reum non magis invidia facti quam Pompei damnavit voluntas. Quem quidem M. Cato palam lata absolvit sententia. Qui si maturius tulisset, non defuissent qui sequerentur exemplum probarentque eum civem occisum, quo nemo perniciosior rei publicae neque bonis inimicius vixerat.

[47] (1) During this period, including the years which immediately followed and those of which mention has already been made, more than four hundred thousand of the enemy were slain by Gaius Caesar and a greater number were taken prisoners. Many times had he fought in pitched battles, many times on the march, many times as besieger or besieged. Twice he penetrated into Britain, and in all his nine campaigns there was scarcely one which was not fully deserving of a triumph. His feats about Alesia were of a kind that a mere man would scarcely venture to undertake, and scarcely anyone but a god could carry through.

(2) About the fourth year of Caesar's stay in Gaul occurred the death of Julia, the wife of Pompey, the one tie which bound together Pompey and Caesar in a coalition which, because of each one's jealousy of the other's power, held

together with difficulty even during her lifetime; and, as though fortune were bent upon breaking all the bonds between the two men destined for so great a conflict, Pompey's little son by Julia also died a short time afterwards. Then, inasmuch as agitation over the elections found vent in armed conflicts and civil bloodshed, ⁽³⁾ which continued indefinitely and without check, Pompey was made consul for the third time, now without a colleague, with the assent even of those who up to that time had opposed him for that office. The tribute paid him by this honour, which seemed to indicate his reconciliation with the optimates, served more than anything else to alienate him from Caesar. Pompey, however, employed his whole power during this consulship in curbing election abuses.

⁽⁴⁾ It was at this time that Publius Clodius was slain by Milo, who was a candidate for the consulship, in a quarrel which arose in a chance meeting at Bovillae; a bad precedent, but in itself a service to the state. Milo was brought to trial and convicted quite as much through the influence of Pompey as on account of the odium aroused by the deed. ⁽⁵⁾ Cato, it is true, declared for his acquittal in an opinion openly expressed. Had his vote been cast earlier, men would not have been lacking to follow his example and approve the slaying of a citizen as pernicious to the republic and as hostile to all good citizens as any man who had ever lived.

XLVIII

Intra breve deinde spatium belli civilis exarserunt initia, cum iustissimus quisque et a Caesare et a Pompeio vellet dimitti exercitus; quippe Pompeius in secundo consulatu Hispanias sibi decerni voluerat easque per triennium absens ipse ac praesidens urbi per Afranium et Petreium, consularem ac praetorium, legatos suos, administrabat et iis, qui a Caesare dimittendos exercitus contendebant, adsentabatur, iis, qui ab ipso quoque, adversabatur. Qui si ante biennium, quam ad arma itum est, perfectis muneribus theatri et aliorum operum, quae ei circumdedit, gravissima temptatus valetudine decessisset in Campania (quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute eius primi omnium civium suscepit) defuisset fortunae destruendi eius locus, et quam apud superos habuerat magnitudinem, inibatam detulisset ad inferos. Bello autem civili et tot, quae deinde per continuos viginti annos consecuta sunt, malis non alius maiorem flagrantiorumque quam C. Curio tribunus plebis subiecit facem, vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suae alienaeque et fortunae et pudicitiae prodigus, homo ingeniosissime nequam et facundus malo publico cuius animo [voluptatibus vel libidinibus] neque opes ullae neque cupiditates succurrere possent. Hic primo pro Pompei partibus, id est, ut tunc habebatur, pro re publica, mox simulatione contra Pompeium et Caesarem, sed animo pro Caesare stetit. Id gratis an accepto centies sestertio fecerit, ut accepimus, in medio relinquemus. Ad ultimum saluberrimas coalescentis condiciones pacis, quas et Caesar iustissimo animo postulabat et Pompeius aequo recipiebat, discussit ac rupit, unice cavente Cicerone concordiae publicae. Harum praeteritarumque rerum ordo cum iustis aliorum voluminibus promatur, tum, uti spero, nostris explicabitur. Nunc proposito operi sua forma reddatur, si prius gratulatus ero Q. Catulo, duobus Lucullis Metelloque et Hortensio, qui, cum sine invidia in re publica quoruisent eminuissentque sine periculo, quiescente aut certe non praecipitata fatali ante initium bellorum civilium morte functi sunt.

[48] (1) It was not long after this that the first sparks of civil war were kindled. All fair-minded men desired that both Caesar and Pompey should disband their armies. Now Pompey in his second consulship had caused the provinces of Spain to be assigned to him, and though he was actually absent from them, administering the affairs of the city, he continued to govern them for three

years through his lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, the former of consular and the latter of praetorian rank; and while he agreed with those who insisted that Caesar should dismiss his army, he was opposed to those who urged that he should also dismiss his own. ⁽²⁾ Had Pompey only died two years before the outbreak of hostilities, after the completion of his theatre and the other public buildings with which he had surrounded it, at the time when he was attacked by a serious illness in Campania and all Italy prayed for his safety as her foremost citizen, fortune would have lost the opportunity of overthrowing him and he would have borne to the grave unimpaired all the qualities of greatness that had been his in life. ⁽³⁾ It was Gaius Curio, however, a tribune of the people, who, more than anyone else, applied the flaming torch which kindled the civil war and all the evils which followed for twenty consecutive years. Curio was a man of noble birth, eloquent, reckless, prodigal alike of his own fortune and chastity and of those of other people, a man of the utmost cleverness in perversity, who used his gifted tongue for the subversion of the state. ⁽⁴⁾ No wealth and no pleasures sufficed to satiate his appetites. He was at first on the side of Pompey, that is to say, as it was then regarded, on the side of the republic. Then he pretended to be opposed both to Pompey and Caesar, but in his heart he was for Caesar. Whether his conversion was spontaneous or due to a bribe of ten million sesterces, as is reported, we shall leave undetermined. ⁽⁵⁾ Finally, when a truce was on the point of being concluded on terms of the most salutary character, terms which were demanded in a spirit of the utmost fair-mindedness by Caesar and accepted by Pompey without protest, it was in the end broken and shattered by Curio in spite of Cicero's extraordinary efforts to preserve harmony in the state.

As to the order of these events, and of those which have been mentioned before, the reader is referred to the special works of other historians, and I myself hope some day to give them in full. ⁽⁶⁾ But at the present time it will be consistent with the general plan of this briefer narrative if I merely stop to congratulate Quintus Catulus, the two Luculli, Metellus, and Hortensius, who, after flourishing in public life without envy and rising to pre-eminence without danger to themselves, in the course of nature died a peaceful or at least a not untimely death before the outbreak of the civil wars.

XLIX

Lentulo et Marcello consulibus post urbem conditam annis septingentis et tribus, et annos octo et septuaginta ante quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires, bellum civile exarsit. Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior; hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia; Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Caesarem militum armavit fiducia. Consules senatusque causae non Pompeio summam imperii detulerunt. Nihil relictum a Caesare, quod servandae pacis causa temptari posset, nihil receptum a Pompeianis, cum alter consul iusto esset ferocior, Lentulus vero salva re publica salvus esse non posset, M. autem Cato moriendum ante, quam ullam condicionem civis accipiendam rei publicae contenderet. Vir antiquus et gravis Pompei partes laudaret magis, prudens sequeretur Caesaris, et illa gloriosiora, haec terribiliora duceret. Ut deinde spreis omnibus quae Caesar postulaverat, tantummodo contentus cum una legione titulum retinere provinciae, privatus in urbem veniret et se in petitione consulatus suffragiis populi Rornani committeret decrevere, ratus bellandum Caesar cum exercitu Rubiconem transiit. Cn. Pompeius consulesque et maior pars senatus relicta urbe ac deinde Italia transmisere Dyrrachium.

[49] (1) In the consulship Lentulus and Marcellus, seven hundred and three years after the founding of the city and seventy-eight before your consulship, Marcus Vinicius, the civil war burst into flame. The one leader seemed to have the better cause, the other the stronger; (2) on the one was the appearance, on the other the reality of power; Pompey was armed with the authority of the senate, Caesar with the devotion of the soldiers. The consuls and the senate conferred the supreme authority not on Pompey but on his cause. (3) No effort was omitted by Caesar that could be tried in the interest of peace, but no offer of his was accepted by the Pompeians. Of the two consuls, one showed more bitterness than was fair, the other, Lentulus, could not save himself from ruin without bringing ruin upon the state, while Marcus Cato insisted that they should fight to the death rather than allow the republic to accept a single dictate from a mere citizen. The stern Roman of the old-fashioned type would praise the cause of Pompey, the politic would follow the lead of Caesar, recognizing that while there was on the one side greater prestige, the other was the more formidable.

(4) When at last, rejecting all the demands of Caesar, who was content to retain the title to the province, with but a single legion, the senate decreed that he should enter the city as a private citizen and should as such, submit himself to the votes of the Roman people in his candidacy for the consulship, Caesar concluded that war was inevitable and crossed the Rubicon with his army. Gnaeus Pompeius, the consuls, and the majority of the senate abandoned first the city, then Italy, and crossed the sea to Dyrrachium.

L

At Caesar Domitio legionibusque, Corfini quae una cum eo fuerant, potitus, duce aliisque, qui voluerant abire ad Pompeium, sine dilatione dimissis, persecutus Brundisium, ita ut appareret malle integris rebus et conditionibus finire bellum quam opprimere fugientis, cum transgressos reperisset consules, in urbem revertit redditaque ratione consiliorum suorum in senatu et in contione ac miserrimae necessitudinis, cum alienis armis ad arma compulsus esset, Hispanias petere decrevit. Festinationem itineris eius aliquamdiu morata Massilia est, fide melior quam consilio prudentior, intempestive principalium armorum arbitria captans, quibus hi se debent interponere, qui non parentem coercere possunt. Exercitus deinde, qui sub Afranio consulari ac Petreio praetorio fuerat, ipsius adventus vigore ac fulgore occupatus se Caesari tradidit; uterque legatorum et quisquis cuiusque ordinis sequi eos voluerat, remissi ad Pompeium.

[50] (1) Caesar, on his side, having got into his power Domitius and the legions that were with him at Corfinium, immediately released this commander and all others who so wished, and allowed them to join Pompey, whom he now followed to Brundisium, making it clear that he preferred to put an end to the war while the state was uninjured and negotiation still possible, rather than to crush his fleeing enemy. (2) Finding that the consuls had crossed the sea he returned to the city, and after rendering to the senate and also to the assembly of the people an account of his motives and of the deplorable necessity of his position, in that he had been driven to arms by others who had themselves resorted to arms, he resolved to march on Spain.

(3) The rapidity of his march was delayed for some time by the city of Massilia, which with more honesty of intention than with wise discretion assumed the unseasonable rôle of arbiter between the two armed leaders, an intervention suited only to those who are in a position to coerce the combatant refusing obedience. (4) Next, the army, commanded by Afranius, an ex-consul, and Petreius, an ex-praetor, taken off its guard by Caesar's energy and the lightning speed of his arrival, surrendered to him. Both the commanders and all others, of whatever rank, who wished to follow them were allowed to return to Pompey.

Proximo anno cum Dyrrachium ac vicina ei urbi regio castris Pompei obtineretur, qui accitis ex omnibus transmarinis provinciis legionibus, equitum ac peditum auxiliis, regumque et tetrarcharum simulque dynastarum copiis inmanem exercitum confecerat et mare praesidiis classium, ut rebatur, saepserat, quo minus Caesar legiones posset transmittere, sua et celeritate et fortuna C. Caesar usus nihil in mora habuit, quo minus eo quo vellet ipse exercitusque classibus perveniret, et primo paene castris Pompei sua iungeret, mox etiam obsidione munimentisque eum complecteretur. Sed inopia obsidentibus quam obsessis erat gravior. Tum Balbus Cornelius excedente humanam fidem temeritate ingressus castra hostium saepiusque cum Lentulo conlocutus consule, dubitante quanti se venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam, quibus non in Hispania ex cive natus, sed Hispanus, iam triumphum et pontificatum adsurgeret fieretque ex privato consularis. Variatum deinde proeliis, sed uno longe magis Pompeianis prospero, quo graviter impulsus sunt Caesaris milites.

[51] (1) The next year found Dyrrachium and its vicinity occupied by the camp of Pompey, who by summoning legions from all the provinces beyond the sea, together with auxiliary troops of foot and horse, and the forces of kings, tetrarchs, and other subject rulers, had in this way collected a formidable army, and had with his fleets established, as he thought, a successful blockade upon the sea to prevent Caesar from transporting his legions across the Adriatic. (2) But Caesar, relying upon his usual rapidity of action and his famous luck, allowed nothing to prevent him or his army from crossing and landing at any port he pleased, and at first pitched his camp almost touching that of Pompey, and then proceeded to surround the latter by entrenchments and siege works. But lack of provisions was a more serious matter to the besiegers than to the besieged. (3) It was at this time that Balbus Cornelius, at incredible risk, entered the camp of the enemy and held several conferences with the consul Lentulus, whose only doubt was what price to put upon himself. It was by stages such as this that Balbus, who was not even the son of a Roman citizen born in Spain but actually a Spaniard, paved the way for his later rise to the pontificate and to a triumph, and from the rank of private citizen to that of a consul. Conflicts followed, with shifting fortunes. One of

these battles was much more favourable to the Pompeians, and Caesar's troops were severely repulsed.

Tum Caesar cum exercitu fatalem victoriae suae Thessaliam petiit. Pompeius, longe diversa aliis suadentibus, quorum plerique hortabantur, ut in Italiam transmitteret (neque hercules quidquam partibus illis salubrius fuit), alii, ut bellum traheret, quod dignatione partium in dies ipsis magis prosperum fieret, usus impetu suo hostem secutus est. Aciem Pharsalicam et illum cruentissimum Romano nomini diem tantumque utriusque exercitus profusum sanguinis et conlisa inter se duo rei publicae capita effossumque alterum Romani imperii lumen et tot talesque Pompeianarum partium caesos viros non recipit enarranda hic scripturae modus. Illud notandum est: ut primum C.Caesar inclinatam vidit Pompeianorum aciem, neque prius neque antiquius quidquam habuit, quam ut indemnes partes, ut militari verbo ex consuetudine utar, dimitteret. Pro dii immortales, quod huius voluntatis erga Brutum suae postea vir tam mitis pretium tulit! Nihil in illa victoria mirabilius, magnificentius, clarius fuit, quam quod neminem nisi acie consumptum civem patria, desideravit: sed munus misericordiae corruptit pertinacia, cum libentius vitam victor iam daret, quam victi acciperent.

[52] (1) Then Caesar marched with his army into Thessaly, destined to be the scene of his victory. Pompey, in spite of the contrary advice of others, followed his own impulse and set out after the enemy. (2) Most of his advisers urged him to cross into Italy — nor indeed was there any course more expedient for his party — others advised him to prolong the war, which, by reason of the esteem in which the party was held, was daily becoming more favourable to them.

(3) The limits set to a work of this kind will not permit me to describe in detail the battle of Pharsalia, that day of carnage so fatal to the Roman name, when so much blood was shed on either side, the clash of arms between the two heads of the state, the extinction of one of the two luminaries of the Roman world, and the slaughter of so many noble men on Pompey's side. (4) One detail, however, I cannot refrain from noting. When Gaius Caesar saw that Pompey's army was defeated he made it his first and foremost concern to send out orders to grant quarter — if I may use the habitual military expression. (5) Ye immortal gods! What a reward did this merciful man afterwards receive for his kindness to Brutus! (6) There is nothing more marvellous about that

victory, nothing more magnificent, nothing more glorious, than that our country did not mourn the loss of any citizen save those who had fallen in battle. But his offer of clemency was set at nought by the stubbornness of his opponents, since the victor was more ready to grant life than the vanquished to accept it.

Pompeius profugiens cum duobus Lentulis consularibus Sextoque filio et Favonio praetorio, quos comites ei fortuna adgregaverat, aliis, ut Parthos, aliis, ut Africam peteret, in qua fidelissimum partium suarum haberet regem Iubam, suadentibus, Aegyptum petere proposuit memor beneficiorum, quae in patrem eius Ptolemaei, qui tum puero quam iuveni propior regnabat Alexandriae, contulerat. Sed quis in adversis beneficiorum servat memoriam? Aut quis ullam calamitosis deberi putat gratiam? Aut quando fortuna non mutat fidem? Missi itaque ab rege, qui venientem Cn. Pompeium (is iam a Mytilenis Corneliam uxorem receptam in navem fugae comitem habere coeperat) consilio Theodoti et Achillae exciperent hortarenturque, ut ex oneraria in eam navem, quae obviam processerat, transcenderet; quod cum fecisset, princeps Romani nominis imperio arbitrioque Aegyptii mancipii, C. Caesare et P. Servilio consulibus, iugulatus est. Hic post tres consulatus et totidem triumphos domitumque terrarum orbem sanctissimi atque praestantissimi viri in id evecti, super quod ascendi non potest, duodesexagesimum annum agentis pridie natalem ipsius vitae fuit exitus, in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam. Quid aliud quam nimium occupatos dixerim, quos in aetate et tanti et paene nostri saeculi viri fefellit quinquennium, cum a C. Atilio et Q. Servilio consulibus tam facilis esset annorum digestio? Quod adieci, non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer.

[53] (1) Pompey fled with the two Lentuli, both ex-consuls, his own son Sextus, and Favonius, a former praetor, friends whom chance had gathered about him as his companions. Some advised him to take refuge with the Parthians, others in Africa, where he had in King Juba a most loyal partisan; but, remembering the favours which he had conferred upon the father of Ptolemy, who, though still between boyhood and manhood, was now reigning at Alexandria, he decided to repair to Egypt. (2) But, in adversity who remembers past services? Who considers that any gratitude is due to those who have met disaster? When does change of fortune fail to shift allegiance? Envoys were sent by the king at the instance of Theodotus and Achillas to receive Pompey at his arrival — he was now accompanied in his flight by his wife Cornelia, who had been taken on board at Mytilene — and to urge him to change from the

merchant ship to the vessel which had come out to meet him. Having accepted the invitation, the first of the citizens of Rome was stabbed to death by the order and dictation of an Egyptian vassal, the year of his death being the consulship of Gaius Caesar and Publius Servilius. ⁽³⁾ So died in his fifty-eighth year, on the very eve of his birthday, that upright and illustrious man, after holding three consulships, celebrating three triumphs, conquering the whole world, and attaining to a pinnacle of fame beyond which it is impossible to rise. Such was the inconsistency of fortune in his case, that he who but a short time before had found no more lands to conquer now found none for his burial.

⁽⁴⁾ As regards Pompey's age, what excuse, other than that of excessive preoccupation, shall I make for those who have made an error of five years in the age of one who was not only a great man but who almost belongs to our century, especially as it is so easy to reckon from the consulship of Caius Atilius and Quintus Servilius? I have added this remark not for the sake of criticizing others, but to avoid criticism of myself.

Non fuit maior in Caesarem, quam in Pompeium fuerat, regis eorumque, quorum is auctoritate regebatur, fides. Quippe cum venientem eum temptassent insidius ac deinde bello lacessere auderent, utrique summorum imperatorum, alteri mortuo, alteri superstiti meritas poenas luere supplicius. Nusquam erat Pompeius corpore, adhuc ubique vivebat nomine. Quippe ingens partium eius favor bellum excitaverat Africum, quod ciebat rex Iuba et Scipio, vir consularis, ante biennium quam exstingueretur Pompeius, lectus ab eo socer, eorumque copias auxerat M. Cato, ingenti cum difficultate itinerum locorumque inopia perductis ad eos legionibus. Qui vir cum summum ei a militibus deferretur imperium, honoratiori parere maluit.

[54] (1) The loyalty of the king, and of those by whose influence he was controlled, was no greater towards Caesar than it had been toward Pompey. For, upon Caesar's arrival in Egypt, they assailed him with plots and subsequently dared to challenge him in open warfare. By suffering death they paid to both of these great commanders, the living and the dead, a well-deserved atonement.

(2) Pompey the man was no more, but his name still lived everywhere. For the strong support his party had in Africa had stirred up in that country a war in which the moving spirits were King Juba and Scipio, a man of consular rank, (3) whom Pompey had chosen for his father-in-law two years before his death. Their forces were augmented by Marcus Cato, who, in spite of the great difficulty of the march, and the lack of supplies in the regions traversed, succeeded in conducting his legions to them. Cato, although offered the supreme command by the soldiers, preferred to take orders from Scipio, his superior in rank.

Admonet promissae brevitatis fides, quanto omnia transcurso dicenda sint. Sequens fortunam suam Caesar pervectus in Africam est, quam occiso C. Curione, Iulianarum duce partium, Pompeiani obtinebant exercitus. Ibi primo varia fortuna, mox pugnavit sua, inclinataeque hostiorum copiae: nec dissimilis ibi adversus victos quam in priores clementia Caesaris fuit. Victorem Africani belli Caesarem gravius excepit Hispaniense (nam victus ab eo Pharnaces vix quidquam gloriae eius adstruxit), quod Cn. Pompeius, Magni filius, adolescens impetus ad bella maximi, ingens ac terribile conflaverat, undique ad eum adhuc paterni nominis magnitudinem sequentium ex toto orbe terrarum auxiliis confluentibus. Sua Caesarem in Hispaniam cornitata fortuna est, sed nullum umquam atrocius periculosiusque ab eo initum proelium, adeo ut plus quam dubio Marte descenderet equo consistensque ante recedentem suorum aciem, increpata prius fortuna, quod se in eum servasset exitum, denuntiaret militibus vestigio se non recessurum: proinde viderent, quem et quo loco imperatorem deserturi forent. Verecundia magis quam virtute acies restituita, et a duce quam a milite fortius. Cn. Pompeius gravis vulnere inventus inter solitudines avias interemptus est; Labienum Varumque acies abstulit.

[55] (1) Fidelity to my promise of brevity reminds me how rapidly I must pass over the details of my narrative. Caesar, following up his success, passed over to Africa, of which the Pompeian armies now held possession since the death of Gaius Curio, the leader there of the Caesarian party. At first his armies were attended by a varying fortune, but later by his usual luck the forces of the enemy were routed. (2) Here again he showed no less clemency toward the vanquished than to those whom he had defeated in the previous war.

Caesar, victorious in Africa, was now confronted by a more serious war in Spain (for the defeat of Pharnaces may be passed over, since it added but little to his renown). This great and formidable war had been stirred up by Gnaeus Pompeius, the son of Pompeius Magnus, a young man of great energy in war, and reinforcements flowed in from all parts of the world from among those who still followed his father's great name. (3) Caesar's usual fortune followed him to Spain; but no battle in which he ever engaged was more bitterly fought or more dangerous to his cause. Once, indeed, when the fight was now more

than doubtful, he leapt from his horse, placed himself before his lines, now beginning to give way, and, after upbraiding fortune for saving him for such an end, announced to his soldiers that he would not retreat a step. He asked them to consider who their commander was and in what a pass they were about to desert him. ⁽⁴⁾ It was shame rather than valour that restored their wavering line, and the commander showed more courage than his men. Gnaeus Pompeius, badly wounded, was discovered on a pathless waste and put to death. Labienus and Varus met their death in battle.

Caesar omnium victor regressus in urbem, quod humanam excedat fidem, omnibus, qui contra se arma tulerant, ignovit, magnificentissimisque gladiatorii muneris, naumachiae et equitum peditumque, simul elephantorum certaminis spectaculis epulique per multos dies dati celebratione replevit eam. Quinque egit triumphos: Gallici apparatus ex citro, Pontici ex acantho, Alexandrini testudine, Africi ebore, Hispaniensis argento rasili constitit. Pecunia ex manubiis lata paulo amplius sexiens miliens sestertium. Neque illi tanto viro et tam clementer omnibus victorū suis uso plus quinque mensium principalis quies contigit. Quippe cum mense Octobri in urbem revertisset, idibus Martiis, coniurationis auctoribus Bruto et Cassio, quorum alterum promittendo consulatum non obligaverat, contra differendo Cassium offenderat, adiectis etiam consiliariis caedis familiarissimis omnium et fortuna partium eius in summum evectis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio aliisque clari nominis viris, interemptus est. Cui magnam invidiam conciliarat M. Antonius, omnibus audendis paratissimus, consulatus collega, inponendo capiti eius Lupercalibus sedentis pro rostris insigne regium, quod ad eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur.

[56] (1) Caesar, victorious over all his enemies, returned to the city, and pardoned all who had borne arms against him, an act of generosity almost passing belief. He entertained the city to repletion with the magnificent spectacle of a gladiatorial show, a sham battle of ships, mock battles of cavalry, infantry, and even mounted elephants, and the celebration of a public banquet which was continued through several days. (2) He celebrated five triumphs. The emblems in his Gallic triumph were of citrus wood; in his Pontic of acanthus; in his Alexandrian triumph of tortoise-shell, in his African of ivory, and in his Spanish of polished silver. The money borne in his triumphs, realized from the sale of spoils, amounted to a little more than six hundred million sesterces.

(3) But it was the lot of this great man, who behaved with such clemency in all his victories, that his peaceful enjoyment of supreme power should last but five months. For, returning to the city in October, he was slain on the ides of March. Brutus and Cassius were the leaders of the conspiracy. He had failed to win the former by the promise of the consulship, and had offended the latter

by the postponement of his candidacy. There were also in the plot to compass his death some of the most intimate of all his friends, who owed their elevation to the success of his party, namely Decimus Brutus, Gaius Trebonius, and others of illustrious name. ⁽⁴⁾ Marcus Antonius, his colleague in the consulship, ever ready for acts of daring, had brought great odium upon Caesar by placing a royal crown upon his head as he sat on the •rostra at the •Lupercalia. Caesar put the crown from him, but in such a way that he did not seem to be displeased.

LVII

Laudandum experientia consilium est Pansae atque Hirtii, qui semper praedixerant Caesari ut principatum armis quaesitum armis teneret. Ille dictitans mori se quam timere malle dum clementiam, quam praestiterat, expectat, incautus ab ingratis occupatus est, cum quidem plurima ei praesagia atque indicia dii immortales futuri obtulissent periculi. Nam et haruspices praemonuerant, ut diligentissime iduum Martiarum caveret diem, et uxor Calpurnia territa nocturno visu, ut ea die domi subsisteret, orabat, et libelli coniurationem nuntiantes dati neque protinus ab eo lecti erant. Sed profecto ineluctabilis fatorum vis, cuiuscumque fortunam mutare constituit, consilia corrumpit.

[57] (1) In the light of experience due credit should be given to the counsel of Pansa and Hirtius, who had always warned Caesar that he must hold by arms the position which he had won by arms. But Caesar kept reiterating that he would rather die than live in fear, and while he looked for a return for the clemency he had shown, he was taken off his guard by men devoid of gratitude, (2) although the gods gave many signs and presages of the threatened danger. For the soothsayers had warned him beforehand carefully to beware the Ides of March; his wife Calpurnia, terrified by a dream, kept begging him to remain at home on that day; and notes warning him of the conspiracy were handed him, but he neglected to read them at the time. But verily the power of destiny is inevitable; (3) it confounds the judgement of him whose fortune it has determined to reverse.

LVIII

Quo anno id patravere facinus Brutus et Cassius praetores erant, D. Brutus consul designatus. Hi una cum coniurationis globo, stipati gladiatorum D. Bruti manu, Capitolium occupavere. Tum consul Antonius (quem cum simul interimendum censuisset Cassius testamentumque Caesaris abolendum, Brutus repugnauerat dictitans nihil amplius civibus praeter tyranni - ita enim appellari Caesarem facto eius expediebat - petendum esse sanguinem) convocato senatu, cum iam Dolabella, quem substituturus sibi Caesar designaverat consulem, fascēs atque insignia corripuisset consulis, velut pacis auctor liberos suos obsides in Capitolium misit fidemque descendendi tuto interfectoribus Caesaris dedit. Et illud decreti Atheniensium celeberrimi exemplum, relatum a Cicerone, oblivionis praeteritarum rerum decreto patrum comprobatum est.

[58] (1) Brutus and Cassius were praetors, and Decimus Brutus was consul designate in the year in which they perpetrated this deed. (2) These three, with the remainder of the group of conspirators, escorted by a band of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus, seized the capitol. Thereupon Antonius, as consul, summoned the senate. Cassius had been in favour of slaying Antony as well as Caesar, and of destroying Caesar's will, but Brutus had opposed him, insisting that citizens ought not to seek the blood of any but the "tyrant" — for to call Caesar "tyrant" placed his deed in a better light. (3) Dolabella, whom Caesar had named for the consulship, with the intention of putting him in his own place, had already seized the fascēs and the insignia of that office. Having summoned the senate, Antonius, acting as the guarantor of peace, sent his own sons to the capitol as hostages and thus gave his assurance to the slayers of Caesar that they might come down in safety. (4) On the motion of Cicero the famous precedent of the Athenians granting amnesty for past acts was approved by decree of the senate.

Caesaris deinde testamentum apertum est, quo C. Octavium, nepotem sororis suae Iuliae, adoptabat. De cuius origine, etiam si premit iter, pauca dicenda sunt. Fuit C. Octavius ut non patricia, ita admodum speciosa equestri genitus familia, gravis, sanctus, innocens, dives. Hic praetor inter nobilissimos viros creatus primo loco, cum ei dignatio Iulia genitam Atiam conciliasset uxorem, ex eo honore sortitus Macedoniam appellatusque in ea imperator, decedens ad petitionem consulatus obiit praetextato relicto filio. Quem C. Caesar, maior eius avunculus, educatum apud Philippum vitricum dilexit ut suum, natumque annos duodeviginti Hispaniensis militiae adsecutum se postea comitem habuit, numquam aut alio usum hospitio quam suo aut alio vectum vehiculo, pontificatusque sacerdotio puerum honoravit. Et patratis bellis civilibus ad erudiendam liberalibus disciplinis singularis indolem iuvenis Apolloniam eum in studia miserat, mox belli Getici ac deinde Parthici habiturus commilitonem. Cui ut est nuntiatum de caede avunculi, cum protinus ex vicinis legionibus centuriones suam suorumque militum operam ei pollicerentur neque eam spernendam Salvidienus et Agrippa dicerent, ille festinans pervenire in urbem omnem ordinem ac rationem et necis et testamenti Brundusii comperit. Cui adventanti Romam inmanis amicorum occurrit frequentia, et cum intraret urbem, solis orbis super caput eius curvatus aequaliter rotundatusque in colorem arcus velut coronam tanti mox viri capiti imponens conspectus est.

[59] (1) Caesar's will was then opened, by which he adopted Gaius Octavius, the grandson of his sister Julia. Of the origin of Octavius I must now say a few words, even if the account comes before its proper place. Gaius Octavius, his father, though not of patrician birth, (2) was descended from a very prominent equestrian family, and was himself a man of dignity, of upright and blameless life, and of great wealth. Chosen praetor at the head of the poll among a list of candidates of noble birth, this distinction won for him a marriage alliance with Atia, a daughter of Julia. After he had filled the office of praetor, the province of Macedonia fell to his lot, where he was honoured with the title of imperator. He was returning thence to sue for the consulship when he died on the way, leaving a son still in his early teens. (3) Though he had been reared in the house of his stepfather, Philippus, Gaius Caesar, his great-uncle, loved this boy as his own son. At the age of eighteen Octavius followed Caesar to Spain

in his campaign there, and Caesar kept him with him thereafter as his companion, allowing him to share the same roof and ride in the same carriage, and though he was still a boy, honoured him with the pontificate. ⁽⁴⁾ When the civil war was over, with a view to training his remarkable talents by liberal studies, he sent him to Apollonia to study, with the intention of taking him with him as his companion in his contemplated wars with the Getae and the Parthians. ⁽⁵⁾ At the first announcement of his uncle's death, although the centurions of the neighbouring legions at once proffered their own services and those of their men, and Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him to accept the offer, he made such haste to arrive in the city that he was already at Brundisium when he learned the details of the assassination and the terms of his uncle's will. ⁽⁶⁾ As he approached Rome an enormous crowd of his friends went out to meet him, and at the moment of his entering the city, men saw above his head the orb of the sun with a circle about it, coloured like the rainbow, seeming thereby to place a crown upon the head of one destined soon to greatness.

Non placebat Atiae matri Philippoque vitrico adiri nomen invidiosae fortunae Caesaris, sed adserebant salutaria rei publicae terrarumque orbis fata conditorem conservatoremque Romani nominis. Sprevit itaque caelestis animus humana consilia et cum periculo potius summa quam tuto humilia proposuit sequi maluitque avunculo et Caesari de se quam vitrico credere, dictitans nefas esse, quo nomine Caesari dignus esset visus, semet ipsum sibi videri indignum. Hunc protinus Antonius consul superbe excepit (neque is erat contemptus, sed metus) vixque admisso in Pompeianos hortos loquendi secum tempus dedit, mox etiam velut insidiis eius petitus sceleste insimulare coepit, in quo turpiter deprehensa eius vanitas est. Aperte deinde Antonii ac Dolabellae consulum ad nefandam dominationem erupit furor. Sestertium septiens miliens, depositum a C. Caesare ad aedem Opis, occupatum ad Antonio, actorum eiusdem insertis falsis civitatibus immunitatibusque corrupti commentarii atque omnia pretio temperata, vendente rem publicam consule. Idem provinciam D. Bruto designato consuli decretam Galliam occupare statuit, Dolabella transmarinas decrevit sibi; interque naturaliter dissimillimos ac diversa volentis crescebat odium eoque C. Caesar iuvenis cotidianis Antonii petebatur insidiis.

[60] (1) His mother Atia and Philipppus his stepfather disliked the thought of his assuming the name of Caesar, whose fortune had aroused such jealousy, but the fates that preside over the welfare of the commonwealth and of the world took into their own keeping the second founder and preserver of the Roman name. (2) His divine soul therefore spurned the counsels of human wisdom, and he determined to pursue the highest goal with danger rather than a lowly estate and safety. He preferred to trust the judgement concerning himself of a great-uncle who was Caesar, rather than that of a stepfather, saying that he had no right to think himself unworthy of the name of which Caesar had thought him worthy. (3) On his arrival, Antony, the consul, received him haughtily — out of fear, however, rather than contempt — and grudgingly gave him, after he had secured admission to Pompey's gardens, a few moments' conversation with himself; and it was not long before Antony began wickedly to insinuate that an attempt had been made upon his life through plots fostered by Octavius. In this matter, however, the

untrustworthiness of the character of Antony was disclosed, to his discredit. ⁽⁴⁾ Later the mad ambition of Antony and Dolabella, the consuls, for the attainment of an unholy despotism, burst into view. The seven hundred thousand sestertia deposited by Gaius Caesar in the temple of Ops were seized by Antony; the records of his acts were tampered with by the insertion of forged grants of citizenship and immunity; and all his documents were garbled for money considerations, the consul bartering away the public interests. ⁽⁵⁾ Antony resolved to seize the province of Gaul, which had been assigned by decree to Decimus Brutus, the consul designate, while Dolabella had the provinces beyond the sea assigned to himself. Between men by nature so unlike and with such different aims there grew up a feeling of hatred, and in consequence, the young Gaius Caesar was the object of daily plots on the part of Antony.

Torpebat oppressa dominatione Antonii civitas. Indignatio et dolor omnibus, vis ad resistendum nulli aderat, cum C. Caesar undevicesimum annum ingressus, mira ausus ac summa consecutus privato consilio maiorem senatu pro re publica animum habuit primumque a Calatia, mox a Casilino veteranos excivit paternos; quorum exemplum secuti alii brevi in formam iusti coiere exercitus. Mox cum Antonius occurrisset exercitui, quem ex transmarinis provinciis Brundisiuni venire iusserat, legio Martia et quarta cognita et senatus voluntate et tanti iuvenis indole sublatis signis ad Caesarem se contulerunt. Eum senatus honoratum equestri statua, quae hodieque in rostris posita aetatem eius scriptura indicat (qui honor non alii per trecentos annos quam L. Sullae et Cn. Pompeio et C. Caesari contigerat), pro praetore una cum consulibus designatis Hirtio et Pansa bellum cum Antonio gerere iussit. Id ab eo annum agente vicesimum fortissime circa Mutinam administratum est et D. Brutus obsidione liberatus. Antonius turpi ac nuda fuga coactus deserere Italiam, consulum autem alter in acie, alter post paucos dies ex vulnere mortem obiit.

[61] (1) The state languished, oppressed by the tyranny of Antony. All felt resentment and indignation, but no one had the power to resist, until Gaius Caesar, who had just entered his nineteenth year, with marvellous daring and supreme success, showed by his individual sagacity a courage in the state's behalf which exceeded that of the senate. (2) He summoned his father's veterans first from Calatia then from Casilinum; other veterans followed their example, and in a short time they united to form a regular army. Not long afterwards, when Antony had met the army which he had ordered to assemble at Brundisium from the provinces beyond the sea, two legions, the Martian and the fourth, learning of the feeling of the senate and the spirit shown by this courageous youth, took up their standards and went over to Caesar. (3) The senate honoured him with an equestrian statue, which is still standing upon the rostra and testifies to his years by its inscription. This is an honour which in three hundred years had fallen to the lot of Lucius Sulla, Gnaeus Pompeius, and Gaius Caesar, and to these alone. The senate commissioned him, with the rank of *propraetor*, to carry on the war against Antony in conjunction with Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls designate. (4) Now in his twentieth year, he

conducted the war at Mutina with great bravery, and the siege of Decimus Brutus there was raised. Antony was compelled to abandon Italy in undisguised and disgraceful flight. Of the two consuls, the one died upon the field of battle, and the other of his wound a few days afterwards.

Omnia ante quam fugaretur Antonius honorifice a senatu in Caesarem exercitumque eius decreta sunt maxime auctore Cicerone; sed ut recessit metus, erupit voluntas protinusque Pompeianis partibus rediit animus. Bruto Cassioque provinciae, quam iam ipsi sine ullo senatus consulto occupaverant, decretae, laudati quicumque se iis exercitus tradidissent, omnia transmarina imperia eorum commissa arbitrio. Quippe M. Brutus et C. Cassius, nunc metuentes arma Antonii, nunc ad augendam eius invidiam simulantes se metuere, testati edictis libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum rei publicae constaret concordia, nec uliam belli civilis praebituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, profecti urbe atque Italia, intento ac pari animo sine auctoritate publica provincias exercitusque occupaverant et, ubicumque ipsi essent, praetexentes esse rem publicam, pecunias etiam, quae ex transmarinis provinciis Romam ab quaestoribus deportabantur, a volentibus acceperant. Quae omnia senatus decretis comprehensa et comprobata sunt et D. Bruto, quod alieno beneficio viveret, decretus triumphus, Pansae atque Hirtii corpora publica sepultura honorata, Caesaris adeo nulla habita mentio, ut legati, qui ad exercitum eius missi erant, iuberentur summoto eo milites adloqui. Non fuit tam ingratus exercitus, quam fuerat senatus; nam cum eam iniuriam dissimulando Caesar ipse ferret, negavere milites sine imperatore suo ulla se audituros mandata. Hoc est illud tempus, quo Cicero insito amore Pompeianarum partium Caesarem laudandum et tollendum censebat, cum aliud diceret, aliud intellegi vellet.

[62] (1) Before the defeat of Antony the senate, chiefly on the motion of Cicero, passed all manner of resolutions complimentary to Caesar and his army. But, now that their fears had vanished, their real feelings broke through their disguise, and the Pompeian party once more took heart. (2) By vote of the senate, Brutus and Cassius were now confirmed in possession of the provinces which they had seized upon their own authority without any decree of the senate; the armies which had gone over to them were formally commended; (3) and Brutus and Cassius were given all authority and jurisdiction beyond the sea. It is true that these two men had issued manifestoes — at first in real fear of armed violence at the hands of Antony, and later to increase Antony's unpopularity, with the pretence of fear — manifestos in which they declared

that for the sake of ensuring harmony in the republic they were even ready to live in perpetual exile, that they would furnish no grounds for civil war, and that the consciousness of the service they had rendered by their act was ample reward. But, when they had once left Rome and Italy behind them, by deliberate agreement and without government sanction they had taken possession of provinces and armies, and under the pretence that the republic existed wherever they were, they had gone so far as to receive from the quaestors, with their own consent, it is true, the moneys which these men were conveying to Rome from the provinces across the sea. ⁽⁴⁾ All these acts were now included in the decrees of the senate and formally ratified. Decimus Brutus was voted a triumph, presumably because, thanks to another's services, he had escaped with his life. Hirtius and Pansa were honoured with a public funeral. ⁽⁵⁾ Of Caesar not a word was said. The senate even went so far as to instruct its envoys, who had been sent to Caesar's army, to confer with the soldiers alone, without the presence of their general. But the ingratitude of the senate was not shared by the army; for, though Caesar himself pretended not to see the slight, the soldiers refused to listen to any orders without the presence of their commander. ⁽⁶⁾ It was at this time that Cicero, with his deep-seated attachment for the Pompeian party, expressed the opinion, which said one thing and meant another, to the effect that Caesar "should be commended and then — elevated."

LXIII

Interim Antonius fuga transgressus Alpes, primo per conloquia repulsus a M. Lepido, qui pontifex maximus in C. Caesaris locum furto creatus decreta sibi Hispania adhuc in Gallia morabatur, mox saepius in conspectum veniens militum (cum et Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores et multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius), per aversa castrorum proruto vallo a militibus receptus est. Qui titulo imperii cedebat Lepido, cum summa virium penes eum foret. Sub Antonii ingressum in castra Iuventius Laterensis, vir vita ac morte consentaneus, cum acerrime suasisset Lepido, ne se cum Antonio hoste iudicato iungeret, inritus consilii gladio se ipse transfixit. Plancus deinde dubia, id est sua, fide, diu quarum esset partium secum luctatus ac sibi difficile consentiens, et nunc adiutor D. Bruti designati consulis, collegae sui, senatuique se litteris venditans, mox eiusdem proditor, Asinius autem Pollio firmus proposito et Iulianis partibus fidus, Pompeianis adversus, uterque exercitus tradidere Antonio.

[63] (1) Meanwhile Antony in his flight had crossed the Alps, and at first made overtures to Marcus Lepidus which were rejected. Now Lepidus had surreptitiously been made pontifex in Caesar's place, and, though the province of Spain had been assigned to him, was still lingering in Gaul. Later, however, Antony showed himself several times to the soldiers of Lepidus, and being, when sober, better than most commanders, whereas none could be worse than Lepidus, he was admitted by the soldiers through a breach which they made in the fortifications in the rear of the camp. Antony still permitted Lepidus to hold the nominal command, while he himself held the real authority. (2) At the time when Antony entered the camp, Iuventius Laterensis, who had strongly urged Lepidus not to ally himself with Antony now that he had been declared an enemy of the state, finding his advice of no avail ran himself through with his own sword, consistent unto death. Later Plancus and Pollio both handed over their armies to Antony. (3) Plancus, with his usual loose idea of loyalty, after a long debate with himself as to which party to follow, and much difficulty in sticking to his resolutions when formed, now pretended to co-operate with his colleague, Decimus Brutus, the consul designate, thus seeking to ingratiate himself with the senate in his dispatches, and again betrayed him. But Asinius Pollio, steadfast in his resolution, remained loyal to

the Julian party and continued to be an adversary of the Pompeians.

LXIV

D. Brutus desertus primo a Planco, postea etiam insidiis eiusdem petitus, paulatim relinquente eum exercitu fugiens in hospitis cuiusdam nobilis viri, nomine Cameli, domo ab iis, quos miserat Antonius, iugulatus est iustissimasque optime de se merito viro C. Caesari poenas dedit, cuius cum primus omnium amicorum fuisset, interfector fuit et fortunae, ex qua fructum tulerat, invidiam in auctorem relegabat censebatque aequum, quae acceperat a Caesare retinere, Caesarem, qui illa dederat, perire. Haec sunt tempora, quibus M. Tullius continuus, actionibus aeternas Antonii memoriae inussit notas, sed hic fulgentissimo et caelesti ore, at tribunus Cannutius canina rabie lacerabat Antonium. Utrique vindicta libertatis morte stetit; sed tribuni sanguine commissa proscripio, Ciceronis velut satiatio Antonio paene finita. Lepidus deinde a senatu hostis iudicatus est, ut ante fuerat Antonius.

[64] (1) Decimus Brutus, first abandoned by Plancus, and later actually the object of his plots, deserted little by little by his army, and now a fugitive, was slain by the emissaries of Antony in the house of a noble named Camelus with whom he had taken refuge. He thus met his just deserts and paid the penalty of his treason to Gaius Caesar by whom he had been treated so well. (2) He who had been the foremost of all Caesar's friends became his assassin, and while he threw upon Caesar the odious responsibility for the fortune of which he himself had reaped the benefits, he thought it fair to retain what he had received at Caesar's hands, and for Caesar, who had given it all, to perish.

(3) This is the period when Cicero in a series of speeches branded the memory of Antony for all time to come. Cicero assailed Antony with his brilliant and god-given tongue, whereas Cannutius the tribune tore him to pieces with the ravaging of a mad dog. Each paid with his life for his defence of liberty. (4) The proscription was ushered in by the slaying of the tribune; it practically ended with the death of Cicero, as though Antony were now sated with blood. Lepidus was now declared by the senate an enemy of the state, as Antony had been before him.

Tum inter eum Caesaremque et Antonium commercia epistularum et condicionum facta mentio, cum Antonius subinde Caesarem admoneret, quam inimicae ipsi Pompeianae partes forent et in quod iam emersissent fastigium et quanto Ciceronis studio Brutus Cassiusque attollerentur, denuntiaretque se cum Bruto Cassioque, qui iam decem et septem legionum potentes erant, iuncturum vires suas, si Caesar eius aspernaretur concordiam, diceretque plus Caesarem patris quam se amici ultioni debere. Tum inita potentiae societas et hortantibus orantibusque exercitibus inter Antonium etiam et Caesarem facta adfinitas, cum esset privigna Antonii desponsata Caesari. Consulatumque iniit Caesar pridie quam viginti annos impleret decimo Kal. Octobres cum collega Q. Pedio post urbem conditam annis septingentis et novem, ante duos et septuaginta, quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires. Vidit hic annus Ventidium, per quam urbem inter captivos Picentium in triumpho ductus erat, in ea consularem praetextam iungentem praetoria. Idem hic postea triumphavit.

[65] (1) Then began an interchange of letters between Lepidus, Caesar, and Antony, and terms of agreement were suggested. Antony reminded Caesar how hostile to him the Pompeian party was, to what a height they had now risen, and how zealously Cicero was extolling Brutus and Cassius. Antony threatened to join forces with Brutus and Cassius, who had now control of seventeen legions, if Caesar rejected this friendly gesture, and said that Caesar was under greater obligations to avenge a father than he to avenge a friend. (2) Then began their partnership in political power, and, on the urgent advice and entreaty of the armies, a marriage alliance was also made between Antony and Caesar, in which Antony's stepdaughter was betrothed to Caesar. Caesar, with Quintus Pedius as colleague, entered on the consulship one day before the completion of his twentieth year on the twenty-second of September, seven hundred and nine years after the founding of the city and seventy-two, Marcus Vinicius, before the beginning of your consulship.

(3) This year saw Ventidius joining the robes of the consular office to those of praetor in the very city in which he had been led in triumph among the Picentine captives. He also lived to celebrate a triumph of his own.

Furente deinde Antonio simulque Lepido, quorum uterque, ut praediximus, hostes iudicati erant, cum ambo mallent sibi nuntiari, quid passi essent, quam quid meruissent, repugnante Caesare, sed frustra adversus duos, instauratum Sullani exempli malum, proscriptio. Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Caesar aliquem proscribere coactus est aut ab ullo Cicero proscriptus est. Abscisaque scelere Antonii vox publica est, cum eius salutem nemo defendisset, qui per tot annos et publicam civitatis et privatam civium defenderat. Nihil tamen egisti, M. Antoni (cogit enim excedere propositi formam operis erumpens animo ac pectore indignatio) nihil, inquam, egisti mercedem caelestissimi oris et clarissimi capitis abscisi numerando auctoramentoque funebri ad conservatoris quondam rei publicae tantique consulis inritando necem. Rapuisti tu M. Ciceroni lucem sollicitam et aetatem senilem et vitam miseriorem te principe quam sub te triumviro mortem, famam vero gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non abstulisti, ut auxeris. Vivit vivetque per omnem saeculorum memoriam, dumque hoc vel forte vel providentia vel utcumque constitutum rerum naturae corpus, quod ille paene solus Romanorum animo vidit, ingenio complexus est, eloquentia inluminavit, manebit incolume, comitem aevi sui laudem Ciceronis trahet omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mirabitur, tuum in eum factum execrabitur citiusque e mundo genus hominum quam Ciceronis nomen cedit.

[66] (1) Then the vengeful resentment of Antony and Lepidus — for each of them had been declared public enemies, as has already been stated, and both preferred to hear accounts of what they had suffered, rather than of what they had deserved, at the hands of the senate — renewed the horror of the Sullan proscription. Caesar protested, but without avail, being but one against two. (2) The climax of the shame of this time was that Caesar should be forced to proscribe any one, or that any one should proscribe the name of Cicero. By the crime of Antony, when Cicero was beheaded the voice of the people was severed, nor did anyone raise a hand in defence of the man who for so many years had protected the interests both of the state and of the private citizen. (3) But you accomplished nothing, Mark Antony — for the indignation that surges in my breast compels me to exceed the bounds I have set for my narrative — you accomplished nothing, I say, by offering a reward for the

sealing of those divine lips and the severing of that illustrious head, and by encompassing with a death-fee the murder of so great a consul and of the man who once had saved the state. ⁽⁴⁾ You took from Marcus Cicero a few anxious days, a few senile years, a life which would have been more wretched under your domination than was his death in your triumvirate; but you did not rob him of his fame, the glory of his deeds and words, nay you but enhanced them. ⁽⁵⁾ He lives and will continue to live in the memory of the ages, and so long as this universe shall endure — this universe which, whether created by chance, or by divine providence, or by whatever cause, he, almost alone of all the Romans, saw with the eye of his mind, grasped with his intellect, illumined with his eloquence — so long shall it be accompanied throughout the ages by the fame of Cicero. All posterity will admire the speeches that he wrote against you, while your deed to him will call forth their execrations, and the race of man shall sooner pass from the world than the name of Cicero be forgotten.

LVII

Huius totius temporis fortunam ne deflere quidem quisquam satis digne potuit, adeo nemo exprimere verbis potest. Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam, adeo difficilis est hominibus utcumque conceptae spei mora. Ne quid ulli sanctum relinqueretur, velut ia dotem invitamentumque sceleris Antonius L. Caesarem avunculum, Lepidus Paulum fratrem proscripserant; nec Planco gratia defuit ad impetrandum, ut frater eius Plancus Plotius proscriberetur. Eoque inter iocos militaris, qui currum Lepidi Plancique secuti erant, inter execrationem civium usurpabant hunc versum: De germanis, non de Gallis duo triumphant consules.

[67] (1) No one has even been able to deplore the fortunes of this whole period with such tears as the theme deserves, much less can one now describe it in words. One thing, however, demands comment, that (2) toward the proscribed their wives showed the greatest loyalty, their freedmen not a little, their slaves some, their sons none. So hard is it for men to brook delays in the realization of their ambitions, whatever they might be. (3) That no sacred tie might escape inviolate, and, as it were, as an inducement and invitation to such atrocities, Antony had Lucius Caesar, his uncle, placed upon the list, and Lepidus his own brother Paulus. Plancus also had sufficient influence to cause his brother Plancus Plotius to be enrolled among the proscribed. (4) And so the troops who followed the triumphal car of Lepidus and Plancus kept repeating among the soldiers' jests, but amid the execrations of the citizens, the following line: Brothers-german our two consuls triumph over, not the Gauls.

LVIII

Suo praeteritum loco referatur; neque enim persona umbram actae rei capit. Dum in acie Pharsalica acriter de summa rerum Caesar dimicat, M. Caelius, vir eloquio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque perfectior nec minus ingeniose nequam, cum ne modica quidem solvere ac servari posset (quippe peior illi res familiaris quam mens erat), in praetura novarum tabularum auctor extitit nequiique senatus et consulis auctoritate deterreri; accito etiam Milone Annio, qui non impetrato reditu Iulianis partibus infestus erat, in urbe seditionem, in agris haud occulte bellicum tumultum movens, primo summotus a re publica, mox consularibus armis auctore senatu circa Thurios oppressus est. In incepto pari similis fortuna Milonis fuit, qui Compsam in Hirpinis oppugnans ictusque lapide cum P. Clodio, tum patriae, quam armis petebat, poenas dedit, vir inquires et ultra fortem temerarius. Quatenus autem aliquid ex omissis peto, notetur immodica et intempestiva, libertate usos adversus C. Caesarem Marullum Epidium Flavumque Caesetium tribunos plebis, dum arguunt in eo regni voluntatem, paene vim dominationis expertos. In hoc tamen saepe lacessiti principis ira excessit, ut censoria potius contentus nota quam animadversione dictatoria summo veret eos a re publica testareturque esse sibi miserrimum, quod aut natura sua ei excedendum foret aut minuenda dignitas. Sed ad ordinem revertendum est.

68 ⁽¹⁾ Let me now relate a matter which I omitted in its proper place, for the person involved does not permit the deed to rest in obscurity. This person is Marcus Caelius, a man closely resembling Curio in eloquence and in spirit, though more than his peer in either, and quite as clever in his worthlessness. Being quite as bankrupt in property as in character and unable to save himself by paying even a reasonable proportion of his debts, ⁽²⁾ he came forward in his praetorship, at the time when Caesar was fighting for the control of affairs on the field of Pharsalus, as the author of a law for the cancellation of debts, nor could he be deterred from his course by the authority of either the senate or the consul. Calling to his aid Milo Annius, who was hostile to the Caesarian party because he had failed to secure from them his recall, he stirred up a sedition in the city, and openly raised armed bands in the country. He was first banished from the state and was later overcome at Thurii by the army of the consul, on the order of the senate. ⁽³⁾ A like fortune attended a similar attempt

by Milo. While besieging Compsa, a city of the Hirpini, he was struck by a stone, and thus the restless man, too reckless to be called brave, paid the penalty he owed to Publius Clodius and to his country, against which he was bearing arms.

(4) While engaged in supplying omissions I should note the intemperate and untimely display of independence shown towards Caesar by Marullus Epidius and Flavius Caesetius, tribunes of the people, who in charging him with the desire for the kingship, came near feeling the effects of his absolute power. Though Caesar was constantly provoked by them, (5) the only outcome of his wrath was that he was satisfied to brand them through the employment of his power as censor, and refrained from punishing them as dictator by banishing them from the state; and he expressed his great regret that he had no alternative but to depart from his customary clemency or suffer loss of dignity. But I must now return to the regular order of my narrative.

Iam et Dolabella in Asia C. Trebonium consularem, cui succedebat, fraude deceptum Zmyrnae occiderat, virum adversus merita Caesaris ingratiſſimum participemque caedis eius, a quo ipse in consulare proventus fastigium fuerat; et C. Cassius acceptis a Statio Murco et Crispo Marcio, praetoriis viris imperatoribusque, praevalidis in Syria legionibus, inclusum Dolabellam, qui praeoccupata Asia in Syriam pervenerat, Laodiciae expugnata ea urbe interfecerat (ita tamen, ut ad ictum servi sui Dolabella non segniter cervicem daret) et decem legiones in eo tractu sui iuris fecerat; et M. Brutus C. Antonio, fratri M. Antonii, in Macedonia Vatinioque circa Dyrrachium volentis legiones extorserat (sed Antonium bello lacerasset, Vatinium diſſimulatione obruerat, cum et Brutus cuilibet ducum praeferendus videretur et Vatinus nulli non esset postferendus, in quo deformitas corporis cum turpitudine certabat ingenii, adeo ut animus eius dignissimo domicilio inclusus videretur) eratque septem legionibus validus. At lege Pedia, quam consul Pedius collega Caesaris tulerat, omnibus, qui Caesarem patrem interfecerant, aqua ignique interdictum erat. Quo tempore Capito, patruus meus, vir ordinis senatorii, Agrippae subscripsit in C. Cassium. Dumque ea in Italia geruntur, acri atque prosperrimo bello Cassius Rhodum, rem inmanis operis, cepit, Brutus Lycios devicerat, et inde in Macedoniam exercitus traiecerat, cum per omnia repugnans naturae suae Cassius etiam Bruti clementiam vinceret. Neque reperias, quos aut pronior fortuna comitata sit aut veluti fatigata maturius destituerit quam Brutum et Cassium.

[69] (1) Meanwhile in Asia, Dolabella, who succeeded Gaius Trebonius as governor, had surprised the latter at Smyrna and had put him to death, a man who had showed the basest ingratitude in return for Caesar's kindness, and had shared in the murder of him to whom he owed his advancement to the consulship. Dolabella had already occupied Asia and had passed over into Syria when Gaius Cassius, taking over their strong legions from Statius Murcus and Crispus Marcus, both praetorians who had been saluted as imperator by their troops, shut him up in Laodicea and by taking that city had caused his death; for Dolabella had promptly offered his neck to the sword of his own slave. Cassius also gained control of ten legions in that part of the empire. Marcus Brutus had raised his strength to seven legions by wresting their troops, by

voluntary transfer of allegiance, ⁽³⁾ from Gaius Antonius, the brother of Marcus Antonius, in Macedonia, and from Vatinius in the vicinity of Dyrrachium. Brutus had been obliged to offer battle to Antony, but Vatinius he had overwhelmed by the weight of his own reputation, since Brutus was preferable to any general, while no man could rank lower than Vatinius, ⁽⁴⁾ whose deformity of body was rivalled to such an extent by the baseness of his character, that his spirit seemed to be housed in an abode that was thoroughly worthy of it.

⁽⁵⁾ By the Pedian law, proposed by Peditius, Caesar's colleague in the consulship, a decree of banishment was passed upon all the assassins of Caesar. At this time Capito, my uncle, a man of senatorial rank, assisted Agrippa in securing the condemnation of Gaius Cassius. ⁽⁶⁾ While all this was taking place in Italy, Cassius in a vigorous and successful campaign had taken Rhodes, an undertaking of great difficulty. Brutus had meanwhile conquered the Lycians. The armies of both then crossed into Macedonia, where Cassius, contrary to his nature, uniformly outdid even Brutus in clemency. One will hardly find men who were ever attended by a more favourable fortune than Brutus and Cassius, or who were more quickly deserted by her, as though she were weary.

Tum Caesar et Antonius traiecerunt exercitus in Macedoniam et apud urbem Philippos cum Bruto Cassioque acie concurrerunt. Cornu, cui Brutus praeerat, impulsis hostibus castra Caesaris cepit (nam ipse Caesar, etiamsi infirmissimus valetudine erat, obibat munia ducis, oratus etiam ab Artorio medico, ne in castris remaneret, manifesta denuntiatione quietis territo), id autem, in quo Cassius fuerat, fugatum ac male mulcatum in altiora se receperat loca. Tum Cassius ex sua fortuna eventum collegae aestimans, cum dimisisset evocatum iussissetque nuatiare sibi, quae esset multitudo ac vis hominum, quae ad se tenderet, tardius eo nuntiante, cum in vicino esset agmen cursu ad eum tendentiurn neque pulvere facies aut signa denotari possent, existimans hostes esse, qui irruerent, lacerna caput circumdedit extentamque cervicem interritus liberto praebuit. Deciderat Cassii caput, cum evocatus advenit nuntians Brutum esse victorem. Qui cum imperatorem prostratum videret: “sequar”, inquit, “eum, quem mea occidit tarditas, et ita in gladium incubuit”. Post paucos deinde dies Brutus confligit cum hostibus et victus acie cum in tumulum nocte ex fuga se recepisset, impetravit a Stratone Aegeate, familiari suo, ut manum morituro commodaret sibi; reiectoque laevo super caput brachio, cum mucronem gladii eius dextera tenens sinistrae admovisset mammillae ad eum ipsum locum, qua cor emicat, impellens se in vulnus uno ictu transfixus expiravit protinus.

[70] (1) Then Caesar and Antonius transported their armies to Macedonia, and met Brutus and Cassius in battle near the city of Philippi. The wing under the command of Brutus, after defeating the enemy, captured Caesar's camp; for Caesar was performing his duties as commander although he was in the poorest of health, and had been urged not to remain in camp by Artorius his physician, who had been frightened by a warning which had appeared to him in his sleep. On the other hand, the wing commanded by Cassius had been routed and roughly handled, and had retreated with much loss to higher ground. (2) Then Cassius, judging his colleague's success by his own fortune, sent a veteran with instructions to report to him what was the large force of men which was now bearing down in his direction. As the orderly was slow in reporting, and the force approaching at a run was now close, while their identity and their standards could not be recognized for the dust, imagining

that the troops rushing on him were those of the enemy, he covered his head with his military cloak and undismayed presented his neck to the sword of his freedman. ⁽³⁾ The head of Cassius had scarcely fallen when the orderly arrived with the report that Brutus was victorious. But when he saw his commander lying prostrate, he uttered the words, "I shall follow him whose death my tardiness has caused," and fell upon his sword.

⁽⁴⁾ A few days later Brutus met the enemy, and was beaten in battle. In retreat he withdrew at nightfall to a hill, and there prevailed upon Strato of Aegaeae, one of his household, to lend him his hand in his resolve to die. ⁽⁵⁾ Raising his left arm above his head, and with his right holding the point of Strato's sword he brought it close to the left nipple, at the place where the heart beats, and throwing himself upon the sword he died at once, transfixed by the stroke.

Messalla, fulgentissimus iuvenis, proximus in illis castris Bruti Cassique auctoritati, cum essent qui eum ducem poscerent, servari beneficio Caesaris maluit quam dubiam spem armorum temptare amplius; nec aut Caesari quidquam ex victoriis suis fuit laetius quam servasse Corvinum aut maius exemplum hominis grati ac pii, quam Corvinus in Caesarem fuit. Non aliud bellum cruentius caede clarissimorum virorum fuit. Tum Catonis filius cecidit; eadem Lucullum Hortensiumque, eminentissimorum civium filios, fortuna abstulit; nam Varro ad ludibrium moriturus Antonii digna illo ac vera de exitu eius magna cum libertate ominatus est. Drusus Livius, Iuliae Augustae pater, et Varus Quintilius ne temptata quidem hostis misericordia alter se ipse in tabernaculo interemit, Varus autem liberti, quem id facere coegerat, manu, cum se insignibus honorum velasset, iugulatus est.

[71] (1) Messalla, a young man of brilliant parts, was next in authority to Brutus and Cassius in their camp. Although there were those who urged him to take command, he preferred to owe his safety to the kindness of Caesar than to try once again the doubtful hope of arms. Caesar, on his side, found no greater pleasure in his victories than in granting life to Corvinus, nor was there ever a better example of loyal gratitude than that shown by Corvinus to Caesar. No other war cost the blood of so many illustrious men. In that battle the son of Cato fell; (2) the same fortune carried off Lucullus and Hortensius, the sons of eminent citizens. Varro, when about to die, in mockery of Antony, with the utmost freedom of speech prophesied for Antony the death he deserved, a prophecy which came true. Drusus Livius, the father of Julia Augusta, and Quintilius Varus, without making any appeal for mercy, ended their lives. Livius died by his own hand in his tent; Varus first covered himself with the insignia of his offices and then forced his freedman to commit the deed.

Hunc exitum M. Bruti partium septimum et tricesimum annum agentis fortuna esse voluit, incorrupto animo eius in diem, quae illi omnes virtutes unius temeritate facti abstulit. Fuit autem dux Cassius melior, quanto vir Brutus: e quibus Brutum amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres Cassium; in altero maior vis, in altero virtus: qui si vicissent, quantum rei publicae interfuit Caesarem potius habere quam Antonium principem, tantum retulisset habere Brutum quam Cassium. Cn. Domitius, pater L. Domitii nuper a nobis visi, eminentissimae ac nobilissimae simplicitatis viri, avus huius Cn. Domitii, clarissimi iuvenis, occupatis navibus cum magno sequentium consilia sua comitatu fugae fortunaeque se commisit, semet ipso contentus duce partium. Statius Murcus, qui classi et custodiae maris prae fuerat, cum omni commissa sibi parte exercitus naviumque Sex. Pompeium, Cn. Magni filium, qui ex Hispania revertens Siciliam armis occupaverat, petiit. Ad quem et e Brutianis castris et ex Italia aliisque terrarum partibus, quos praesenti periculo fortuna subduxerat, proscripti confluebant: quippe nullum habentibus statum quilibet dux erat idoneus, cum fortuna non electionem daret, sed perfugium ostenderet exitialemque tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret.

[72] (1) This was the end reserved by fortune for the party of Marcus Brutus. He was in his thirty-seventh year, and had kept his soul free from corruption until this day, which, through the rashness of a single act, bereft him, together with his life, of all his virtuous qualities. (2) Cassius was as much the better general as Brutus was the better man. Of the two, one would rather have Brutus as a friend, but would stand more in fear of Cassius as an enemy. The one had more vigour, the other more virtue. As it was better for the state to have Caesar rather than Antony as emperor, so, had Brutus and Cassius been the conquerors, it would have been better for is to be ruled by Brutus rather than by Cassius.

(3) Gnaeus Domitius, father of Lucius Domitius our late contemporary, a man of eminent and noble simplicity, and grandfather of Gnaeus Domitius, a young man of distinction in our own day, seized a number of ships, and relying on himself to lead his party, accompanied by a large number of companions who followed his lead, entrusted himself to the fortunes of flight.

(4) Statius Murcus, who had had charge of the fleet and the patrolling of the

seas, sought Sextus Pompey, son of Pompeius Magnus, with that portion of the army and of the fleet which had been entrusted to him. Pompey had returned from Spain and seized Sicily. ⁽⁵⁾ The proscribed whom fortune had spared, at least from immediate peril, now flocked to him from the camp of Brutus, from Italy, and from other parts of the world. For men who had now no legal status any leader would do, since fortune gave them no choice, but held out a place of refuge, and as they fled from the storm of death any shelter served as a harbour.

LXXIII

Hic adulescens erat studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatu celer, fide patri dissimillimus, libertorum suorum libertus servorumque servus, speciosis invidens, ut pareret humillimis. Quem senatus paene totus adhuc e Pompeianis constans partibus post Antonii a Mutina fugam eodem illo tempore, quo Bruto Cassioque transmarinas provincias decreverat, revocatum ex Hispania, ubi adversus eum clarissimum bellum Pollio Asinius praetorius gesserat, in paterna bona, restituerat et orae maritimae praefecerat. Is tum, ut praediximus, occupata Sicilia servitia fugitivosque in numerum exercitus sui recipiens magnum modum legionum effecerat perque Menam et Menecraten paternos libertos, praefectos classium, latrociniis ac praedationibus infestato mari ad se exercitumque tuendum raptu utebatur, cum eum non depucleret vindicatum armis ac ductu patris sui mare infestare piraticis sceleribus.

[73] (1) Sextus was a young man without education, barbarous in his speech, vigorous in initiative, energetic and prompt in action as he was swift in expedients, in loyalty a marked contrast to his father, the freedman of his own freedmen and slave of his own slaves, envying those in high places only to obey those in the lowest. (2) The senate, which still consisted almost entirely of Pompeians, in the period which followed the flight of Antony from Mutina, and at the very time at which it had assigned to Brutus and Cassius the provinces across the sea, had recalled Sextus for Spain — where Pollio Asinius the praetorian had distinguished himself in his campaigns against him — restored him to his father's property, and had entrusted to him the guarding of the coast. (3) Seizing Sicily, as we have said, and admitting into his army slaves and runaways, he had raised his legions to their full complement. He supported himself and his army on plunder, and through the agency of Menas and Menecrates, his father's freedmen, who were in charge of his fleet, he infested the seas by predatory and piratical expeditions; nor was he ashamed thus to infest with piracy and its atrocities the sea which had been freed from it by his father's arms and leadership.

Fractis Brutianis Cassianisque partibus Antonius transmarinas obiturus provincias substitit. Caesar in Italiam se recepit eamque longe quam speraverat tumultuosiore repperit. Quippe L. Antonius consul, vitiorum fratris sui consors, sed virtutum, quae interdum in illo erant, expers, modo apud veteranos criminatus Caesarem, modo eos, qui iussa divisione praediorum nominatisque coloniis agros amiserant, ad arma conciens magnum exercitum conflaverat. Ex altera parte uxor Antonii Fulvia, nihil muliebri praeter corpus gerens, omnia armis tumultuque miscebat. Haec belli sedem Praeneste ceperat; Antonius pulsus undique viribus Caesaris Perusiam se contulerat: Plancus, Antonianarum adiutor partium, spem magis ostenderat auxilii, quam opem ferebat Antonio. Usus Caesar virtute et fortuna sua Perusiam expugnavit. Antonium inviolatum dimisit, in Perusinos magis ira militum quam voluntate saevitum ducis: urbs incensa, cuius initium incendii princeps eius loci fecit Macedonicus, qui subiecto rebus ac penetibus suis igni transfixum se gladio flammae intulit.

[74] (1) After the defeat of the party of Brutus and Cassius, Antony remained behind with the intention of visiting the provinces beyond the sea. Caesar returned to Italy, which he found in a much more troubled condition than he had expected. (2) Lucius Antonius, the consul, who shared the faults of his brother but possessed none of the virtues which he occasionally showed, by making charges against Caesar before the veterans at one moment, and at the next inciting to arms those who had lost their farms when the division of lands was ordered and colonists assigned, had collected a large army. In another quarter Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had nothing of the woman in her except her sex, was creating general confusion by armed violence. (3) She had taken Praeneste as her base of operations; Antonius, beaten on all sides by the forces of Caesar, had taken refuge in Perugia; Plancus, who abetted the faction of Antony, offered the hope of assistance, rather than gave actual help. Thanks to his own valour and his usual good fortune, Caesar succeeded in storming Perugia. He released Antonius unharmed; and the cruel treatment of the people of Perugia was due rather to the fury of the soldiery than to the wish of their commander. The city was burned. The fire was begun by Macedonicus, a leading man of the place who, after setting fire to his house and contents, ran

himself through with his sword and threw himself into the flames.

Per eadem tempora exarserat in Campania bellum, quod professus eorum, qui perdiderant agros, patrocinium ciebat Ti. Claudius Nero praetorius et pontiex, Ti. Caesaris pater, magni vir animi doctissimique et ingenii. Id quoque adventu Caesaris sepultum atque discussum est. Quis fortunae mutationes, quis dubios rerum humanarum casus satis mirari queat? Quis non diversa praesentibus contrariaque expectatis aut speret aut timeat? Livia, nobilissimi et fortissimi viri Drusi Claudiani filia, genere, probitate, forma Romanarum eminentissima, quam postea coniugem Augusti vidimus, quam transgressi ad deos sacerdotem ac filiam, tum fugiens mox futuri sui Caesaris arma ac manus bimum hunc Tiberium Caesarem, vindicem Romani imperii futurumque eiusdem Caesaris filium, gestans sinu, per avia itinerum vitatis militum gladiis uno comitante, quo facilius occultaretur fuga, pervenit ad mare et cum viro Nerone pervecta in Siciliam est.

[75] (1) At the same period war broke out in Campania at the instigation of the ex-praetor and pontiff, Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius Caesar, and a man of noble character and high intellectual training, who now came forward as the protector of those who had lost their lands. This war also was quickly extinguished and its embers scattered by the arrival of Caesar.

(2) Who can adequately express his astonishment at the changes of fortune, and the mysterious vicissitudes in human affairs? Who can refrain from hoping for a lot different from that which he now has, or from dreading the one that is the opposite of what he expects? (3) Take for example Livia. She, the daughter of the brave and noble Drusus Claudianus, most eminent of Roman women in birth, in sincerity, and in beauty, she, whom we later saw as the wife of Augustus, and as his priestess and daughter after his deification, was then a fugitive before the arms and forces of the very Caesar who was soon to be her husband, carrying in her bosom her infant of two years, the present emperor Tiberius Caesar, destined to be the defender of the Roman empire and the son of this same Caesar. Pursuing by-paths that she might avoid the swords of the soldiers, and accompanied by but one attendant, so as the more readily to escape detection in her flight, she finally reached the sea, and with her husband Nero made her escape by ship to Sicily.

Quod alieno testimonium redderem, eo non fraudabo avum meum. Quippe C.Velleius, honoratissimo inter illos trecentos et sexaginta iudices loco a Cn.Pompeio lectus, eiusdem Marcique Bruti ac Ti. Neronis praefectus fabrum, vir nulli secundus, in Campania digressu Neronis a Neapoli, cuius ob singularem cum eo amicitiam partium adiutor fuerat, gravis iam aetate et corpore cum comes esse non posset, gladio se ipse transfixit. Inviolatam excedere Italia Caesar passus est Fulviam Plancumque, muliebris fugae comitem. Nam Pollio Asinius cum septem legionibus, diu retenta in potestate Antonii Venetia, magnis speciosisque rebus circa Altinum aliasque eius regionis urbes editis, Antonium petens, vagum adhuc Domitium, quem digressum e Brutianis castris post caedem eius praediximus et propriae classis factum ducem, consiliis suis inlectum ac fide data iunxit Antonio: quo facto, quisquis aequum se praestiterit, sciat non minus a Pollione in Antonium quam ab Antonio in Pollionem esse conlatum. Adventus deinde in Italiam Antonii apparatusque contra eum Caesaris habuit belli metum, sed pax circa Brundisium composita. Per quae tempora Rufi Salvidieni scelestas consilia patefacta sunt. Qui natus obscurissimis initiis parum habebat summa accepisse et proximus a Cn.Pompeio ipsoque Caesare equestris ordinis consul creatus esse, nisi in id ascendisset, e quo infra se et Caesarem videret et rem publicam.

[76] (1) I shall not deprive my own grandfather of the honourable mention which I should give to a stranger. Gaius Velleius, chosen to a most honourable position among the three hundred and sixty judges by Gnaeus Pompey, prefect of engineers under Pompey, Marcus Brutus, and Tiberius Nero, and a man second to none, on the departure from Naples of Nero, whose partisan he had been on account of his close friendship, finding himself unable to accompany him on account of his age and infirmities, (2) ran himself through with his sword in Campania.

Caesar allowed Fulvia to depart from Italy unharmed, and with her Plancus who accompanied the woman in her flight. As for Pollio Asinius, after he with his seven legions had long kept Venetia under the control of Antony, and after he had accomplished several brilliant exploits in the vicinity of Altinum and other cities of that region, when he was on his way to join Antony with these

legions he won Domitius over to the cause of Antony by his counsel and by the pledge of immunity. Up to this time Domitius, who, as we have already said, had quitted the camp of Brutus after that leader's death and had established himself in command of a fleet of his own, had remained at large. (3) In view of this act of Pollio any fair judge will see that he rendered as great a service to Antony as Antony rendered to him. The return of Antony to Italy and Caesar's preparations against him gave rise to fears of war, but a peace was arranged at Brundisium.

(4) It was at this time that the criminal designs of Rufus Salvidienus were revealed. This man, sprung from the most obscure origin, was not satisfied with having received the highest honours in the state, and to have been the first man of equestrian rank after Gnaeus Pompey and Caesar himself to be elected consul, but aspired to mount to a height where he might see both Caesar and the republic at his feet.

Tum expostulante consensu populi, quem gravis urebat infesto mari annona, cum Pompeio quoque circa Misenum pax inita, qui haud absurde, cum in navi Caesaremque et Antonium cena exciperet, dixit in carinis suis se cenam dare, referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo paterna domus ab Antonio possidebatur. In hoc pacis foedere placuit Siciliam Achaïamque Pompeio concedere, in quo tamen animus inquires manere non potuit. Id unum tantummodo salutare adventu suo patriae attulit, quod omnibus proscriptis aliisque, qui ad eum ex diversis causis fugerant, reditum salutemque pactus est: quae res et alios clarissimos viros et Neronem Claudium et M. Silanum Sentiumque Saturninum et Arruntium ac Titium restituit rei publicae. Statium autem Murcum, qui adventu suo classisque celeberrimae vires eius duplicaverat, insimulatum falsis criminationibus, quia talem virum collegam officii Mena et Menecrates fastidierant, Pompeius in Sicilia interfecerat.

[77] (1) Then in response to a unanimous demand on the part of the people, who were now pinched by the high price of grain because the sea was infested by pirates, a peace was arranged with Pompey also, in the neighbourhood of Misenum. Pompey entertained Caesar and Antony at dinner on board his ship, on which occasion he remarked, not without point, that he was giving the dinner on "his own keels," thereby recalling the name of the quarter in which stood his father's house, now in the possession of Antony. (2) By the terms of this treaty it was agreed that Sicily and Achaëa should be conceded to Pompey, but his restless soul would not let him abide by the agreement. There was only one benefit which he rendered to his country by attending the conference, namely, the stipulation that all those who had been proscribed, or who for any other reason had taken refuge with him, should be granted a safe return. Among other illustrious men, Nero Claudius, Marcus Silanus, Sentius Saturninus, Arruntius and Titius were thereby restored to the state. As to Statius Murcus, however, who had doubled Pompey's forces by joining him with his strong fleet, Pompey had already put him to death in Sicily as the result of false accusations which had been brought against him, Menas and Menecrates having expressed a dislike for such a man as their colleague.

LXXVIII

Hoc tractu temporum Octaviam, sororem Caesaris, M. Antonius duxit uxorem. Redierat Pompeius in Siciliam, Antonius in transmarinas provincias, quas magnis momentis Labienus, ex Brutianis castris profectus ad Parthos, perducto eorum exercitu in Syriam interfectoque legato Antonii concusserat; qui virtute et ductu Ventidii una cum Parthorum copiis celeberrimoque iuvenum Pacoro, regis filio, extinctus est. Caesar per haec tempora, ne res disciplinae inimicissima, otium, corrumperet militem, crebris in Illyrico Delmatiaque expeditionibus patientia periculorum bellicae experientia durabat exercitum. Eadem tempestate Calvinus Domitius, cum ex consulatu obtineret Hispaniam, gravissimi comparandae antiquis exempli auctor fuit: quippe primi pili centurionem nomine Vibillum ob turpem ex acie fugam fusti percussit.

[78] (1) It was during this period that Marcus Antonius espoused Octavia, the sister of Caesar. Pompey had now returned to Sicily, and Antony to the provinces across the sea, which Labienus had thrown into a panic in consequence of the great movements he had set on foot; for he had gone from the camp of Brutus to the Parthians, had led a Parthian army into Syria, and had slain a lieutenant of Antony. Thanks to the courageous generalship of Ventidius, Labienus perished in the battle and with him the forces of the Parthians, including the most distinguished of their young men, Pacorus, son of the Parthian king.

(2) During this time Caesar, wishing to keep his soldiers from being spoiled by idleness, the great enemy of discipline, was making frequent expeditions in Illyricum and Dalmatia and thus hardening his army by endurance of danger and experience in warfare. (3) At this time also Calvinus Domitius, who, after filling the consulship, was now governor of Spain, executed a rigorous act of discipline comparable with the severity of the older days, in that he caused a chief centurion by the name of Vibillius to be beaten to death for cowardly flight from the line of battle.

Crescente in dies et classe et fama Pompei Caesar molem belli eius suscipere statuit. Aedificandis navibus contrahendoque militi ac remigi navalibusque adsuescendo certaminibus atque exercitationibus praefectus est M. Agrippa, virtutis nobilissimae, labore, vigilia, periculo invictus parendique, sed uni, scientissimus, aliis sane imperandi cupidus et per omnia extra dilationes positus consultisque facta coniungens. Hic in Averno ac Lucrino lacu speciosissima classe fabricata cotidianis exercitationibus militem remigemque ad summam et militaris et maritimae rei perduxit scientiam. Hac classi Caesar, cum prius despondente ei Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat Liviam, auspicatis rei publicae ominibus duxisset eam uxorem, Pompeio Siciliaeque bellum intulit. Sed virum humana ope invictum graviter eo tempore fortuna concussit: quippe longe maiorem partem classis circa Veliam Palinurique promontorium adorta vis Africi laceravit ac distulit. Ea patrando bello mora fuit, quod postea dubia et interdum ancipiti fortuna gestum est. Nam et classis eodem loco vexata est tempestate, et ut navali primo proelio apud Mylas ductu Agrippae pugnatum prospere, ita inopinato Pompeianae classis adventu gravis sub ipsius Caesaris oculis circa Tauromenium accepta clades; neque ab ipso periculum abfuit. Legiones, quae cum Cornificio erant, legato Caesaris, expositae in terram paene a Pompeio oppressae sunt. Sed ancipitis fortuna temporis mature virtute correctae: explicatis quippe utriusque partis classibus paene omnibus exutus navibus Pompeius Asiam fuga petivit iussuque M. Antonii, cuius opem petierat, dum inter ducem et supplicem tumultuatur et nunc dignitatem retinet, nunc vitam precatur, a Titio iugulatus est. Cui in tantum duravit hoc facinore contractum odium, ut mox ludos in theatro Pompei faciens execratione populi spectaculo, quod praebebat, pelleretur.

[79] (1) As Pompey's fleet was growing daily, and his reputation as well, Caesar resolved to take up the burden of this new war. Marcus Agrippa was charged with constructing the ships, collecting soldiers and rowers, and familiarizing them with naval contests and manoeuvres. He was a man of distinguished character, unconquerable by toil, loss of sleep or danger, well disciplined in obedience, but to one man alone, yet eager to command others; in whatever he did he knew no such thing as delay, but with him action went hand in hand with conception. (2) Building an imposing fleet in lakes Avernus and Lucrinus,

by daily drills he brought the soldiers and the oarsmen to a thorough knowledge of fighting on land and at sea. With this fleet Caesar made war on Pompey in Sicily, after he had espoused Livia, who was given to him in marriage by her former husband under circumstances which augured well for the state. ⁽³⁾ But this man, unconquerable by human power, received at this time a heavy blow at the hands of fortune, since the greater part of his fleet was wrecked and scattered in the vicinity of Velia and Cape Palinurus by a violent scirocco. This delayed finishing the war, which, however, was subsequently carried on with shifting and sometimes doubtful fortune. ⁽⁴⁾ For Caesar's fleet was again buffeted by a storm in the same locality, and although the issue was favourable in the first naval battle, at Mylae, under the leadership of Agrippa, a serious defeat was received near Tauromenium beneath the very eyes of Caesar, in consequence of the unexpected arrival of Pompey's fleet, and Caesar's own person was endangered. The legions which were with Cornificius, Caesar's lieutenant, came near being crushed by Pompey as soon as they landed. ⁽⁵⁾ But fortune's caprice at this critical period was soon amended by bravery in action; when the fleets on both sides had been drawn up for battle, Pompey lost almost all his ships, and fled to Asia, where, wavering between the rôle of general and suppliant, now endeavouring to retain his dignity and now pleading for his life, he was slain by Titius on the orders of Marcus Antonius, whose aid he had sought. ⁽⁶⁾ The hatred which Titius brought upon himself by this act lasted for a long time; indeed, afterwards, when he was celebrating games in Pompey's theatre, he was driven amid the execrations of the people from the spectacle which he himself was giving.

Acciverat gerens contra Pompeium bellum ex Africa Caesar Lepidum cum duodecim semiplenis legionibus. Hic vir omnium vanissimus neque ulla virtute tam longam fortunae indulgentiam meritis exercitum Pompei, quia propior fuerat, sequentem non ipsius, sed Caesaris auctoritatem ac fidem, sibi iunxerat inflatusque amplius viginti legionum numero in id furoris processerat, ut inutilis alienae victoriae comes, quam diu moratus erat, dissidendo in consiliis Caesari et semper diversa ūs, quae aliis placebant, dicendo, totam victoriam ut suam interpretabatur audebatque denuntiare Caesari, excederet Sicilia. Non ab Scipionibus aliisque veteribus Romanorum ducum quidquam ausum patratumque fortius quam tunc a Caesare. Quippe cum inermis et lacernatus esset, praeter nomen nihil trahens, ingressus castra Lepidi, evitatis telis, quae iussu hominis pravissimi in eum iacta erant, cum lacerna eius perforata esset lancea, aquilam legionis rapere ausus est. Scires, quid interesset inter duces: armati inermem secuti sunt decimoque anno quam ad indignissimam vita sua potentiarn pervenerat, Lepidus et a militibus et a fortuna desertus pulloque velatus amiculo inter ultimam confluentium ad Caesarem turbam latens genibus eius advolutus est. Vita rerumque suarum dominium concessa ei sunt, spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas.

[80] (1) While engaged in his war with Pompey, Caesar had summoned Lepidus from Africa with twelve legions of half the usual strength. This man, the most fickle of mankind, who had not earned the long-continued kindness of fortune through any qualities of his own, being nearer to the army of Pompey, annexed it to his own, though it was following not his orders but Caesar's, and owned loyalty to him. (2) His numbers now swollen to twenty legions, he went to such lengths of madness that, though but a useless partner in another's victory, a victory which he had long delayed in refusing to agree to Caesar's plans and always insisting upon something different from that which suited others, (3) he claimed the victory as entirely his own and had the effrontery to order Caesar out of Sicily. The Scipios and the other Roman generals of the olden time never dared or carried out a braver act than did Caesar at this juncture. For although he was unarmed and dressed in his travelling cloak, carrying nothing except his name, he entered the camp of Lepidus, and, avoiding the weapons which were hurled at him by the orders of that

scoundrel, though his cloak was pierced by a lance, he had the courage to carry off the eagle of a legion. ⁽⁴⁾ Then could one know the difference between the two commanders. Though armed, the soldiers followed Caesar who was unarmed, while Lepidus, in the tenth year after arriving at a position of power which his life had done nothing to deserve, now deserted both by his soldiers and by fortune, wrapping himself in a dark cloak and lurking in the rear of the crowd that thronged to Caesar, thus threw himself at Caesar's feet. He was granted his life and the control of his own property, but was shorn of the high position which he had shown himself unable to maintain.

Subita deinde exercitus seditio, qui plexumque contemplatus frequentiam suam a disciplina desciscit et, quod cogere se putat posse, rogare non sustinet, partim severitate, partim liberalitate discussa principis, speciosumque per idem tempus adiectum supplementum Campanae coloniae (veteranis in agros deductis qui coloniae veteranis in agros deductis qui coloniae eius relictis erant publici: pro his longe uberiores redditus duodecies sestertium in Creta insula redditus et aqua promissa, quae hodieque singulare et salubritatis instrumentum et amoenitatis ornamentum est. Insigne coronae classicae, quo nemo umquam Romanorum donatus erat, hoc bello Agrippa singulari virtute meruit. Vicior deinde Caesar reversus in urbem contractas emptionibus complures domos per procuratores, quo laxior fieret ipsius, publicis se usibus destinare professus est, templumque Apollinis et circa porticus facturum promisit, quod ab eo singulari exstructum munificentia est.

[81] (1) There followed a sudden mutiny of the army; for it happens not infrequently that when soldiers observe their own numbers they break discipline and do not endure to ask for what they think they can exact. (2) The mutiny was broken up partly by severity, partly by liberality on the part of the emperor, and considerable additions were at the same time made to the Campanian colony by placing veterans on the lands of that colony which had been left public. Lands in Crete were given in return for these, which yielded a richer revenue of a million two hundred thousand sesterces, and an aqueduct was promised which is to-day a remarkable agency of health as well as an ornament to the landscape.

(3) In this war Agrippa by his remarkable services earned the distinction of a naval crown, with which no Roman had as yet been decorated. Caesar, on his victorious return to the city, made the announcement that he meant to set apart for public use certain houses which he had secured by purchase through his agents in order that there might be a free area about his own residence. He further promised to build a temple of Apollo with a portico about it, a work which he constructed with rare munificence.

Qua aestate Caesar tam prospere sepelivit in Sicilia bellum, fortuna, in Caesare et in re publica mitis, saeviit ad Orientem. Quippe Antonius cum tredecim legionibus ingressus Armeniam ac deinde Mediam et per eas regiones Parthos petens habuit regem eorum obvium. Primoque duas legiones cum omnibus impedimentis tormentisque et Statiano legato amisit, mox saepius ipse cum summo totius exercitus discrimine ea adiit pericula, a quibus servari se posse desperaret, amissaque non minus quarta parte militum captivi cuiusdam, sed Romani, consilio ac fide servatus est, qui clade Crassiani exercitus captus, cum fortuna non animum mutasset, accessit nocte ad stationem Romanam praedixitque, ne destinatum iter peterent, sed diverso silvestrique pervaderent. Hoc M. Antonio ac tot illis legionibus saluti fuit; de quibus tamen totoque exercitu haud minus pars quarta, ut praediximus, militum, calorum servitiiue desiderata tertia est; impedimentorum vix ulla superfuit. Hanc tamen Antonius fugam suam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam voebat. Qui tertia aestate reversus in Armeniam regem eius Artavasden fraude deceptum catenis, sed, ne quid honori deesset, aureis vinxit. Crescente deinde et amoris in Cleopatram incendio et vitiorum, quae semper facultatibus licentiaque et adsentationibus aluntur, magnitudine, bellum patriae inferre constituit, cum ante novum se Liberum Patrem appellari iussisset, cum redimitus hederis crocotaque velatus aurea et thyrsus tenens cothurnisque succinctus curru velut Liber Pater vectus esset Alexandriae.

[82] (1) In the summer in which Caesar so successfully ended the war in Sicily, fortune, though kind in the case of Caesar and the republic, vented her anger in the east. For Antony with thirteen legions after passing through Armenia and then through Media, in an endeavour to reach Parthia by this route, found himself confronted by their king. (2) First of all he lost two legions with all their baggage and engines, and Statianus his lieutenant; later he himself with the greatest risk to his entire army, on several occasions encountered perils from which he dared not hope that escape was possible. After losing not less than a fourth part of his soldiers, he was saved through the fidelity and by the suggestion of a captive, who was nevertheless a Roman. This man had been made prisoner in the disaster to the army of Crassus, but had not changed his allegiance with his fortune. He came by night to a Roman outpost and warned

them not to pursue their intended course but to proceed by a detour through the forest. ⁽³⁾ It was this that saved Marcus Antonius and his many legions; and yet, even so, not less than a fourth part of these soldiers and of his entire army was lost, as we have already stated, and of the camp-followers and slaves a third, while hardly anything of the baggage was saved. Yet Antonius called this flight of his a victory, because he had escaped with his life! Three summers later he returned to Armenia, obtained possession of the person of Artavasdes its king by deceit, and bound him with chains, which, however, out of regard for the station of his captive, were of gold. ⁽⁴⁾ Then as his love for Cleopatra became more ardent and his vices grew upon him — for these are always nourished by power and licence and flattery — he resolved to make war upon his country. He had previously given orders that he should be called the new Father Liber, and indeed in a procession at Alexandria he had impersonated Father Liber, his head bound with the ivy wreath, his person enveloped in the saffron robe of gold, holding in his hand the •thyrsus, wearing the buskins, and riding in the Bacchic chariot.

Inter hunc apparatus belli Plancus, non iudicio recta legendi neque amore rei publicae aut Caesaris, quippe haec semper impugnabat, sed morbo proditor, cum fuisset humillimus adsentator reginae et infra servos cliens, cum Antonii librarius, cum obscenissimarum rerum et auctor et minister, cum in omnia et omnibus venalis, cum caeruleatus et nudus caputque redimitus arundine et caudam trahens, genihus innixus Glaucum saltasset in convivio, refrigeratus ab Antonio ob manifestarum rapinarum indicia transfugit ad Caesarem. Et idem postea clementiam victoris pro sua virtute interpretabatur, dictitans id probatum a Caesare, cui ille ignoverat; mox autem hunc avunculum Titius imitatus est. Haud absurde Coponius, vir e praetoriis gravissimus, P. Silius socer, cum recens transfuga multa ac nefanda Plancus absenti Antonio in senatu obiceret, “multa,” inquit, “mehercules fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres “.

[83] (1) In the midst of these preparations for war Plancus went over to Caesar, not through any conviction that he was choosing the right, nor from any love of the republic or of Caesar, for he was always hostile to both, but because treachery was a disease with him. He had been the most grovelling flatterer of the queen, a client with less self-respect than a slave; he had also been a secretary to Antony and was the author or the abettor of his vilest acts; (2) for money he was ready to do all things for all men; and at a banquet he had played the role of Glaucus the Nereid, performing a dance in which his naked body was painted blue, his head encircled with reeds, at the same time wearing a fish's tail and crawling upon his knees. Now, inasmuch as he had been coldly treated by Antony because of unmistakable evidence of his venal rapacity, he deserted to Caesar. Afterwards he even went so far as to interpret the victor's clemency as a proof of his own merit, claiming that Caesar had approved that which he had merely pardoned. It was the example of this man, his uncle, that Titius soon afterwards followed. (3) The retort of Coponius, who was the father-in-law of Publius Silius and a dignified praetorian, was not so far from the mark when he said, as Plancus in the senate fresh from his desertion was heaping upon the absent Antony many unspeakable charges, “By Hercules, Antony must have done a great many things before *you* left him.”

Caesare deinde et Messala Corvino consulibus debellatum apud Actium, ubi longe ante quam dimicaretur exploratissima Iulianarum partium fuit victoria. Vigeat in hac parte miles atque imperator, in illa marcebant omnia; hinc remiges firmissimi, illinc inopia adfectissimi; navium haec magnitudo modica nec celeritati adversa, illa specie terribilior; hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Caesarem cotidie aliquis transfugiebat; rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora secutus; nam Dellius exempli sui tenax ut a Dolabella ad Cassium, a Cassio ad Antonium, ita ab Antonio transiit ad Caesarem; virque clarissimus Cn. Domitius, qui solus Antonianarum partium numquam reginam nisi nomine salutavit, maximo et praecipiti periculo transmisit ad Caesarem. Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianae classis per M. Agrippam Leucas expugnata, Patrae captae, Corinthus occupata, bis ante ultimum discrimen classis hostium superata.

[84] (1) Then, in the consulship of Caesar and Messala Corvinus, the decisive battle took place at Actium. The victory of the Caesarian party was a certainty long before the battle. On the one side commander and soldiers alike were full of ardour, on the other was general dejection; on the one side the rowers were strong and sturdy, on the other weakened by privations; on the one side ships of moderate size, not too large for speed, on the other vessels of a size that made them more formidable in appearance only; no one was deserting from Caesar to Antony, while from Antony to Caesar someone or other was deserting daily; (2) and King Amyntas had embraced the better and more advantageous side. As for Dellius, consistent to his habit, he now went over from Antony to Caesar as he had deserted from Dolabella to Cassius and from Cassius to Antony. The illustrious Gnaeus Domitius, who was the only one of the party of Antony who refused to salute the queen except by name, went over to Caesar at great and imminent risk to himself. Finally, before the eyes of Antony and his fleet, Marcus Agrippa had stormed Leucas, had captured Patrae, had seized Corinth, and before the final conflict had twice defeated the fleet of the enemy.

Advenit deinde maximi discriminis dies, quo Caesar Antoniusque productis classibus pro salute alter, in ruinam alter terrarum orbis dimicavere. Dextrum navium Iulianarum cornu M. Lurio commissum, laevum Arruntio, Agrippae omne classici certaminis arbitrium; Caesar ei parti destinatus, in quam a fortuna vocaretur, ubique aderat. Classis Antonii regimen Publicolae Sosioque commissum. At in terra locatum exercitum Taurus Caesaris, Antonii regebat Canidius. Ubi initum certamen est, omnia in altera parte fuere, dux, remiges, milites, in altera nihil praeter milites. Prima occupat fugam Cleopatra. Antonius fugientis reginae quam pugnantis militis sui comes esse maluit, et imperator, qui in desertores saevire debuerat, desertor exercitus sui factus est. Illis etiam detracto capite in longum fortissime pugnandi duravit constantia et desperata victoria in mortem dimicabatur. Caesar, quos ferro poterat interimere, verbis mulcere cupiens clamitansque et ostendens fugisse Antonium, quaerebat, pro quo et cum quo pugnarent. At illi cum diu pro absente dimicassent duce, aegre summissis armis cessere victoriam, citiusque vitam veniamque Caesar promisit, quam illis ut eam precarentur persuasum est; fuitque in confesso milites optimi imperatoris, imperatorem fugacissimi militis functum officio, ut dubites, suone an Cleopatrae arbitrio victoriam temperaturus fuerit, qui ad eius arbitrium direxerit fugam. Idem locatus in terra fecit exercitus, cum se Canidius praecipti fuga rapuisset ad Antonium.

[85] (1) Then came the day of the great conflict, on which Caesar and Antony led out their fleets and fought, the one for the safety, the other for the ruin, of the world. (2) The command of the right wing of Caesar's fleet was entrusted to Marcus Lurius, of the left to Arruntius, while Agrippa had full charge of the entire conflict at sea. Caesar, reserving himself for that part of the battle to which fortune might summon him, was present everywhere. The command of Antony's fleet was entrusted to Publicola and Sosius. On the land, moreover, the army of Caesar was commanded by Taurus, that of Antony by Canidius. (3) When the conflict began, on the one side was everything — commander, rowers, and soldiers; on the other, soldiers alone. Cleopatra took the initiative in the flight; Antony chose to be the companion of the fleeing queen rather than of his fighting soldiers, and the commander whose duty it would have been to deal severely with deserters, now became a deserter from his own

army. Even without their chief ⁽⁴⁾ his men long continued to fight bravely, and despairing of victory they fought to the death. Caesar, desiring to win over by words those whom he might have slain with the sword, kept shouting and pointing out to them that Antony had fled, and kept asking them for whom and with whom they were fighting. ⁽⁵⁾ But they, after fighting long for their truant commander, reluctantly surrendered their arms and yielded the victory, Caesar having promised them pardon and their lives before they could bring themselves to sue for them. It was evident that the soldiers had played the part of the good commander while the commander had played that of the cowardly soldier, ⁽⁶⁾ so that one might question whether in case of victory he would have acted according to Cleopatra's will or his own, since it was by her will that he had resorted to flight. The land army likewise surrendered when Canidius had hurried after Antony in precipitate flight.

Quid ille dies terrarum orbi praestiterit, ex quo in quem statum pervenerit fortuna publica, quis in hoc transcurso tam artati operis exprimere audeat? Victoria vero fuit clementissima, nec quisquam interemptus est, paucissimi summoti, qui ne deprecari quidem pro se sustinerent. Ex qua lenitate ducis colligi potuit, quem aut initio triumviratus sui aut in campis Philippiis, si ei licuisset, victoriae suae facturum fuerit modum. At Sosium L. Arruntii prisca gravitate celeberrimi fides, mox, diu cum clementia luctatus sua, Caesar servavit incolumem. Non praetereatur Asinii Pollionis factum et dictum memorabile: namque cum se post Brundusinam pacem continuisset in Italia neque aut vidisset umquam reginam aut post enervatum amore eius Antonii animum partibus eius se miscuisset, rogante Caesare, ut secum ad bellum profisceretur Actiacum: “ mea “, inquit, “in Antonium maiora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora; itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham et ero praeda victoris”.

[86] (1) Who is there who, in the compass of so brief a work, would attempt to state what blessings this day conferred upon the world, or to describe the change which took place in the fortunes of the state? (2) Great clemency was shown in the victory; no one was put to death, and but few banished who could not bring themselves even to become suppliants. From this display of mercy on the part of the commander it may be inferred how moderate a use Caesar would have made of the victory, had he been allowed to do so, whether at the beginning of his triumvirate or on the plain of Philippi. But, in the case of Sosius, it was the pledged word of Lucius Arruntius, a man famous for his old-time dignity, that saved him; later, Caesar preserved him unharmed, but only after long resisting his general inclination to clemency. (3) The remarkable conduct of Asinius Pollio should not be passed by nor the words which he uttered. For although he had remained in Italy after the peace of Brundisium, and had never seen the queen nor taken any active part in Antony's faction after this leader had become demoralized by his passion for her, when Caesar asked him to go with him to the war at Actium he replied: “My services to Antony are too great, and his kindness to me too well known; accordingly I shall hold aloof from your quarrel and shall be the prize of the victor.”

Proximo deinde anno persecutus reginam Antoniumque Alexandream, ultimam bellis civilibus imposuit manum. Antonius se ipse non segniter interemit, adeo ut multa desidia crimina morte redimeret. At Cleopatra frustratis custodibus inlata aspide in morsu et sanie eius expers muliebrius metus spiritum reddidit. Fuitque et fortuna et clementia Caesaris dignum, quod nemo ex iis, qui contra eum arma tulerant, ab eo iussu eius interemptus est. D. Brutum Antonii interemit crudelitas. Sextum Pompeium ab eo devictum idem Antonius, cum dignitatis quoque servandae dedisset fidem, etiam spiritu privavit. Brutus et Cassius ante, quam victorum experirentur animum, voluntaria morte obierunt. Antonii Cleopatraeque quis fuisset exitus narravimus. Canidius timidus decessit, quam professioni ei, qua semper usus erat, congruebat. Ultimus autem ex interfectoribus Caesaris Parmensis Cassius morte poenas dedit, ut dederat Trebonius primus.

[87] (1) The following year Caesar followed Cleopatra and Antony to Alexandria and there put the finishing touch upon the civil wars. Antony promptly ended his life, thus by his death redeeming himself from the many charges of lack of manhood. As for Cleopatra, baffling the vigilance of her guards she caused an asp to be smuggled in to her, and ended her life by its venomous sting untouched by a woman's fears. (2) It was in keeping with Caesar's fortune and his clemency that not one of those who had borne arms against him was put to death by him, or by his order. It was the cruelty of Antony that ended the life of Decimus Brutus. In the case of Sextus Pompey, though Caesar was his conqueror, it was likewise Antony who deprived him of his life, even though he had given his word that he would not degrade him from his rank. (3) Brutus and Cassius, without waiting to discover the attitude of their conquerors, died voluntary deaths. Of the end of Antony and Cleopatra we have already told. As for Canidius, he showed more fear in the face of death than was consistent with his lifelong utterances. The last of Caesar's assassins to pay the penalty of death was Cassius of Parma, as Trebonius had been the first.

Dum bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit ultimam manum, M. Lepidus, iuvenis forma quam mente melior, Lepidi eius, qui triumvir fuerat rei publicae constituendae, filius, Iunia Bruti sorore natus, interficiendi, simul in urbem revertisset, Caesaris consilia inerat. Erat tunc urbis custodiis praepositus C. Maecenas equestri, sed splendido genere natus, vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane ex omnis, providens atque agendi sciens, simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac molliis paene ultra, feminam fluens, non minus Agrippa Caesari carus, sed minus honoratus (quippe vixit angusti clavi plene contentus), nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit. Hic speculatus est per summam quietem ac dissimulationem praecipitis consilia iuvenis et mira celeritate nullaue cum perturbatione aut rerum aut hominum oppresso Lepido inmane novi ac resurrecturi belli civilis restinxit initium. Et ille quidem male consultorum poenas exsolvit. Aequetur praedictae iam Antistii Servilia Lepidi uxor, quae vivo igni devorato praematura morte immortalem nominis sui pensavit memoriam.

[88] (1) While Caesar was engaged in giving the finishing touch to the war at Actium and Alexandria, Marcus Lepidus, a young man whose good looks exceeded his prudence — son of the Lepidus who had been one of the triumvirs for the re-establishment of order in the state and of Junia the sister of Brutus — had formed plans for the assassination of Caesar as soon as he should return to the city. (2) The guards of the city were at that time under the charge of Gaius Maecenas, of equestrian rank, but none the less of illustrious lineage, a man who was literally sleepless when occasion demanded, and quick to foresee what was to be done and skilful in doing it, but when any relaxation was allowed him from business cares would almost outdo a woman in giving himself up to indolence and soft luxury. He was not less loved by Caesar than Agrippa, though he had fewer honours heaped upon him, since he lived thoroughly content with the narrow stripe of the equestrian order. He might have achieved a position no less high than Agrippa, but had not the same ambition for it. (3) Quietly and carefully concealing his activity he unearthed the plans of the hot-headed youth, and by crushing Lepidus with wonderful swiftness and without causing disturbance to either men or things he extinguished the portentous beginnings of a new and reviving civil war.

Lepidus himself paid the penalty for his ill-advised plot. Servilia his wife must be placed on a parity with the wife of Antistius already mentioned, for by swallowing live coals she compensated for her untimely death by the lasting memory of her name.

Caesar autem reversus in Italiam atque urbem quo occurso, quo favore hominum omnium generum, aetatum, ordinum exceptus sit, quae magnificentia triumphorum eius, quae fuerit munerum, ne in operis quidem iusti materia, nedum huius tam recisi digne exprimi potest. Nihil deinde optare a dis homines, nihil dii hominibus praestare possunt, nihil voto concipi, nihil felicitate consummari, quod non Augustus post reditum in urbem rei publicae populoque Romano terrarumque orbi repraesentaverit. Finita vicesimo anno bella civilia, sepulta externa, revocata pax, sopitus ubique armorum furor, restituta vis legibus, iudiciis auctoritas, senatui maiestas, imperium magistratuum ad pristinum redactum modum, tantummodo octo praetoribus adlecti duo. Prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae forma revocata. Redit cultus agris, sacris honos, securitas hominibus, certa cuique rerum suarum possessio; leges emendatae utiiter, latae salubriter; senatus sine asperitate nec sine severitate lectus. Principes viri triumphisque et amplissimis honoribus functi adhortatu principis ad ornandam urbem inlecti sunt. Consulatus tantummodo usque ad undecimum quin continuaret Caesar, cum saepe obnitens repugnasset, impetrare non potuit: nam dictaturam quam pertinaciter ei deferebat populus, tam constanter repulit. Bella sub imperatore gesta pacatusque victoriis terrarum orbis et tot extra Italiam domique opera omne aevi sui spatium impensurum in id solum opus scriptorem fatigarent: nos memores professionis universam imaginem principatus eius oculis animisque subiecimus.

[89] (1) As for Caesar's return to Italy and to Rome — the procession which met him, the enthusiasm of his reception by men of all classes, ages, and ranks, and the magnificence of his triumphs and of the spectacles which he gave — all this it would be impossible adequately to describe even within the compass of a formal history, to say nothing of a work so circumscribed as this. There is nothing that man can desire from the gods, (2) nothing that the gods can grant to a man, nothing that wish can conceive or good fortune bring to pass, which Augustus on his return to the city did not bestow upon the republic, the Roman people, and the world. (3) The civil wars were ended after twenty years, foreign wars suppressed, peace restored, the frenzy of arms everywhere lulled to rest; validity was restored to the laws, authority to the courts, and dignity to

the senate; the power of the magistrates was reduced to its former limits, with the sole exception that two were added to the eight existing praetors. The old traditional form of the republic was restored. ⁽⁴⁾ Agriculture returned to the fields, respect to religion, to mankind freedom from anxiety, and to each citizen his property rights were now assured; old laws were usefully emended, and new laws passed for the general good; the revision of the senate, while not too drastic, was not lacking in severity. The chief men of the state who had won triumphs and had held high office were at the invitation of Augustus induced to adorn the city. In the case of the consulship only, Caesar was not able to have his way, ⁽⁵⁾ but was obliged to hold that office consecutively until the eleventh time in spite of his frequent efforts to prevent it; but the dictatorship which the people persistently offered him, he as stubbornly refused. To tell of the wars waged under his command, of the pacification of the world by his victories, ⁽⁶⁾ of his many works at home and outside of Italy would weary a writer intending to devote his whole life to this one task. As for myself, remembering the proposed scope of my work, I have confined myself to setting before the eyes and minds of my readers a general picture of his principate.

Sepultis, ut praediximus, bellis civilibus coalescentibusque rei publicae membris, et coaluere quae tam longa armorum series laceraverat. Dalmatia, annos viginti et ducentos rebellis, ad certam confessionem pacata est imperii. Alpes feris incultisque nationibus celebres perdomitae. Hispaniae nunc ipsius praesentia, nunc Agrippae, quem usque in tertium consulatum et mox collegium tribuniciae potestatis amicitia principis evexerat, multo varioque Marte pacatae. In quas provincias cum initio Scipione et Sempronio Longo consulibus primo anno secundi belli Punici abhinc annos quinquaginta et ducentos Romani exercitus missi essent duce Cn. Scipione, Africani patruo, per annos ducentos in iis multo mutuoque ita certatum est sanguine, ut amissis populi Romani imperatoribus exercitibusque saepe contumelia, nonnumquam etiam periculum Romano inferretur imperio. Illae enim provinciae Scipiones consumpserunt; illae contumelioso decem annorum bello sub duce Viriatho maiores nostros exercuerunt; illae terrore Numantini belli populum Romanum concusserunt; in illis turpe Q. Pompei foedus turpiusque Mancini senatus cum ignominia dediti imperatoris rescidit; illa tot consulares, tot praetorios absumpsit duces, patrumque aetate in tantum Sertorium armis extulit, ut per quinquennium diiudicari non potuerit, Hispanis Romanisne in armis plus esset roboris et uter populus alteri pariturus foret. Has igitur provincias tam diffusas, tam frequentis, tam feras ad eam pacem abhinc annos ferme quinquaginta perduxit Caesar Augustus, ut quae maximis bellis numquam vacaverant, eae sub C. Antistio ac deinde P. Silio legato ceterisque postea etiam latrociniis vacarent.

- [90] (1) When the civil wars had been extinguished, as we have already told, and the rent limbs of the state itself began to heal, the provinces, also, torn asunder by the long series of wars began to knit together. Dalmatia, in rebellion for one hundred and twenty years, was pacified to the extent of definitely recognizing the sovereignty of Rome. The Alps, filled with wild and barbarous tribes, were subdued. The provinces of Spain were pacified after heavy campaigns conducted with varied success now by Caesar in person, now by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the emperor had raised to a third consulship and soon afterwards to a share in the emperor's tribunician power.
- (2) Roman armies had been sent into these provinces for the first time in the

consulship of Scipio and Sempronius Longus, in the first year of the Second Punic war, two hundred and fifty years ago, under the command of Gnaeus Scipio, the uncle of Africanus. For a period of two hundred years the struggle was kept up with so much bloodshed on both sides that the Roman people, by the loss of its commanders and armies, often suffered disgrace, and sometimes its empire was really endangered. ⁽³⁾ These, namely, were the provinces that brought death to the Scipios; that taxed the endurance of our ancestors in the disgraceful ten years' war under Viriathus; that shook the Roman people with the panic of the Numantine war; here occurred the disgraceful surrender of Quintus Pompeius, whose terms the senate disavowed, and the more shameful capitulation of Mancinus, which was also disavowed, and its maker ignominiously handed over to the enemy; it was Spain that destroyed so many commanders who were consulars or praetorians, and which in the days of our fathers raised Sertorius to such a height of power that for a period of five years it was not possible to decide whether there was greater strength in the arms of the Spaniard or the Roman, and which of the two peoples was destined to obey the other. ⁽⁴⁾ These, then, were the provinces, so extensive, so populous, and so warlike, which Caesar Augustus, about fifty years ago, brought to such a condition of peace, that whereas they had never before been free from serious wars, they were now, under the governorship of Gaius Antistius and then of Publius Silius and of their successors, exempt even from brigandage.

Dum pacatur occidens, ab oriente ac rege Parthorum signa Romana, quae Crasso oppresso Orodes, quae Antonio pulso filius eius Phraates ceperant, Augusto remissa sunt. Quod cognomen illi iure Planci sententia consensus universi senatus populiue Romani indidit. Erant tamen qui hunc felicissimum statum odissent: quippe L. Murena et Fannius Caepio diversis moribus (nam Murena sine hoc facinore potuit videri bonus, Caepio et ante hoc erat pessimus) cum iniissent occidendi Caesaris consilia, oppressi auctoritate publica, quod vi facere voluerant, iure passi sunt. Neque multo post Rufus Egnatius, per omnia gladiatori quam senatori propior, collecto in aedilitate favore populi, quem extinguendis privata familia incendiis in dies auxerat, in tantum quidem, ut ei praeturam continuaret, mox etiam consulatum petere ausus, cum esset omni flagitiorum scelerumque conscientia mersus nec melior illi res familiaris quam mens foret, adgregatis simillimis sibi interimere Caesarem statuit, ut quo salvo salvus esse non poterat, eo sublato moreretur. Quippe ita se mores habent, ut publica quisque ruina malit occidere quam sua proteri et idem passurus minus conspici. Neque hic prioribus in occultando felicius fuit, abditusque carceri cum consciis facinoris mortem dignissimam vita sua obiit.

[91] (1) While the pacification of the west was going on, in the east the Parthian king restored to Augustus the Roman standards which Orodes had taken at the time of Crassus' disaster, and those which his son Phraates had captured on the defeat of Antony. This title of Augustus was deservedly given him on the motion of Plancus with the unanimous acclaim of the entire senate and the Roman people. (2) Yet there were those who did not like this prosperous state of affairs. For example, Lucius Murena and Fannius Caepio had entered into a plot to assassinate Caesar, but were seized by state authority and themselves suffered by law what they had wished to accomplish by violence. They were two men quite diverse in character, for Murena, apart from this act, might have passed as a man of good character, while Caepio, even before this, had been of the worst. (3) Shortly afterwards a similar attempt was made by Rufus Egnatius, a man who in all respects resembled a gladiator rather than a senator. Securing the favour of the people in his aedileship by putting out fires with his own gang of slaves, he increased it daily to such an extent that the

people gave him the praetorship immediately after the aedileship. It was not long before he dared to become a candidate for the consulship, but he was overwhelmed by the general knowledge of his shameless deeds and crimes, and the state of his property came to be as desperate as his mind. Therefore, collecting about him men of his own kind, he resolved to assassinate Caesar in order that he might die after getting rid of him whose existence was not compatible with his own. ⁽⁴⁾ Such men are so constituted that each would prefer to fall in a general cataclysm than to perish alone, and, though suffering the same fate in the end, to be less conspicuous in dying. He, however, was not more successful than the rest in concealing his designs, and after being thrust into prison with his fellow conspirators, died the death his life richly deserved.

XCH

Praeclarum excellentis viri factum C. Sentii Saturnini circa ea tempora consulis ne fraudetur memoria. Aberat ordinandis Asiae Orientisque rebus Caesar, circumferens terrarum orbi praesentia sua pacis suae bona. Tum Sentius, forte et solus et absente Caesare consul, cum alia prisca severitate, summaque constantia, vetere consulum more ac severitate, gessisset, protraxisset publicanorum fraudes, punisset avaritiam, regessisset in aerarium pecunias publicas, tum in comitiis habendis praecipuum egit consulem: nam et quaesturam petentes, quos indignos iudicavit, profiteri vetuit, et, cum id facturos se perseverarent, consularem, si in campum descendissent, vindictam minatus est, et Egnatium florentem favore publico sperantemque ut praeturam aedilitati, ita consulatum praeturae se iuncturum, profiteri vetuit, et cum id non obtinuisset, iuravit, etiam si factus esset consul suffragiis populi, tamen se eum non renuntiaturum. Quod ego factum cuilibet veterum consulum gloriae comparandum reor, nisi quod naturaliter audita visis laudamus libentius et praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus.

[92] (1) The remarkable conduct of an excellent man, Gaius Sentius Saturninus, who was consul about this time, must not be cheated of its due record. Caesar was absent from the city engaged in regulating the affairs of Asia and of the orient, (2) and in bringing to the countries of the world by his personal presence the blessings of Augustan peace. On this occasion Sentius, chancing thus to be sole consul with Caesar absent, adopting the rigorous regime of the older consuls, pursued a general policy of old-fashioned severity and great firmness, bringing to light the fraudulent tricks of the tax-collectors, punishing their avarice, and getting the public moneys into the treasury. But it was particularly in holding the elections that he played the consul. (3) For in the case of candidates for the quaestorship whom he thought unworthy, he forbade them to offer their names, and when they insisted upon doing so, he threatened them with the exercise of his consular authority if they came down to the Campus Martius. (4) Egnatius, who was now at the height of popular favour, and was expecting to have his consulship follow his praetorship as his praetorship had followed his aedileship, he forbade to become a candidate, and failing in this, he swore that, even if Egnatius were elected consul by the

votes of the people, he would refuse to report his election. ⁽⁵⁾ This conduct I consider as comparable with any of the celebrated acts of the consuls of the olden days. But we are naturally more inclined to praise what we have heard than what has occurred before our eyes; we regard the present with envy, the past with veneration, and believe that we are eclipsed by the former, but derive instruction from the latter.

XCM

Ante triennium fere, quam Egnatianum scelus erumperet, circa Murenæ Caepionisque coniurationis tempus, abhinc annos quinquaginta, M. Marcellus, sororis Augusti Octaviae filius, quem homines ita, si quid accidisset Caesari, successorem potentiae eius arbitrabantur futurum, ut tamen id per M. Agrippam securo ei posse contingere non existimarent, magnificentissimo munere aedilitatis edito decessit admodum iuvenis, sane, ut aiunt, ingenuarum virtutum laetusque animi et ingenii fortunaeque, in quam alebatur, capax. Post cuius obitum Agrippa, qui sub specie ministeriorum principalium profectus in Asiam, ut fama loquitur, ob tacitas cum Marcello offensiones praesenti se subduxerat tempori, reversus inde filiam Caesaris Iuliam, quam in matrimonio Marcellus habuerat, duxit uxorem, feminam neque sibi neque rei publicae felicitis uteri.

[93] (1) Some three years before the plot of Egnatius was exposed, about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio, fifty years from the present date, Marcus Marcellus died, the son of Octavia, sister of Augustus, after giving a magnificent spectacle to commemorate his aedileship and while still quite a youth. People thought that, if anything should happen to Caesar, Marcellus would be his successor in power, at the same time believing, however, that this would not fall to his lot without opposition from Marcus Agrippa. He was, we are told, a young man of noble qualities, cheerful in mind and disposition, and equal to the station for which he was being reared.

(2) After his death Agrippa, who had set out for Asia on the pretext of commissions from the emperor, but who, according to current gossip, had withdrawn, for the time being, on account of his secret animosity for Marcellus, now returned from Asia and married Julia the daughter of Caesar, who had been the wife of Marcellus, a woman whose many children were to be blessings neither to herself nor to the state.

Hoc tractu temporum Ti. Claudius Nero, quo trimo, ut praediximus, Livia, Drusi Claudiani filia, despondente Ti. Nerone, cui ante nupta fuerat, Caesari nupserat, innutritus caelestium praeceptorum disciplinis, iuvenis genere, forma, celsitudine corporis, optimis studiis maximoque ingenio instructissimus, qui protinus quantus est, sperari potuerat visuque praetulerat principern, quaestor undevicesimum annum agens capessere coepit rem publicam maximamque difficultatem annonae ac rei frumentariae inopiam ita Ostiae atque in urbe mandatu vitrici moderatus est, ut per id, quod agebat, quantus evasurus esset, eluceret. Nec multo post missus ab eodem vitrico cum exercitu ad visendas ordinandasque, quae sub Oriente sunt, provincias, praecipuis omnium virtutum experimentis in eo tractu editis, cum legionibus ingressus Armeniam, redacta ea in potestatem populi Romani regnum eius Artavasdi dedit. Quin rex quaque Parthorum tanti nominis fama territus liberos suos ad Caesarem misit obsides.

[94] (1) At this period Tiberius Claudius Nero, in his nineteenth year, began his public life as quaestor. I have already told how, when he was three years of age, his mother Livia, the daughter of Drusus Claudianus, had become the wife of Caesar, her former husband, Tiberius Nero, himself giving her in marriage to him. (2) Nurtured by the teaching of eminent praeceptors, a youth equipped in the highest degree with the advantages of birth, personal beauty, commanding presence, an excellent education combined with native talents, (3) Tiberius gave early promise of becoming the great man he now is, and already by his look revealed the prince. Now, acting on the orders of his stepfather, he so skilfully regulated the difficulties of the grain supply and relieved the scarcity of corn^o at Ostia and in the city that it was apparent from his execution of this commission how great he was destined to become. (4) Shortly afterwards he was sent by his stepfather with an army to visit the eastern provinces and restore them to order, and in that part of the world gave splendid illustration of all his strong qualities. Entering Armenia with his legions, he brought it once more under the sovereignty of the Roman people, and gave the kingship to Artavasdes. Even the king of the Parthians, awed by the reputation of so great a name, sent his own children as hostages to Caesar.

Reversum inde Neronem Caesar haud mediocris belli mole experiri statuit, adiutorem operis dato fratre ipsius Druso Claudio, quem intra Caesaris penates enixa erat Livia. Quippe uterque e diversis partibus Raetos Vindelicosque adgressi, multis urbium et castellorum oppugnantibus nec non directaque acie feliciter functi gentes locis tutissimas, aditu difficillimas, numero frequentes, feritate truces maiore cum periculo quam damno Romani exercitus plurimo cum earum sanguine perdomuerunt. Ante quae tempora censura Planci et Pauli acta inter discordiam neque ipsis honori neque rei publicae usui fuerat, cum alteri vis censoria, alteri vita deesset, Paulus vix posset implere censorem, Plancus timere deberet, nec quidquam obicere posset adulescentibus aut obicientes audire, quod non agnosceret senex.

[95] (1) On Nero's return Caesar resolved to test his powers in a war of no slight magnitude. In this work he gave him as a collaborator his own brother Drusus Claudius, to whom Livia gave birth when already in the house of Caesar. The two brothers attacked the Raeti and Vindelici from different directions, (2) and after storming many towns and strongholds, as well as engaging successfully in pitched battles, with more danger than real loss to the Roman army, though with much bloodshed on the part of the enemy, they thoroughly subdued these races, protected as they were by the nature of the country, difficult of access, strong in numbers, and fiercely warlike.

(3) Before this had occurred the censorship of Plancus and Paulus, which, exercised as it was with mutual discord, was little credit to themselves or little benefit to the state, for the one lacked the force, the other the character, in keeping with the office; Paulus was scarcely capable of filling the censor's office, while Plancus had only too much reason to fear it, nor was there any charge which he could make against young men, or hear others make, of which he, old though he was, could not recognize himself as guilty.

XCVI

Mors deinde Agrippae, qui novitatem suam multis rebus nobilitaverat atque in hoc perduxerat, ut et Neronis esset socer, cuiusque liberos nepotes suos divus Augustus praepositis Gai ac Lucii nominibus adoptaverat, admovit propius Neronem Caesari: quippe filia Iulia eius, quae fuerat Agrippae nupta, Neroni nupsit. Subinde bellum Pannonicum, quod inchoatum ab Agrippa, Marco Vinicio, avo tuo consule, magnum atroxque et perquam vicinum imminebat Italiae, per Neronem gestum est. Gentes Pannoniorum Delmatarumque nationes situmque regionum ac fluminum numerumque et modum virium excelsissimasque et multiplices eo bello victorias tanti mperatoris alio loco explicabimus: hoc opus servet formam suam. Huius victoriae compos Nero ovans triumphavit.

[96] (1) Then occurred the death of Agrippa. Though a “new man” he had by his many achievements brought distinction upon his obscure birth, even to the extent of becoming the father-in-law of Nero; and his sons, the grandsons of the emperor, had been adopted by Augustus under the names of Gaius and Lucius. His death brought Nero closer to Caesar, since his daughter Julia, who had been the wife of Agrippa, now married Nero.

(2) Shortly after, the Pannonian war, which had been begun by Agrippa in the consulate of your grandfather, Marcus Vinicius, was conducted by Nero, a war which was important and formidable enough, and on account of its proximity a menace to Italy. In another place I shall describe the tribes of the Pannonians and the races of Dalmatians, the situation of their country and its rivers, (3) the number and extent of their forces, and the many glorious victories won in the course of this war by this great commander; my present work must keep to its design. After achieving this victory Nero celebrated an ovation.

XCVII

Sed dum in hac parte imperii omnia geruntur prosperrime, accepta in Germania clades sub legato M. Lollio, homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidior et inter summam vitiorum dissimulationem vitiosissimo, amissaque legionis quintae aquila vocavit ab urbe in Gallias Caesarem. Cura deinde atque onus Germanici belli delegata Druso Claudio, fratri Neronis, adulescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quot et quantas natura mortalis recipit vel industria perficit. Cuius ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus an civilibus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est: morum certe dulcedo ac suavitas et adversus amicos aequa ac par sui aestimatio inimitabilis fuisse diciiur; nam pulchritudo corporis proxima fraternae fuit. Sed illum magna ex parte domitorem Germaniae, plurimo eius gentis variis in locis profuso sanguine, factorum iniquitas consulem, agentem annum tricesimum, rapui. Moles deinde eius belli translata in Neronem est: quod is sua et virtute et fortuna administravit peragratusque victor omnis partis Germaniae sine ullo detrimento commissi exercitus, quod praecipue huic duci semper curae fuit, sic perdomuit eam, ut in formam paene stipendiariae redigeret provinciae. Tum alter triumphus cum altero consulatu ei oblatus est.

[97] (1) But while everything was being successfully managed in this quarter of the either, a disaster received in Germany under Marcus Lollius the legate — he was a man who was ever more eager for money than for honest action, and of vicious habits in spite of his excessive efforts at concealment — and the loss of the eagle of the fifth legion, summoned Caesar from the city to the provinces of Gaul. (2) The burden of responsibility for this war was then entrusted to Drusus Claudius, the brother of Nero, a young man endowed with as many great qualities as men's nature is capable of receiving or application developing. It would be hard to say whether his talents were the better adapted to a military career or the duties of life; at any rate, the charm and the sweetness of his character are said to have been inimitable, (3) and also his modest attitude of equality towards his friends. As for his personal beauty, it was second only to that of his brother. But, after accomplishing to a great extent the subjection of Germany, in which much blood of that people was shed on various battle-fields, an unkind fate carried him off during his consulship, in his thirtieth year. (4) The burden of responsibility for this war

was then transferred to Nero. He carried it on with his customary valour and good fortune, and after traversing every part of Germany in a victorious campaign, without any loss of the army entrusted to him — for he made this one of his chief concerns — he so subdued the country as to reduce it almost to the status of a tributary province. He then received a second triumph, and a second consulship.

XCVIII

Dum ea, quae diximus, in Pannonia Germaniaque geruntur, atrox in Thracia bellum ortum, omnibus eius gentis nationibus in arma accensis, L. Pisonis, quem hodieque diligentissimum atque eundem lenissimum securitatis urbanae custodem habemus, virtus compressit (quippe legatus Caesaris triennio cum iis bellavit gentesque ferocissimas plurimo cum earum excidio nunc acie, nunc expugnationibus in pristinum pacis redegit modum) eiusque patratione Asiae securitatem, Macedoniae pacem reddidit. De quo viro hoc omnibus sentiendum ac praedicandum est, esse mores eius vigore ac lenitate mixtissimos et vix quemquam reperiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligit aut facilius sufficiat negotio et magis quae agenda sunt curet sine ulla ostentatione agendi.

[98] (1) While the events of which we have spoken were taking place in Pannonia and in Germany, a fierce rebellion arose in Thrace, and all its clans were aroused to arms. It was terminated by the valour of Lucius Piso, whom we still have with us to-day as the most vigilant and at the same time the gentlest guardian of the security of the city. (2) As lieutenant of Caesar he fought the Thracians for three years, and by a succession of battles and sieges, with great loss of life to the Thracians, he brought these fiercest of races to their former state of peaceful subjection. By putting an end to this war he restored security to Asia and peace to Macedonia. Of Piso all must think and say that his character is an excellent blend of firmness and gentleness, (3) and that it would be hard to find anyone possessing a stronger love of leisure, or, on the other hand, more capable of action, and of taking the necessary measures without thrusting his activity upon our notice.

XCIX

Brevi interiecto spatio Ti. Nero duobus consulatibus totidemque triumphis actis tribuniciae potestatis consortione aequatus Augusto, civium post unum, et hoc, quia volebat, eminentissimus, ducum maximus, fama fortunaque celeberrimus et vere alterum rei publicae lumen et caput, mira quadam et incredibili atque inenarrabili pietate, cuius causae mox detectae sunt, cum Gaius Caesar sumpisset iam virilem togam, Lucius item maturus esset viribus, ne fulgor suus orientium iuvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico adquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Quis fuerit eo tempore civitatis habitus, qui singulorum animi, quae digredientium a tanto viro omnium lacrimae, quam paene ei patria manum iniecerit, iusto servemus operi: illud etiam in hoc transcursu dicendum est, ita septem annos Rhodi moratum, ut omnes, qui pro consulibus legatique in transmarinas sunt profecti provincias, visendi eius gratia Rhodum deverterint atque eum convenientes semper privato, si illa maiestas privata umquam fuit, fascēs suos summisserint fassique sint otium eius honoratius imperio suo.

[99] (1) Soon afterwards Tiberius Nero, who had now held two consulships and celebrated two triumphs; who had been made the equal of Augustus by sharing with him the tribunician power; the most eminent of all Roman citizens save one (and that because he wished it so); the greatest of generals, attended alike by fame and fortune; veritably the second luminary and the second head of the state — (2) this man, moved by some strangely incredible and inexpressible feeling of affection for Augustus, sought leave from him who was both his father-in-law and stepfather to rest from the unbroken succession of his labours. The real reasons for this were soon made plain. Inasmuch as Gaius Caesar had already assumed the toga of manhood, and Lucius was reaching maturity, he concealed his reason in order that his own glory might not stand in the way of the young men at the beginning of their careers. (3) I must reserve for my regular history a description of the attitude of the state at this juncture, of the feelings of the individual citizens, of the tears of all at taking leave of such a man, and how nearly the state came to laying upon him its staying hand. (4) Even in this brief epitome I ought to say that all who departed for the provinces across the sea, whether proconsuls or

governors appointed by the emperor, went out of their way to see him at Rhodes, and on meeting him they lowered their fasces to him though he was but a private citizen — if such majesty could ever belong to a private citizen — thereby confessing that his retirement was more worthy of honour than their official position.

C

Sensit terrarum orbis digressum a custodia Neronem urbis: nam et Parthus desciscens a societate Romana adiecit Armeniae manum et Germania, aversis domitoris sui oculis, rebellavit. At in urbe eo ipso anno, quo magnificentissimis gladiatorii muneris naumachiaeque spectaculis divus Augustus abhinc annos triginta se et Gallo Caninio consulibus, dedicato Martis templo animos oculosque populi Romani repleverat, foeda dictu memoriaque horrenda in ipsius domo tempestas erupit. Quippe filia eius Iulia, per omnia tanti parentis ac viri immemor, nihil, quod facere aut pati turpiter posset femina, luxuria libidineve infectum reliquit magnitudinemque fortunae suae peccandi licentia metiebatur, quidquid liberet pro licito vindicans. Tum Iulus Antonius, singulare exemplum clementiae Caesaris, violator eius domus, ipse sceleris a se commissi ultor fuit (quem victo eius patre non tantum incolumitate donaverat, sed sacerdotio, praetura, consulatu, provinciis honoratum, etiam matrimonio sororis suae filiae in artissimam adfinitatem receperat), Quintusque Crispinus, singularem nequitiam supercilio truci protegens, et Appius Claudius et Sempronius Gracchus ac Scipio aliique minoris nominis utriusque ordinis viri, quas cuiuslibet uxore violata poenas pependissent, pependere, cum Caesaris filiam et Neronis violassent coniugem. Iulia relegata in insulam patriaeque et parentum subducta oculis, quam tamen comitata mater Scribonia voluntaria exilii permansit comes.

[100] (1) The whole world felt the departure of Nero from his position as protector of the city. The Parthian, breaking away from his alliance with us, laid hold of Armenia, and the eyes of its conqueror were no longer upon it.

(2) But in the city, in the very year in which Augustus, then consul with Gallus Caninius (thirty years ago), had sated to repletion the minds and eyes of the Roman people with the magnificent spectacle of a gladiatorial show and a sham naval battle on the occasion of the dedication of the temple of Mars, a calamity broke out in the emperor's own household which is shameful to narrate and dreadful to recall. (3) For his daughter Julia, utterly regardless of her great father and her husband, left untried no disgraceful deed untainted with either extravagance or lust of which a woman could be guilty, either as the doer or as the object, and was in the habit of measuring the magnitude of her fortune only in the terms of licence to sin, setting up her own caprice as a

law unto itself. ⁽⁴⁾ Iulus Antonius, who had been a remarkable example of Caesar's clemency, only to become the violator of his household, avenged with his own hand the crime he had committed. After the defeat of Marcus Antonius, his father, Augustus had not only granted him his life, but after honouring him with the priesthood, the praetorship, the consulship, and the governorship of provinces, had admitted him to the closest ties of relationship through a marriage with his sister's daughter. ⁽⁵⁾ Quintius Crispinus also, who hid his extraordinary depravity behind a stern brow, Appius Claudius, Sempronius Gracchus, Scipio, and other men of both orders but of less illustrious name, suffered the penalty which they would have paid had it been the wife of an ordinary citizen they had debauched instead of the daughter of Caesar and the wife of Nero. Julia was banished to an island and removed from the eyes of her country and her parents, though her mother Scribonia accompanied her and employed with her as a voluntary companion of her exile.

Breve ab hoc intercesserat spatium, cum C. Caesar ante aliis provinciis ad visendum obitis in Syriam missus, convento prius Ti. Nerone, cui omnem honorem ut superiori habuit, tam varie se ibi gessit, ut nec laudaturum magna nec vituperaturum mediocris materia deficiat. Cum rege Parthorum, iuvene excelsissimo, in insula quam amnis Euphrates ambiebat, aequato utriusque partis numero coiit. Quod spectaculum stantis ex diverso hinc Romani, illinc Parthorum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperiorum et hominum coirent capita, perquam clarum et memorabile sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno militum mihi visere contigit: quem militiae gradum ante sub patre tuo, M. Vinici, et P. Silio auspicatus in Thracia Macedoniaque, mox Achaia Asiaque et omnibus ad Orientem visis provinciis et ore atque utroque maris Pontici latere, haud iniucunda tot rerum, locorum, gentium, urbium recordatione perfruor. Prior Parthus apud Gaium in nostra ripa, posterior hic apud regem in hostili epulatus est.

[101] (1) Shortly after this Gaius Caesar, who had previously made a tour of other provinces, but only as a visitor, was dispatched to Syria. On his way he first paid his respects to Tiberius Nero, whom he treated with all honour as his superior. In his province he conducted himself with such versatility as to furnish much material for the panegyrist and not a little for the critic. On an island in the Euphrates, with an equal retinue on each side, Gaius had a meeting with the king of the Parthians, a young man of distinguished presence. This spectacle of the Roman army arrayed on one side, the Parthian on the other, (2) while these two eminent leaders not only of the empires they represented but also of mankind thus met in conference — truly a notable and a memorable sight — (3) it was my fortunate lot to see early in my career as a soldier, when I held the rank of tribune. I had already entered upon this grade of the service under your father, Marcus Vinicius, and Publius Silius in Thrace and Macedonia; later I visited Achaia and Asia and all the eastern provinces, the outlet of the Black Sea and both its coasts, and it is not without feelings of pleasure that I recall the many events, places, peoples, and cities. As for the meeting, first the Parthian dined with Gaius upon the Roman bank, and later Gaius supped with the king on the soil of the enemy.

Quo tempore M. Lollii, quem veluti moderatorem iuventae filii sui Augustus esse voluerat, perfida et plena subdoli ac versuti animi consilia, per Parthum indicata Caesari, fama vulgavit. Cuius mors intra paucos dies fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro. Sed quam hunc decessisse laetati homines, tam paulo post obiisse Censorinum in iisdem provinciis graviter tulit civitas, virum demerendis hominibus genitum. Armeniam deinde Gaius ingressus prima parte introitus prospere rem gessit; mox in conloquio, cui se temere crediderat, circa Artageram graviter a quodam, nomine Adduo, vulneratus, ex eo ut corpus minus habile, ita animum minus utilem rei publicae habere coepit. Nec defuit conversatio hominum vitia eius adsentatione alentium (etenim semper magnae fortunae comes adest adulatio), per quae eo ductus erat, ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenescere quam Romam regredi mallet. Diu deinde reluctatus invitatusque revertens in Italiam in urbe Lyciae (Limyra nominant) morbo obiit, cum ante annum ferme L. Caesar frater eius Hispanias petens Massiliae decessisset.

[102] (1) It was at this time that there were revealed to Caesar, through the Parthian king, the traitorous designs, revealing a crafty and deceitful mind, of Marcus Lollius, whom Augustus had desired to be the adviser of his still youthful son; and gossip spread the report abroad. In regard to his death, which occurred within a few days, I do not know whether it was accidental or voluntary. But the joy which people felt at this death was equalled by the sorrow which the state felt long afterwards at the decease in the same province of Censorinus, a man born to win the affections of men. (2) Then Gaius entered Armenia and at first conducted his campaign with success; but later, in a parley near Artagera, to which he rashly entrusted his person, he was seriously wounded by a man named Adduus, so that, in consequence, his body became less active, and his mind of less service to the state. (3) Nor was there lacking the companionship of persons who encouraged his defects by flattery — for flattery always goes hand in hand with high position — as a result of which he wished to spend his life in a remote and distant corner of the world rather than return to Rome. Then, in the act of returning to Italy, after long resistance and still against his will, he died in a city of Lycia which they call Limyra, his brother Lucius having died about a year before at

Massilia on his way to Spain.

Sed fortuna, quae subduxerat spem magni nominis, iam tum rei publicae sua praesidia reddiderat: quippe ante utriusque horum obitum patre tuo P. Vinicio consule Ti. Nero reversus Rhodo incredibili laetitia patriam repleverat. Non est diu cunctatus Caesar Augustus; neque enim quaerendus erat quem legeret, sed legendus qui eminebat. Itaque quod post Lucii mortem adhuc Gaio vivo facere voluerat atque vehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus, post utriusque adolescentium obitum facere perseveravit, ut et tribuniciae potestatis consortionem Neroni constitueret, multum quidem eo cum domi tum in senatu recusante, et eum Aelio Cato C. Sentio consulibus V. Kal. Iulias, post urbem conditam annis septingentis quinquaginta quattuor, abhinc annos septem et viginti adoptaret. Laetitiam illius diei concursumque civitatis et vota paene inserentium caelo manus spemque conceptam perpetuae securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii vix in illo iusto opere abunde persequi poterimus, nedum hic implere temptemus, contenti id unum dixisse quam ille omnibus faustus fuerit. Tum refulsit certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris matrimoniorum, dominis patrimonii, omnibus hominibus salutis, quietis, pacis, tranquillitatis, adeo ut nec plus sperari potuerit nec spei responderi felicius.

[103] (1) But fortune, which had removed the hope of the great name of Caesar, had already restored to the state her real protector; for the return of Tiberius Nero from Rhodes in the consulship of Publius Vinicius, your father, and before the death of either of these youths, had filled his country with joy. Caesar Augustus did not long hesitate, (2) for he had no need to search for one to choose as his successor but merely to choose the one who towered above the others. (3) Accordingly, what he had wished to do after the death of Lucius but while Gaius was still living, and had been prevented from doing by the strong opposition of Nero himself, he now insisted upon carrying out after the death of both young men, namely, to make Nero his associate in the tribunician power, in spite of his continued objection both in private and in the senate; and in the consulship of Aelius Catus and Gaius Sentius, on the twenty-seventh of June, he adopted him, seven hundred and fifty-four years after the founding of the city, and twenty-seven years ago. The rejoicing of that day, the concourse of the citizens, (4) their vows as they stretched their

hands almost to the very heavens, and the hopes which they entertained for the perpetual security and the eternal existence of the Roman empire, I shall hardly be able to describe to the full even in my comprehensive work, much less try to do it justice here. ⁽⁵⁾ I shall simply content myself with stating what a day of good omen it was for all. On that day there sprang up once more in parents the assurance of safety for their children, in husbands for the sanctity of marriage, in owners for the safety of their property, and in all men the assurance of safety, order, peace, and tranquillity; indeed, it would have been hard to entertain larger hopes, or to have them more happily fulfilled.

Adoptatus eadem die etiam M. Agrippa, quem post mortem Agrippae Iulia enixa erat, sed in Neronis adoptione illud adiectum his ipsis Caesaris verbis: “hoc”, inquit, “rei publicae causa facio”. Non diu vindicem custodemque imperii sui morata in urbe patria protinus in Germaniam misit, ubi ante triennium sub M. Vinicio, avo tuo, clarissimo viro, immensum exarserat bellum. Erat id ab eo quibusdam in locis gestum, quibusdam sustentatum feliciter, eoque nomine decreta ei cum speciosissima inscriptione operum ornamenta triumphalia. Hoc tempus me, functum ante tribunatu, castrorum Ti. Caesaris militem fecit: quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris mei, caelestissimorum eius operum per annos continuos novem praefectus aut legatus spectator, tum pro captu mediocritatis meae adiutor fui. Neque illi spectaculo, quo fructus sum, simile condicio mortalis recipere videtur mihi, cum per celeberrimam Italiae partem tractumque omnem Galliae provinciarum veterem imperatorem et ante meritis ac virtutibus quam nomine Caesarem revisentes sibi quisque quam illi gratularentur plenius. At vero militum conspectu eius elicitalae gaudii lacrimae alacritasque et salutationis nova quaedam exultatio et contingendi manum cupiditas non continentium protinus quin adiicerent, “videmus te, imperator? Salvum recepimus?” Ac deinde “ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Raetia fui, ego a te in Vindeliciis, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germania donatus sum” neque verbis exprimi et fortasse vix mereri fidem potest.

[104] (1) On the same day Marcus Agrippa, to whom Julia had given birth after the death of Agrippa, was also adopted by Augustus; but, in the case of Nero, an addition was made to the formula of adoption in Caesar’s own words: “This I do for reasons of state.” (2) His country did not long detain at Rome the champion and the guardian of her empire, but forthwith dispatched him to Germany, where, three years before, an extensive war had broken out in the governorship of that illustrious man, Marcus Vinicius, your grandfather. Vinicius had carried on this war with success in some quarters, and in others had made a successful defence, and on this account there had been decreed to him the ornaments of a triumph with an honorary inscription recording his deeds.

(3) It was at this time that I became a soldier in the camp of Tiberius Caesar,

after having previously filled the duties of the tribunate. For, immediately after the adoption of Tiberius, I was sent with him to Germany as prefect of the cavalry. Succeeding my father in that position, and for nine continuous years as prefect of cavalry or as commander of a legion I was a spectator of his superhuman achievements, and further assisted in them to the extent of my modest ability. I do not think that mortal man will be permitted to behold again a sight like that which I enjoyed, when, throughout the most populous parts of Italy and the full extent of the provinces of Gaul, the people as they beheld once more their old commander, who by virtue of his services had long been a Caesar before he was such in name, congratulated themselves in even heartier terms than they congratulated him. ⁽⁴⁾ Indeed, words cannot express the feelings of the soldiers at their meeting, and perhaps my account will scarcely be believed — the tears which sprang to their eyes in their joy at the sight of him, their eagerness, their strange transports in saluting him, their longing to touch his hand, and their inability to restrain such cries as “Is it really you that we see, commander?” “Have we received you safely back among us?” “I served with you, general, in Armenia!” “And I in Raetia!” “I received my decoration from you in Vindelicium!” “And I mine in Pannonia!” “And I in Germany!”

Intrata protinus Germania, subacti Canninefates, Attuarii, Bructeri, recepti Cherusci (gentis eius Arminius mox nostra clade nobilis), transitus Visurgis, penetrata ulteriora, cum omnem partem asperrimi et periculosissinu belli Caesar vindicaret sibi, iis, quae minoris erant discriminis, Sentium Saturninum, qui iam legatus patris eius in Germania fuerat, praefecisset, virum multiplicem virtutibus, gnavum, agilem, providum militariumque officiorum patientem ac peritum pariter, sed eundem, ubi negotia fecissent locum otio, liberaliter lauteque eo abutentem, ita tamen, ut eum splendidum atque hilarem potius quam luxuriosum aut desidem diceres. De cuius viri claro ingenio celebrique consulatu praediximus. Anni eius aestiva usque in mensem Decembrem producta inmanis emolumentum fecere victoriae. Pietas sua Caesarem paene obstructis hieme Alpius in urbem traxit, at tutela imperii eum veris initio reduxit in Germaniam, in cuius mediis finibus ad caput Lupiae fluminis hiberna digrediens princeps locaverat.

[105] (1) He at once entered Germany. The Canninefates, the Attuarii, and Bructeri were subdued, the Cherusci (Arminius, a member of this race, was soon to become famous for the disaster inflicted upon us) were again subjugated, the Weser crossed, and the regions beyond it penetrated. Caesar claimed for himself every part of the war that was difficult or dangerous, placing Sentius Saturninus, who had already served as legate under his father in Germany, in charge of expeditions of a less dangerous character: (2) a man many-sided in his virtues, a man of energy and action, and of foresight, alike able to endure the duties of a soldier as he was well trained in them, but who, likewise, when his labours left room for leisure, made a liberal and elegant use of it, but with this reservation, that one would call him sumptuous and jovial rather than extravagant or indolent. About the distinguished ability of this illustrious man and his famous consulship I have already spoken. (3) The prolonging of the campaign of that year into the month of December increased the benefits derived from the great victory. Caesar was drawn to the city by his filial affection, though the Alps were almost blocked by winter's snows; but the defence of the empire brought him at the beginning of spring back to Germany, where he had on his departure pitched his winter camp at the source of the river Lippe, in the very heart of the country, the first Roman to winter

there.

CVI

Pro dii boni, quanti voluminis opera insequenti aestate sub duce Tiberio Caesare gessimus! Perlustrata armis tota Germania est, victae gentes paene nominibus incognitae, receptae Cauchorum nationes: omnis eorum iuventus infinita numero, immensa corporibus, situ locorum tutissima, traditis armis una cum ducibus suis saepta fulgenti armatoque militum nostrorum agmine ante imperatoris procubuit tribunal. Fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior; denique quod numquam antea spe conceptum, nedum opere temptatum erat, ad quadringentesimum miliarium a Rheno usque ad flumen Albim, qui Semnonum Hermundurorumque fines praeterfluit, Romanus cum signis perductus exercitus. Et eadem mira felicitate et cura ducis, temporum quoque observantia, classis, quae Oceani circumnavigaverat sinus, ab inaudito atque incognito ante mari Qumine Albi subvecta, cum plurimarum gentium victoria parta cum abundantissima rerum omnium copia exercitui Caesarique se iunxit.

[106] (1) Ye Heavens, how large a volume could be filled with the tale of our achievements in the following summer under the generalship of Tiberius Caesar! All Germany was traversed by our armies, races were conquered hitherto almost unknown, even by name; and the tribes of the Cauchi were again subjugated. All the flower of their youth, infinite in number though they were, huge of stature and protected by the ground they held, surrendered their arms, and, flanked by a gleaming line of our soldiers, fell with their generals upon their knees before the tribunal of the commander. (2) The power of the Langobardi was broken, a race surpassing even the Germans in savagery; and finally — and this is something which had never before been entertained even as a hope, much less actually attempted — a Roman army with its standards was led •four hundred miles beyond the Rhine as far as the river Elbe, which flows past the territories of the Semnones and the Hermunduri. (3) And with this wonderful combination of careful planning and good fortune on the part of the general, and a close watch upon the seasons, the fleet which had skirted the windings of the sea coast sailed up the Elbe from a sea hitherto unheard of and unknown, and after proving victorious over many tribes effected a junction with Caesar and the army, bringing with it a great abundance of supplies of all kinds.

CVII

Non tempero mihi quin tantae rerum magnitudini hoc, quaecumque est, inseram. Cum citeriorem ripam praedicti fluminis castris occupassemus et ulterior armata hostium virtute fulgeret, sub omnem motum conatumque nostrarum navium protinus refugientium, unus e barbaris aetate senior, corpore excellens, dignitate, quantum ostendebat cultus, eminens, cavatum, ut illis mos est, ex materia conscendit alveum solusque id navigii genus temperans ad medium processit fluminis et petiit, liceret sibi sine periculo in eam, quam armis tenebamus, egredi ripam ac videre Caesarem. Data petenti facultas. Tum adpulso lintre et diu tacitus contemplatus Caesarem, “nostra quidem”, inquit, “furit iuventus, quae cum vestrum numen absentium colat, praesentium potius arma metuit quam sequitur fidem. Sed ego beneficio ac permissu tuo, Caesar, quos ante audiebam, hodie vidi deos, nec feliciorem ullum vitae meae aut optavi aut sensi diem”. Impetratoque ut manum contingeret, reversus in naviculam, sine fine respectans Caesarem ripae suorum adpulsus est. Victor omnium gentium locorumque, quos adierat Caesar, incolumi inviolatoque et semel tantummodo magna cum clade hostium fraude eorum temptato exercitu in hiberna legiones reduxit, eadem qua priore anno festinatione urbem petens.

[107] (1) Even in the midst of these great events I cannot refrain from inserting this little incident. We were encamped on the nearer bank of the aforesaid river, while on the farther bank glittered the arms of the enemies' troops, who showed an inclination to flee at every movement and manoeuvre of our vessels, when one of the barbarians, advanced in years, tall of stature, of high rank, to judge by his dress, embarked in a canoe, made as is usual with them of a hollowed log, and guiding this strange craft he advanced alone to the middle of the stream (2) and asked permission to land without harm to himself on the bank occupied by our troops, and to see Caesar. Permission was granted. Then he beached his canoe, and, after gazing upon Caesar for a long time in silence, exclaimed: “Our young men are insane, for though they worship you as divine when absent, when you are present they fear your armies instead of trusting to your protection. But I, by your kind permission, Caesar, have to-day seen the gods of whom I merely used to hear; and in my life have never hoped for or experienced a happier day.” After asking for and

receiving permission to touch Caesar's hand, he again entered his canoe, and continued to gaze back upon him until he landed upon his own bank. (3) Victorious over all the nations and countries which he approached, his army safe and unimpaired, having been attacked but once, and that too through deceit on the part of the enemy with great loss on their side, Caesar led his legions back to winter quarters, and sought the city with the same haste as in the previous year.

CVIII

Nihil erat iam in Germania, quod vinci posset, praeter gentem Marcomannorum, quae Maroboduus duce excita sedibus suis atque in interiora refugiens incinctos Hercynia silva campos incolebat. Nulla festinatio huius viri mentionem transgredi debet. Maroboduus, genere nobilis, corpore praevalens, animo ferox, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, non tumultuarium neque fortuitum neque mobilem et ex voluntate parentum constantem inter suos occupavit principatum, sed certum imperium vimque regiam complexus animo statuit avocata procul a Romanis gente sua eo progredi, ubi cum propter potentiora arma refugisset, sua faceret potentissima. Occupatis igitur, quos praediximus, locis finitimos omnis aut bello domuit aut condicionibus iuris sui fecit.

[108] (1) Nothing remained to be conquered in Germany except the people of the Marcomanni, which, leaving its settlements at the summons of its leader Maroboduus, had retired into the interior and now dwelt in the plains surrounded by the Hercynian forest. (2) No considerations of haste should lead us to pass over this man Maroboduus without mention. A man of noble family, strong in body and courageous in mind, a barbarian by birth but not in intelligence, he achieved among his countrymen no mere chief's position gained as the result of internal disorders or chance or liable to change and dependent upon the caprice of his subjects, but, conceiving in his mind the idea of a definite empire and royal powers, he resolved to remove his own race far away from the Romans and to migrate to a place where, inasmuch as he had fled before the strength of more powerful arms, he might make his own all powerful. Accordingly, after occupying the region we have mentioned, he proceeded to reduce all the neighbouring races by war, or to bring them under his sovereignty by treaty.

Corpus suum custodientium imperium, perpetuis exercitiis paene ad Romanae disciplinae formam redactum, brevi in eminens et nostro quoque imperio timendum perduxit fastigium gerebatque se ita adversus Romanos, ut neque bello nos lacesseret, et si lacesseretur, superesse sibi vim ac voluntatem resistendi ostenderet. Legati, quos mittebat ad Caesares, interdum ut supplicem commendabant, interdum ut pro pari loquebantur. Gentibus hominibusque a nobis desciscentibus erat apud eum perfugium, in totumque ex male dissimulato agebat aemulum; exercitumque, quem septuaginta milium peditum, quattuor equitum fecerat, adsiduis adversus finitimos bellis exercendo maiori quam, quod habebat, operi praeparabat: eratque etiam eo timendus, quod cum Germaniam ad laevam et in fronte, Pannoniam ad dextram, a tergo sedium suarum haberet Noricos, tamquam in omnes semper venturus ab omnibus timebatur. Nec securam incrementi sui patiebatur esse Italiam, quippe cum a summis Alpium iugis, quae finem Italiae terminant, initium eius finium haud multo plus ducentis milibus passuum abesset. Hunc virum et hanc regionem proximo anno diversis e partibus Ti. Caesar adgredi statuit. Sentio Saturnino mandatum, ut per Cattos excisis continentibus Hercyniae silvis legiones Boiohaemum (id regioni, quam incolebat Maroboduus, nomen est) duceret, ipse a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orsus est.

[109] (1) The body of guards protecting the kingdom of Maroboduus, which by constant drill had been brought almost to the Roman standard of discipline, soon placed him in a position of power that was dreaded even by our empire. His policy toward Rome was to avoid provoking us by war, but at the same time to let us understand that, if he were provoked by us he had in reserve the power and the will to resist. (2) The envoys whom he sent to the Caesars sometimes commended him to them as a suppliant and sometimes spoke as though they represented an equal. Races and individuals who revolted from us found in him a refuge, and in all respects, with but little concealment, he played the part of a rival. His army, which he had brought up to the number of seventy thousand foot and four thousand horse, he was steadily preparing, by exercising it in constant wars against his neighbours, for some greater task

than that which he had in hand. ⁽³⁾ He was also to be feared on this account, that, having Germany at the left and in front of his settlements, Pannonia on the right, and Noricum in the rear of them, he was dreaded by all as one who might at any moment descend upon all. ⁽⁴⁾ Nor did he permit Italy to be free from concern as regards his growing power, since the summits of the Alps which mark her boundary were not more than two hundred miles distant from his boundary line. ⁽⁵⁾ Such was the man and such the region that Tiberius Caesar resolved to attack from opposite directions in the course of the coming year. Sentius Saturninus had instructions to lead his legions through the country of the Catti into Boiohaemum, for that is the name of the region occupied by Maroboduus, cutting a passage through the Hercynian forest which bounded the region, while from Carnuntum, the nearest point of Noricum in this direction, he himself undertook to lead against the Marcomanni the army which was serving in Illyricum.

Rumpit interdum, interdum moratur proposita hominum fortuna. Praeparaverat iam hiberna Caesar ad Danubium admotoque exercitu non plus quam quinque dierum iter a primis hostium aberat, legionesque quas Saturninum admovere placuerat, paene aequali divisae intervallo ab hoste intra paucos dies in praedicto loco cum Caesare se iuncturae erant, cum universa Pannonia, insolens longae pacis bonis, adulta viribus, Delmatia omnibusque tractus eius gentibus in societatem adductis consilii, arma corripuit. Tum necessaria gloriosis praeposita neque tutum visum abdito in interiora exercitu vacuum tam vicino hosti relinquere Italiam. Gentium nationumque, quae rebellaverant, omnis numerus amplius octingentis milibus explebat; ducenta fere peditum colligebantur armis habilia, equitum novem. Cuius immensae multitudinis, parentis acerrimis ac peritissimis ducibus, pars petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio, pars in Macedoniam se effuderat, pars suis sedibus praesidium esse destinaverat. Maxima duobus Batonibus ac Pinneti duribus auctoritas erat. Omnibus autem Pannoniis non disciplinae tantummodo, sed linguae quoque notitia Romanae, plerisque etiam litterarum usus et familiaris animorum erat exercitatio. Etaque hercules nulla umquam natio tam mature consilio belli bellum iunxit ac decreta patravit. Oppressi cives Romani, trucidati negotiatores, magnus vexillariorum numerus ad interneccionem ea in regione, quae plurimum ab imperatore aberat, caesus, occupata armis Macedonia, omnia et in omnibus locis igni ferroque vastata. Quin etiam tantus huius belli metus fuit, ut stabilem illum et firmatum tantorum bellorum experientia Caesaris Augusti animum quateret atque terreret.

[110] (1) Fortune sometimes breaks off completely, sometimes merely delays, the execution of men's plans. Caesar had already arranged his winter quarters on the Danube, and had brought up his army to within five days' march of the advanced posts of the enemy; (2) and the legions which he had ordered Saturninus to bring up, separated from the enemy by an almost equal distance, were on the point of effecting a junction with Caesar at a predetermined rendezvous within a few days, when all Pannonia, grown arrogant through the blessings of a long peace and now at the maturity of her power, suddenly took up arms, bringing Dalmatia and all the races of that region into her alliance. (3)

Thereupon glory was sacrificed to necessity; and it did not seem to Tiberius a safe course to keep his army buried in the interior of the country and thus leave Italy unprotected from an enemy so near at hand. The full number of the races and tribes which had rebelled reached a total of more than eight hundred thousand. About two hundred thousand infantry trained to arms, and nine thousand cavalry were being assembled. ⁽⁴⁾ Of this immense number, which acted under the orders of energetic and capable generals, one portion had decided to make Italy its goal, which was connected with them by the line of Nauportum and Tergeste, a second had already poured into Macedonia, while a third had set itself the task of protecting their own territories. The chief authority rested with the two Batones and Pinnes as generals. ⁽⁵⁾ Now all the Pannonians possessed not only a knowledge of Roman discipline but also of the Roman tongue, many also had some measure of literary culture, and the exercise of the intellect was not uncommon among them. And so it came to pass, by Hercules, that no nation ever displayed such swiftness in following up with war its own plans for war, ⁽⁶⁾ and in putting its resolves into execution. Roman citizens were overpowered, traders were massacred, a considerable detachment of veterans, stationed in the region which was most remote from the commander, was exterminated to a man, Macedonia was seized by armed forces, everywhere was wholesale devastation by fire and sword. Moreover, such a panic did this war inspire that even the courage of Caesar Augustus, rendered steady and firm by experience in so many wars, was shaken with fear.

CXI

Habiti itaque dilectus, revocati undique et omnes veterani, viri feminaeque ex censu libertinum coactae dare militem. Audita in senatu vox principis, decimo die, ni caveretur, posse hostem in urbis Romae venire conspectum. Senatorum equitumque Romanorum exactae ad id bellum operae, pollicitati. Omnia haec frustra praeparassemus, nisi qui illa regeret fuisset. Itaque ut praesidium ultimum res publica ab Augusto ducem in bellum poposcit Tiberium. Habuit in hoc quoque bello mediocritas nostra speciosi ministerii locum. Finita equestri militia designatus quaesior necdum senator aequatus senatoribus, etiam designatis tribunis plebei, partem exercitus ab urbe traditi ab Augusto perduxì ad filium eius. In quaestura deinde remissa sorte provinciae legatus eiusdem ad eundem missus sum. Quas nos primo anno acies hostium vidimus! Quantis prudentia ducis opportunitatibus furentes eorum vires universas elusimus, fudimus partibus! Quanto cum temperamento simul civilitatis res auctoritate imperatoria agi vidimus! Qua prudentia hiberna disposita sunt! Quanto opere inclusus custodiis exercitus nostri, ne qua posset erumpere inopsque copiarum et intra se furens viribus hostis elanguesceret!

[111] (1) Accordingly levies were held, from every quarter all the veterans were recalled to the standards, men and women were compelled, in proportion to their income, to furnish freedmen as soldiers. Men heard Augustus say in the senate, that, unless precautions were taken, the enemy might appear in sight of Rome within ten days. (2) The services of senators and knights were demanded for this war, and promised. All these our preparations would have been vain had we not had the man to take command. And so, as a final measure of protection, the state demanded from Augustus that Tiberius should conduct the war.

(3) In this war also my modest abilities had an opportunity for glorious service. I was now, at the end of my service in the cavalry, quaestor designate, and though not yet a senator I was placed upon a parity with senators and even tribunes elect, and led from the city to Tiberius a portion of the army which was entrusted to me by Augustus. (4) Then in my quaestorship, giving up my right to have a province allotted me, I was sent to Tiberius as legatus Augusti.

What armies of the enemy did we see drawn up for battle in that first year!

What opportunities did we avail ourselves of through the foresight of the general to evade their united forces and rout them in separate divisions! With what moderation and kindness did we see all the business of warfare conducted, though under the authority of a military commander! With what judgement did he place our winter camps! How carefully was the enemy so blockaded by the outposts of our army that he could nowhere break through, and that, through lack of supplies and by disaffection within his own ranks, he might gradually be weakened in strength!

Felix eventu, forte conatu prima aestate belli Messalini opus mandandum est memoriae. Qui vir animo etiam quam gente nobilior dignissimusque, qui et patrem Corvinum habuisset et cognomen suum Cottae fratri relinqueret, praepositus Illyrico subita rebellione cum semiplena legione vicesima circumdatus hostili exercitu amplius viginti milia fudit fugavitque et ob id ornamentis triumphalibus honoratus est. Ita placebat barbaris numerus suus, ita fiducia virium, ut ubicumque Caesar esset, nihil in se reponerent. Pars exercitus eorum, proposita ipsi duci et ad arbitrium utilitatemque nostram macerata perductaque ad exitiabilem famem, neque instantem sustinere neque cum facientibus copiam pugnandi derigentibusque aciem ausa congregi occupato monte Claudio munitione se defendit. At ea pars, quae obviam se effuderat exercitui, quem A. Caecina et Silvanus Plautius consulares ex transmarinis adducebant provinciis, circumfusa quinque legionibus nostris auxiliaribusque ei equitatu regio (quippe magnam Thracum manum iunctus praedictis ducibus Rhoemetalcis, Thraciae rex, in adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat) paene exitiabilem omnibus cladem intulit: fusa regionum equestris acies, fugatae alae, conversae cohortes sunt, apud signa quoque legionum trepidatum. Sed Romani virtus militis plus eo tempore vindicavit gloriae quam ducibus reliquit, qui multum a more imperatoris sui discrepantes ante in hostem inciderunt, quam per exploratores, ubi hostis esset, cognoscerent. Iam igitur in dubiis rebus semet ipsae legiones adhortatae, iugulatis ab hoste quibusdam tribunis militum, interempto praefecto castrorum praefectisque cohortium, non incruentis centurionibus, e quibus etiam primi ordinis cecidere, invasere hostes nec sustinuisse contenti perrupta eorum acie ex insperato victoriam vindicaverunt. Hoc fere tempore Agrippa, qui eodem die quo Tiberius adoptatus ab avo suo naturali erat et iam ante biennium, qualis esset, apparere coeperat, mira pravitate animi atque ingenii in praecipitia conversus patris atque eiusdem avi sui animum alienavit sibi, moxque crescentibus in dies vitiis dignum furore suo habuit exitum.

[112] (1) An exploit of Messalinus in the first summer of the war, fortunate in its issue as it was bold in undertaking, must here be recorded for posterity. (2) This man, who was even more noble in heart than in birth, and thoroughly worthy of having had Corvinus as his father, and of leaving his cognomen to

his brother Cotta, was in command in Illyricum, and, at the sudden outbreak of the rebellion, finding himself surrounded by the army of the enemy and supported by only the twentieth legion, and that at but half its normal strength, he routed and put to flight more than twenty thousand, and for this was honoured with the ornaments of a triumph.

(3) The barbarians were so little satisfied with their numbers and had so little confidence in their own strength that they had no faith in themselves where Caesar was. The part of their army which faced the commander himself, worn down according as it suited our pleasure or advantage, and reduced to the verge of destruction by famine, not daring to withstand him when he took the offensive, nor to meet our men when they gave them an opportunity for fighting and drew up their line of battle, occupied the Claudian mountain and defended itself behind fortifications. (4) But the division of their forces which had swarmed out to meet the army which the consulars Aulus Caecina and Silvanus Plautius were bringing up from the provinces across the sea, surrounded five of our legions, together with the troops of our allies and the cavalry of the king (for Rhoemetalces, king of Thrace, in conjunction with the aforesaid generals was bringing with him a large body of Thracians as reinforcements for the war), and inflicted a disaster that came near being fatal to all. (5) The horsemen of the king were routed, the cavalry of the allies put to flight, the cohorts turned their backs to the enemy, and the panic extended even to the standards of the legion. But in this crisis the valour of the Roman soldier claimed for itself a greater share of glory than it left to the generals, who departing far from the policy of their commander, had allowed themselves to come into contact with the enemy before they had learned through their scouts where the enemy was. (6) At this critical moment, when some tribunes of the soldiers had been slain by the enemy, the prefect of the camp and several prefects of cohorts had been cut off, a number of centurions had been wounded, and even some of the centurions of the first rank had fallen, the legions, shouting encouragement to each other, fell upon the enemy, and not content with sustaining their onslaught, broke through their line and wrested a victory from a desperate plight.

(7) About this time Agrippa, who had been adopted by his natural grandfather on the same day as Tiberius, and had already, two years before, begun to

reveal his true character, alienated from himself the affection of his father and grandfather, falling into reckless ways by a strange depravity of mind and disposition; and soon, as his vices increased daily, he met the end which his madness deserved.

CXIII

Accipe nunc, M. Vinici, tantum in bello ducem, quantum in pacevides principem. Iunctis exercitibus, quique sub Caesare fuerant quique ad eum venerant, contractisque in una castra decem legionibus, septuaginta amplius cohortibus, decem alis et pluribus quam decem veteranorum milibus, ad hoc magno voluntariorum numero frequentique equite regio, tanto denique exercitu, quantus nullo umquam loco post bella fuerat civilia, omnes eo ipso laeti erant maximamque fiduciam victoriae in numero reponebant. At imperator, optimus eorum quae agebat iudex et utilia speciosis praeferens quodque semper eum facientem vidi in omnibus bellis, quae probanda essent, non quae utique probarentur sequens, paucis diebus exercitum, qui venerat, ad refovendas ex itinere eius vires moratus, cum eum maiorem, quam ut temperari posset, neque habilem gubernaculo cerneret, dimittere statuit; prosecutusque longo et perquam laborioso itinere, cuius difficultas narrari vix potest, ut neque universos quisquam auderet adgredi et partem digredientium, suorum quisque metu finium, universi temptare non possent, remisit eo, unde venerant, et ipse asperrimae hiemis initio regressus Sisciam legatos, inter quos ipsi fuimus, partitis praefecit hibernis.

[113] (1) Listen now, Marcus Vinicius, to the proof that Caesar was no less great in war as a general than you now see him in peace as an emperor. When the two armies were united, that is to say the troops which had served under Caesar and those which had come to reinforce him, and there were now gathered together in one camp ten legions, more than seventy cohorts, fourteen troops of cavalry and more than ten thousand veterans, and in addition a large number of volunteers and the numerous cavalry of the king — in a word a greater army than had ever been assembled in one place since the civil wars — all were finding satisfaction in this fact and reposed their greatest hope of victory in their numbers. (2) But the general, who was the best judge of the course he pursued, preferring efficiency to show, and, as we have so often seen him doing in all his wars, following the course which deserved approval rather than that which was currently approval, after keeping the army which had newly arrived for only a few days in order to allow it to recover from the march, decided to send it away, since he saw that it was too large to be managed and was not well adapted to effective control. (3) And so he sent it

back whence it came, escorting it with his own army on° a long exceedingly laborious march, whose difficulty can hardly be described. His purpose in this was, on the one hand, that no one might dare to attack his united forces, and, on the other, to prevent the united forces of the enemy from falling upon the departing division, through the apprehension of each nation for its own territory. Then returning himself to Siscia, at the beginning of a very hard winter, he placed his lieutenants, of whom I was one, in charge of the divisions of his winter quarters.

O rem dictu non eminentem, sed solida veraque virtute atque utilitate maximam, experientia suavissimam, humanitate singularem! Per omne belli Germanici Pannonicique tempus nemo e nobis gradumve nostrum aut praecedentibus aut sequentibus imbecillus fuit, cuius salus ac valetudo non ita sustentaretur Caesaris cura, tamquam distractissimus ille tantorum onerum mole huic uni negotio vacaret animus. Erat desiderantibus paratum iunctum vehiculum, lectica eius publicata, cuius usum cum alii tum ego sensi; iam medici, iam apparatus cibi, iam in hoc solum uni portatum instrumentum balinei nullius non succurrit valetudini; domus tantum ac domestici deerant, ceterum nihil, quod ab illis aut praestari aut desiderari posset. Adiciam illud, quod, quisquis illis temporibus interfuit, ut alia, quae retuli, agnosceret protinus: solus semper equo vectus est, solus cum iis, quos invitaverat, maiore parte aestivarum expeditionum cenavit sedens; non sequentibus disciplinam, quatenus exemplum non nocebatur, ignovit; admonitio frequens, interdum et castigatio, vindicta tamen rarissima, agebatque medium plurima dissimulantis, aliqua inhibentis. Hiems emolumentum patrati belli contulit, sed insequenti aestate omnis Pannonia reliquiis totius belli in Delmatia manentibus pacem petiit. Ferocem illam tot milium iuventutem, paulo ante servitutem minatam Italiae, conferentem arma, quibus usa erat, apud flumen nomine Bathinum prosternentemque se universam genibus imperatoris, Batonemque et Pinnetem excelsissimos duces, captum alterum, alterum a se deditum iustis voluminibus ordine narrabimus, ut spero. Autumno victor in hiberna reducitur exercitus, cuius omnibus copiis a Caesare M. Lepidus praefectus est, vir nomini ac fortunae Caesarum proximus, quem in quantum quisque aut cognoscere aut intellegere potuit, in tantum miratur ac diligit tantorumque nominum, quibus ortus est, ornamentum iudicat.

[114] (1) And now for a detail which in the telling may lack grandeur, but is most important by reason of the true and substantial personal qualities it reveals and also of its practical service — a thing most pleasant as an experience and remarkable for the kindness it displayed. Throughout the whole period of the German and Pannonian war there was not one of us, or of those either above or below our rank, who fell ill without having his health and welfare looked after by Caesar with as much solicitude indeed as though this were the chief

occupation of his mind, preoccupied though he was by his heavy responsibilities. (2) There was a horsed vehicle ready for those who needed it, his own litter was at the disposal of all, and I, among others, have enjoyed its use. Now his physicians, now his kitchen, and now his bathing equipment, brought for this one purpose for himself alone, ministered to the comfort of all who were sick. All they lacked was their home and domestic servants, but nothing else that friends at home could furnish or desire for them. (3) Let me also add the following trait, which, like the others I have described, will be immediately recognized as true by anyone who participated in that campaign. Caesar alone of commanders was in the habit of also travelling in the saddle, and, throughout the greater portion of the summer campaign, of sitting at the table when dining with invited guests. Of those who did not imitate his own stern discipline he took no notice, in so far as no harmful precedent was thereby created. He often admonished, sometimes gave verbal reproof, but rarely punishment, and pursued the moderate course of pretending in most cases not to see things, and of administering only occasionally a reprimand.

(4) The winter brought the reward of our efforts in the termination of the war, though it was not until the following summer that all Pannonia sought peace, the remnants of the war as a whole being confined to Dalmatia. In my complete work I hope to describe in detail how those fierce warriors, many thousand in number, who had but a short time before threatened Italy with slavery, now brought the arms they had used in rebellion and laid them down, at a river called the Bathinus, prostrating themselves one and all before the knees of the commander; and how of their two supreme commanders, Bato and Pinnes, the one was made a prisoner and the other gave himself up.

(5) In the autumn the victorious army was led back to winter quarters. Caesar gave the chief command of all the forces to Marcus Lepidus, a man who in name and in fortune approaches the Caesars, whom one admires and loves the more in proportion to his opportunities to know and understand him, and whom one regards as an ornament to the great names from whom he springs.

Caesar ad alteram belli Delmatici molem animum atque arma contulit. In qua regione quali adiutore legatoque fratre meo Magio Celere Velleiano' usus sit, ipsius patrisque eius praedicatione testatum est et amplissimorum donorum, quibus triumphans eum Caesar donavit, signat memoria. Initio aetatis Lepidus educto hibernis exercitu per gentis integras immunesque adhuc clade belli et eo feroces ac truces tendens ad Tiberium imperatorem et cum difficultate locorum et cum vi hostium luctatus, magna cum clade obsistentium excisis agris, exustis aedihciis, caesis viris, laetus victoria praedaeque onustus pervenit ad Caesarem, et ob ea, quae si propriis gessisset auspiciis, triumphare debuerat, ornamentis triumphalibus consentiente cum iudicio principum voluntate senatus donatus est. Illa aestas maximi belli consummavit effectus: quippe Perustae et Desidiates Delmatae, situ locorum ac montium, ingeniorum ferocia, mira etiam pugnandi scientia et praecipue angustiiis saltuum paene inexpugnabiles, non iam ductu, sed manibus atque armis ipsius Caesaris tum demum pacati sunt, cum paene funditus eversi forent. Nihil in hoc tanto bello, nihil in Germania aut videre maius aut mirari magis potui, quam quod imperatori numquam adeo ulla opportuna visa. est victoriae occasio, quam damno amissi pensaret militis semperque visum est gloriosissimum, quod esset tutissimum, et ante conscientiae quam famae consultum nec umquam consilia ducis iudicio exercitus, sed exercitus providentia ducis rectus est.

[115] (1) Caesar then devoted his attention and his arms to his second task, the war in Dalmatia. What assistance he had in this quarter from his aide and lieutenant Magius Celer Velleianus, my brother, is attested by the words of Tiberius himself and of his father, and signalized by the record of the high decorations conferred upon him by Caesar on the occasion of his triumph. (2) In the beginning of summer Lepidus led his army out of winter quarters, in an effort to make his way to Tiberius the commander, through the midst of races that were as yet unaffected and untouched by the disasters of war and therefore still fierce and warlike; after a struggle in which he had to contend with the difficulties of the country as well as the attacks of the enemy, and after inflicting great loss on those who barred his way, by the devastation of fields, burning of houses, and slaying of the inhabitants, he succeeded in

reaching Caesar, rejoicing in victory and laden with booty. ⁽³⁾ For these feats, for which, if they had been performed under his own auspices he would properly have received a triumph, he was granted the ornaments of a triumph, the wish of the senate endorsing the recommendation of the Caesars.

(4) This campaign brought the momentous war to a successful conclusion; for the Perustae and Desiadatae, Dalmatian tribes, who were almost unconquerable on account of the position of their strongholds in the mountains, their warlike temper, their wonderful knowledge of fighting, and, above all, the narrow passes in which they lived, were then at last pacified, not now under the mere generalship, but by the armed prowess of Caesar himself, and then only when they were almost entirely exterminated.

(5) Nothing in the course of this great war, nothing in the campaigns in Germany, came under my observation that was greater, or that aroused my admiration more, than these traits of its general; no chance of winning a victory ever seemed to him timely, which he would have to purchase by the sacrifice of his soldiers; the safest course was always regarded by him as the best; he consulted his conscience first and then his reputation, and, finally, the plans of the commander were never governed by the opinion of the army, but rather the army by the wisdom of its leader.

CXVI

Magna in bello Delmatico experimenta virtutis in incultos ac difficilis locos praemissus Germanicus dedit; celebri etiam opera diligentique Vibius Postumus vir consularis, praepositus Delmatiae, ornamenta meruit triumphalia: quem honorem ante paucos annos Passienus et Cossus, viri quamquam diversis virtutibus celebres, in Africa meruerant. Sed Cossus victoriae testimonium etiam in cognomen filii contulit, adulescentis in omnium virtutum exempla geniti. At Postumi operum L. Apronius particeps illa quoque militia eos, quos mox consecutus est, honores excellenti virtute meruit. Utinam non maioribus experimentis testatum esset, quantum in omni re fortuna posset! Sed in hoc quoque genere abunde agnosci vis eius potest. Nam et Aelius Lamia, vir antiquissimi moris et priscam gravitatem semper humanitate temperans, in Germania Illyricoque et mox in Africa splendidissimis functus ministeriis, non merito, sed materia adipiscendi triumphalia defectus est, et A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, P. Silli filius, quem virum ne qui intellexit quidem abunde miratus est, in eo nihil non optimo civi simplicissimo duci superesse praeferens, inmatura morte et fructu amplissimae principis amicitiae et consummatione evectae in altissimum paternumque fastigium imaginis defectus est. Horum virorum mentioni si quis quaesisse me dicet locum, fatentem arguet; neque enim iustus sine mendacio candor apud bonos crimini est.

[116] (1) In the Dalmatian war Germanicus, who had been dispatched in advance of the commander to regions both wild and difficult, gave great proof of his valour. By his repeated services and careful vigilance (2) the governor of Dalmatia, Vibius Postumus^o the consular, also earned the ornaments of a triumph. A few years before this honour had been earned in Africa by Passienus and Cossus, both celebrated men, though not alike in merit. Cossus passed on to his son, a young man born to exhibit every variety of excellence, a cognomen that still testifies to his victory. (3) And Lucius Apronius, who shared in the achievements of Postumus, earned by the distinguished valour which he displayed in this campaign also, the honours which he actually won shortly afterwards.

Would that it had not been demonstrated, by greater proofs, how mighty an influence fortune wields in all things; yet even here her power can be

recognized by abundant examples. For instance, Aelius Lamia, a man of the older type, who always tempered his old-fashioned dignity by a spirit of kindliness, had performed splendid service in Germany and Illyricum, and was soon to do so in Africa, but failed to receive triumphal honours, not through any fault of his, but through lack of opportunity; ⁽⁴⁾ and Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus, the son of Publius Silius, a man who was not adequately praised even by the friend who knew him best, when he declared that there were no qualities which he did not possess in the highest degree, whether as an excellent citizen or as an honest commander, through his untimely death failed not only to reap the fruit of his close friendship with the emperor but also to realize that lofty conception of his powers which had been inspired by his father's eminence. ⁽⁵⁾ If anyone shall say that I have gone out of my way to mention these men, his criticism will meet no denial. In the sight of honest men fair-minded candour without misrepresentation is no crime.

Tantum quod ultimam imposuerat Pannonico ac Delmatico bello Caesar manum, cum intra quinque consummati tanti operis dies funesta ex Germaniae epistulae nuntium attulere caesi Vari trucidatarumque legionum trium todidemque alarum et sex cohortium, velut in hoc slatem tantummodo indulgente nobis fortuna, ne occupato duce tanta clades inferretur. Sed et causa et persona moram exigit. Varus Quintilius inlustri magis quam nobili ortus familia, vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus et corpore et animo immobilior, otio magis castrorum quam bellicae adsuetus militiae, pecuniae vero quam non contemptor, Syria, cui praefuerat, declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus dives pauperem reliquit; is cum exercitui, qui erat in Germania, praeesset, concepit esse homines, qui nihil praeter vocem membraque haberent hominum, quique gladiis domari non poterant, posse iure mulceri. Quo proposito mediam ingressus Germaniam velut inter viros pacis gaudentes dulcedine iurisdictionibus agendoque pro tribunali ordine trahebat aestiva.

[117] (1) Scarcely had Caesar put the finishing touch upon the Pannonian and Dalmatian war, when, within five days of the completion of this task, dispatches from Germany brought the baleful news of the death of Varus, and of the slaughter of three legions, of as many divisions of cavalry, and of six cohorts — as though fortune were granting us this indulgence at least, that such a disaster should not be brought upon us when our commander was occupied by other wars. The cause of this defeat and the personality of the general require of me a brief digression.

(2) Varus Quintilius, descended from a famous rather than a high-born family, was a man of mild character and of a quiet disposition, somewhat slow in mind as he was in body, and more accustomed to the leisure of the camp than to actual service in war. That he was no despiser of money is demonstrated by his governorship of Syria: he entered the rich province a poor man, but left it a rich man and the province poor. (3) When placed in charge of the army in Germany, he entertained the notion that the Germans were a people who were men only in limbs and voice, and that they, who could not be subdued by the sword, could be soothed by the law. (4) With this purpose in mind he entered the heart of Germany as though he were going among a people enjoying the blessings of peace, and sitting on his tribunal he wasted the time of a summer

campaign in holding court and observing the proper details of legal procedure.

At illi, quod nisi expertus vix credat, in summa feritate versutissimi natumque mendacio genus, simulantes fictas litium series et nunc provocantes alter alterum in iurgia, nunc agentes gratias, quod ea Romana iustitia finiret feritasque sua novitate incognitae disciplinae mitesceret et solita armis discerni iure terminarentur, in summam socordiam perduxere Quintilium, usque eo, ut se praetorem urbanum in foro ius dicere, non in mediis Germaniae finibus exercitui praeesse crederet. Tum iuvenis genere nobilis, manu fortis, sensu celer, ultra barbarum promptus ingenio, nomine Arminius, Sigimeri principis gentis eius filius, ardorem animi vultu oculis praeferens, adsiduus militiae nostrae prioris comes, iure etiam civitatis Romanae decus equestris consecutus gradis, segnitia ducis in occasionem sceleris opprimi, quam qui nihil timeret, et frequentissimum initium esse calamitatis securitatem. Primo igitur paucos, mox pluris in societatem consilii recepit: opprimi posse Romanos et dicit et persuadet, decretis facta iungit, tempus insidiarum constituit. Id Varo per virum eius gentis fidelum clarique nominis, Segesten, indicatur. Postulabat etiam vinciri socios. Sed praevalebant iam fata consiliis omnemque animi eius aciem praestrinxerant: quippe ita se res habet, ut plerumque cuius fortunam mutaturus deus, consilia corrumpat efficiatque, quod miserrimum est, ut, quod accidit, etiam merito accidisse videatur et casus in culpam transeat. Negat itaque se credere speciemque in se benevolentiae ex merito aestimare profitetur. Nec diutius post primum indicem secundo relictus locus.

[118] (1) But the Germans, who with their great ferocity combine great craft, to an extent scarcely credible to one who has had no experience with them, and are a race to lying born, by trumping up a series of fictitious lawsuits, now provoking one another to disputes, and now expressing their gratitude that Roman justice was settling these disputes, that their own barbarous nature was being softened down by this new and hitherto unknown method, and that quarrels which were usually settled by arms were now being ended by law, brought Quintilius to such a complete degree of negligence, that he came to look upon himself as a city praetor administering justice in the forum, and not a general in command of an army in the heart of Germany. (2) Thereupon appeared a young man of noble birth, brave in action and alert in mind,

possessing an intelligence quite beyond the ordinary barbarian; he was, namely, Arminius, the son of Sigimer, a prince of that nation, and he showed in his countenance and in his eyes the fire of the mind within. He had been associated with us constantly on private campaigns, and had even attained the dignity of equestrian rank. This young man made use of the negligence of the general as an opportunity for treachery, sagaciously seeing that no one could be more quickly overpowered than the man who feared nothing, and that the most common beginning of disaster was a sense of security. ⁽³⁾ At first, then, he admitted but a few, later a large number, to a share in his design; he told them, and convinced them too, that the Romans could be crushed, added execution to resolve, and named a day for carrying out the plot. ⁽⁴⁾ This was disclosed to Varus through Segestes, a loyal man of that race and of illustrious name, who also demanded that the conspirators be put in chains. But fate now dominated the plans of Varus and had blindfolded the eyes of his mind. Indeed, it is usually the case that heaven perverts the judgement of the man whose fortune it means to reverse, and brings it to pass — and this is the wretched part of it — that that which happens by chance seems to be deserved, and accident passes over into culpability. And so Quintilius refused to believe the story, and insisted upon judging the apparent friendship of the Germans toward him by the standard of his merit. And, after this first warning, there was no time left for a second.

CXIX

Ordinem atrocissimae calamitatis, qua nulla post Crassi in Parthum damnum in externis gentibus gravior Romanis fuit, iustis voluminibus ut alii, ita nos conabimur exponere: nunc summa deflenda est. Exercitus omnium fortissimus, disciplina, manu experientiaque bellorum inter Romanos milites princeps, marcore ducis, refidia hostis, iniquitate fortunae circumventus, cum ne pugnandi quidem aut egrediendi occasio iis, in quantum voluerant, data esset immunis, castigatis etiam quibusdam gravi poena, quia Romanis et armis et animis usi fuissent, inclusus silvis, paludibus, insidiis ab eo hoste ad internecionem trucidatus est, quem ita semper more pecudum trucidaverat, ut vitam aut mortem eius nunc ira nunc venia temperraret. Duci plus ad moriendum quam ad pugnandum animi fuit: quippe paterni avitique successor exempli se ipse transfixit. At e praefectis castrorum duobus quam clarum exemplum L. Eggius, tam turpe Ceionius prodidit, qui, cum longe maximam partem absumpsisset acies, auctor deditionis supplicio quam proelio mori maluit. At Vala Numonius, lagatus Vari, cetera quietus ac probus, diri auctor exempli, spoliatum equite peditem relinquens fuga cum alis Rhenum petere ingressus est. Quod factum eius fortuna ulta est; non enim desertis superfuit, sed desertor Vari corpus semiustum hostilis laceraverat feritas; caput eius abscisum latumque ad Marboduum et ab eo missum ad Caesarem gentilicii tamen tumuli sepultura honoratum est.

[119] (1) The details of this terrible calamity, the heaviest that had befallen the Romans on foreign soil since the disaster of Crassus in Parthia, I shall endeavour to set forth, as others have done, in my larger work. Here I can merely lament the disaster as a whole. (2) An army unexcelled in bravery, the first of Roman armies in discipline, in energy, and in experience in the field, through the negligence of its general, the perfidy of the enemy, and the unkindness of fortune was surrounded, nor was as much opportunity as they had wished given to the soldiers either of fighting or of extricating themselves, except against heavy odds; nay, some were even heavily chastised for using the arms and showing the spirit of Romans. Hemmed in by forests and marshes and ambuscades, it was exterminated almost to a man by the very enemy whom it had always slaughtered like cattle, whose life or death had depended solely upon the wrath or the pity of the Romans. (3) The general had

more courage to die than to fight, for, following the example of his father and grandfather, he ran himself through with his sword. ⁽⁴⁾ Of the two prefects of the camp, Lucius Eggius furnished a precedent as noble as that of Ceionius was base, who, after the greater part of the army had perished, proposed its surrender, preferring to die by torture at the hands of the enemy than in battle. Vala Numonius, lieutenant of Varus, who, in the rest of his life, had been an inoffensive and an honourable man, also set a fearful example in that he left the infantry unprotected by the cavalry and in flight tried to reach the Rhine with his squadrons of horse. But fortune avenged his act, for he did not survive those whom he had abandoned, but died in the act of deserting them. ⁽⁵⁾ The body of Varus, partially burned, was mangled by the enemy in their barbarity; his head was cut off and taken to Maroboduus and was sent by him to Caesar; but in spite of the disaster it was honoured by burial in the tomb of his family.

His auditis revolat ad patrem Caesar; perpetuus patronus Romani imperii aduetam sibi causam suscipit. Mittitur ad Germaniam, Gallias confirmat, disponit exercitus, praesidia munit et se magnitudine sua, non fiducia hostis metiens, qui Cimbricam Teutonicamque militiam Italiae minabatur, ultro Rhenum cum exercitu transgreditur. Arma infert hosti quem arcuisse pater et patria contenti erant; penetrat interius, aperit limites, vastat agros, urit domos, fundit obvios maximaque cum gloria, incolumi omnium, quos transduxerat, numero in hiberna revertitur. Reddatur verum L. Asprenati testimonium, qui legatus sub avunculo suo Varo militans gnava virilique opera duarum legionum, quibus praeerat, exercitum immunem tanta calamitate servavit matureque ad inferiora hiberna descendendo vacillantium etiam cis Rhenum sitarum gentium animos confirmavit. Sunt tamen, qui ut vivos ab eo vindicatos, ita iugulorum sub Varo occupata crediderint patrimonia hereditatemque occisi exercitus, in quantum voluerit, ab eo aditam. L. etiam Caedicii praefecti castrorum eorumque, qui una circumdati Alisone immensis Germanorum copiis obsidebaniur, laudanda virtus est, qui omnibus difficultatibus superatis, quas inopia rerum intolerabilis, vis hostium faciebat inexsuperabilis, nec temerario consilio nec segni providentia usi speculatique opportunitatem ferro sibi ad suos peperere redditum. Ex quo apparet Varum, sane gravem et bonae voluntatis virum, magis imperatoris defectum consilio quam virtute destitutum militum se magnificentissimumque perdidisse exercitum. Cum in captivos saexiretur a Germanis, praeclari facinoris auctor fuit Calpurnius Caelius, adulescens vetustate familiae suae dignissimus, qui complexus catenarum, quibus vinctus erat, seriem, ita illas inlinit capiti suo, ut protinus pariter sanguinis cerebrique eRuvio expiraret.

[120] (1) On hearing of this disaster, Caesar flew to his father's side. The constant protector of the Roman empire again took up his accustomed part. Dispatched to Germany, he reassured the provinces of Gaul, distributed his armies, strengthened the garrison towns, and then, measuring himself by the standard of his own greatness, and not by the presumption of an enemy who threatened Italy with a war like that of the Cimbri and Teutones, he took the offensive and crossed the Rhine with his army. (2) He thus made aggressive war upon the enemy when his father and his country would have been content

to let him hold them in check, he penetrated into the heart of the country, opened up military roads, devastated fields, burned houses, routed those who came against him, and, without loss to the troops with which he had crossed, he returned, covered with glory, to winter quarters.

(3) Due tribute should be paid to Lucius Asprenas, who was serving as lieutenant under Varus his uncle, and who, backed by the brave and energetic support of the two legions under his command, saved his army from this great disaster, and by a quick descent to the quarters of the army in Lower Germany strengthened the allegiance of the races even on the hither side of the Rhine who were beginning to waver. There are those, however, who believed that, though he had saved the lives of the living, he had appropriated to his own use the property of the dead who were slain with Varus, and that inheritances of the slaughtered army were claimed by him at pleasure. (4) The valour of Lucius Caedicius, prefect of the camp, also deserves praise, and of those who, pent up with him at Aliso, were besieged by an immense force of Germans. For, overcoming all their difficulties which want rendered unendurable and the forces of the enemy almost insurmountable, following a design that was carefully considered, and using a vigilance that was ever on the alert, they watched their chance, and with the sword won their way back to their friends. (5) From all this it is evident that Varus, who was, it must be confessed, a man of character and of good intentions, lost his life and his magnificent army more through lack of judgement in the commander than of valour in his soldiers. (6) When the Germans were venting their rage upon their captives, an heroic act was performed by Calpurnius Caelius, a young man worthy in every way of his long line of ancestors, who, seizing a section of the chain with which he was bound, brought down with such force upon his own head as to cause his instant death, both his brains and his blood gushing from the wound.

Eadem virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore ingressi Germaniam imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quae initio iuerat. Qui concussis hostium viribus classicis peditumque expeditionibus, cum res Galliarum maximae molis accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones coercitione magis quam poena mollisset, senatus populusque Romanus postulante patre eius, ut aequum ei ius in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus est. Etenim absurdum erat non esse sub illo, quae ab illo vindicabantur, et qui ad opem ferendam primus erat, ad vindicandum honorem non iudicari parem. In urbem reversus iam pridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum ex Pannoniis Delmatisque egit triumphum. Cuius magnificentiam quis miretur in Caesare? Fortunae vero quis non miretur indulgentiam? Quippe omnis eminentissimos hostium duces non occisos fama narravit, sed victos triumphus ostendit; quem mihi fratrique meo inter praecipuos praecipisque donis adornatos viros comitari contigit.

[121] (1) Tiberius showed the same valour, and was attended by the same fortune, when he entered Germany on his later campaigns as in his first. After he had broken the force of the enemy by his expeditions on sea and land, had completed his difficult task in Gaul, and had settled by restraint rather than by punishment the dissensions that had broken out among the Viennenses, at the request of his father that he should have in all the provinces and armies a power equal to his own, the senate and Roman people so decreed. For indeed it was incongruous that the provinces which were being defended by him should not be under his jurisdiction, (2) and that he who was foremost in bearing aid should not be considered an equal in the honour to be won. On his return to the city he celebrated the triumph over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, long since due him, but postponed by reason of a succession of wars. Who can be surprised at its magnificence, since it was the triumph of Caesar. Yet who can fail to wonder at the kindness of fortune to him? (3) For the most eminent leaders of the enemy were not slain in battle, that report should tell thereof, but were taken captive, so that in his triumph he exhibited them in chains. It was my lot and that of my brother to participate in this triumph among the men of distinguished rank and those who were decorated with distinguished honours.

Quis non inter reliqua, quibus singularis moderatio Ti. Caesaris elucet atque eminet, hoc quoque miretur, quod, cum sine ulla dubitatione septem triumphos meruerit, tribus contentus fuit. Quis enim dubitare potest, quin ex Armenia recepta et ex rege praeposito ei, cuius capiti insigne regium sua manu imposuerat, ordinatisque rebus Orientis ovans triumphare debuerit, et Vindelicorum Raetorumque victor curru urbem ingredi? Fractis deinde post adoptionem continua triennii militia Germaniae viribus idem illi honor et deferendus et recipiendus fuerit? Et post cladem sub Varo acceptam, expectato ocus prosperrimo rerum eventu eadem excisa Germania triumphus summi ducis adornari debuerit? Sed in hoc viro nescias utrum magis mireris quod laborum periculorumque semper excessit modum an quod honorum temperavit.

[122] (1) Among the other acts of Tiberius Caesar, wherein his remarkable moderation shines forth conspicuously, who does not wonder at this also, that, although he unquestionably earned seven triumphs, he was satisfied with three? For who can doubt that, when he had recovered Armenia, had placed over it a king upon whose head he had with his own hand set the mark of royalty, and had put in order the affairs of the east, he ought to have received an ovation; and that after his conquest of the Vindelici and the Raeti he should have entered the city as victor in a triumphal chariot? (2) Or that, after his adoption, when he had broken the power of the Germans in three successive campaigns, the same honour should have been bestowed upon him and should have been accepted by him? And that, after the disaster received under Varus, when this same Germany was crushed by a course of events which, sooner than was expected, came to a happy issue, the honour of a triumph should have been awarded to this consummate general? But, in the case of this man, one does not know which to admire the more, that in courting toils and danger he went beyond all bounds or that in accepting honours he kept within them.

Venitur ad tempus, in quo fuit plurimum metus. Quippe Caesar Augustus cum Germanicum nepotem suum reliqua belli patraturum misisset in Germaniam. Tiberium autem filium missurus esset in Illyricum ad firmanda pace quae bello subegerat, prosequens eum simulque interfuturus athletarum certaminis ludicro, quod eius honori sacratum a Neapolitanis est, processit in Campaniam. Quamquam iam motus imbecillitatis inclinataeque in deterius principia valetudinis senserat, tamen obnitente vi animi prosecutus filium digressusque ab eo Beneventi ipse Nola petiit: et ingravescente in dies valetudine, cum sciret, quis volenti omnia post se salva remanere accersendus foret, festinanter revocavit filium; ille ad patrem patriae expectato revolavit maturius. Tum securum se Augustus praedicans circumfususque amplexibus Tiberii sui, commendans illi sua atque ipsius opera nec quidquam iam de fine, si fata poscerent, recusans, subrefectus primo conspectu alloquioque carissimi sibi spiritus, mox, cum omnem curam fata vincerent, in sua resolutus initia Pompeio Apuleioque consulibus septuagesimo et sexto anno animam caelestem caelo reddidit.

[123] (1) We now come to the crisis which was awaited with the greatest foreboding. Augustus Caesar had dispatched his grandson Germanicus to Germany to put an end to such traces of the war as still remained, and was on the point of sending his son Tiberius to Illyricum to strengthen by peace the regions he had subjugated in war. With the double purpose of escorting him on his way, and of being present at an athletic contest which the Neapolitans had established in his honour, he set out for Campania. Although he had already experienced symptoms of growing weakness and of a change in his health for the worse, his strong will resisted infirmity and he accompanied his son. Parting from him at Beneventum he went to Nola. As his health grew daily worse, and he knew full well for whom he must send if he wished to leave everything secure behind him, he sent in haste for his son to return. Tiberius hurried back and reached the side of the father of his country before he was even expected. (2) Then Augustus, asserting that his mind was now at ease, and, with the arms of his beloved Tiberius about him, commending to him the continuation of their joint work, expressed all his readiness to meet the end if the fates should call him. He revived a little at seeing Tiberius and

at hearing the voice of one so dear to him, but, ere long, since no care could withstand the fates, in his seventy-sixth year, in the consulship of Pompeius and Apuleius he was resolved into the elements from which he sprang and yielded up to heaven his divine soul.

Quid tunc homines timuerint, quae senatus trepidatio, quae populi confusio, quis urbis metus, in quam arto salutis exitique fuerimus confinio, neque mihi tam festinanti exprimere vacat neque cui vacat potest. Id solum voce publica dixisse satis habeo: cuius orbis ruinam timueramus, eum ne commotum quidem sensimus, tantaque unius viri maiestas fuit, ut nec pro bonis neque contra malos opus armis foret. Una tamen veluti luctatio civitatis fuit, pugnantis cum Caesare senatus populique Romani, ut stationi paternae succederet, illius, ut potius aequalem civem quam eminentem liceret agere principem. Tandem magis ratione quam honore victus est, cum quidquid tuendum non suscepisset, periturum videret, solique huic contigit paene diutius recusare principatum, quam, ut occuparent eum, alii armis pugnauerant. Post redditum caelo patrem et corpus eius humanis honoribus, numen divinis honoratum, primum principalium eius operum fuit ordinatio comitiorum, quam manu sua scriptam divus Augustus reliquerat. Quo tempore mihi fratrique meo, candidatis Caesaris, proxime a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris destinari praetoribus contigit, consecutis quidem, ut neque post nos quemquam divus Augustus neque ante nos Caesar commendaret Tiberius.

[124] (1) Of the misgivings of mankind at this time, the trepidation of the senate, the confusion of the people, the fears of the city, of the narrow margin between safety and ruin on which we then found ourselves, I have no time to tell as I hasten on my way, nor could he tell who had the time. Suffice it for me to voice the common utterance: "The world whose ruin we had feared we found not even disturbed, and such was the majesty of one man that there was no need of arms either to defend the good or to restrain the bad." (2) There was, however, in one respect what might be called a struggle in the state, as, namely, the senate and the Roman people wrestled with Caesar to induce him to succeed to the position of his father, while he on his side strove for permission to play the part of a citizen on a parity with the rest rather than that of an emperor over all. At last he was prevailed upon rather by reason than by the honour, since he saw that whatever he did not undertake to protect was likely to perish. He is the only man to whose lot it has fallen to refuse the principate for a longer time, almost, than others had fought to secure it.

(3) After heaven had claimed his father, and human honours had been paid to his body as divine honours were paid to his soul, the first of his tasks as emperor was the regulation of the comitia, instructions for which Augustus had left in his own handwriting. (4) On this occasion it was my lot and that of my brother, as Caesar's candidates, to be named for the praetorship immediately after those of noble families and those who had held the priesthoods, and indeed to have had the distinction of being the last to be recommended by Augustus and the first to be named by Tiberius Caesar.

Tulit protinus et voti et consilii sui pretium res publica, neque diu latuit aut quid non impetrando passuri fuissetis aut quid impetrando profecissetis. Quippe exercitus, qui in Germania militabat praesentisque Germanici imperio regebatur, simulque legiones, quae in Illyrico erant, rabie quadam et profunda confudendi omnia cupiditate novum ducem, novum statum, novam quaerebant rem publicam; quin etiam ausi sunt minaridaturos se senatui, daturos principi leges; modum stipendii, finem militiae sibi ipsi constituere conati sunt. Processum etiam in arma ferrumque strictum est et paene in ultima gladiatorum erupit impunitas, defuitque, qui contra rem publicam duceret, non qui sequerentur. Sed haec omnia veteris imperatoris maturitas, multa inhibentis, aliqua cum gravitate pollicentis, et inter severam praecipue noxiorum ultionem mitis aliorum castigatio brevi sopiit ac sustulit. Quo quidem tempore ut pleraque non ignave Germanicus, ita Drusus, qui a patre in id ipsum plurimo quidem igne emicans incendium militaris tumultus missus erat, prisca antiquaque severitate usus ancipitia sibi maluit tenere quam exemplo perniciose, et his ipsis militum gladiis, quibus obsessus erat, obsidentes coercuit, singulari adiutore in eo negotio usus Iunio Blaeso, viro nescias utiliore in castris an meliore in toga: qui post paucos annos proconsul in Africa ornamenta triumphalia cum appellatione imperatoria meruit. At Hispanias exercitumque in iis cum M. Lepidus, de cuius virtutibus celeberrimaque in Illyrico militia praediximus, cum imperio obtineret, in summa pace et quiete continuit, cum ei pietas rectissima sentiendi et auctoritas quae sentiebat obtinendi superesset. Cuius curam ac fidem Dolabella quoque, vir simplicitatis generosissimae, in maritima parte Illyrici per omnia imitatus est.

[125] (1) The state soon reaped the fruit of its wise course in desiring Tiberius, nor was it long before it was apparent what we should have had to endure had our request been refused, and what we had gained in having it granted. For the army serving in Germany, commanded by Germanicus in person, and the legions in Illyricum, seized at the same moment by a form of madness and a deep desire to throw everything into confusion, wanted a new leader, a new order of things, and a new republic. (2) Nay, they even dared to threaten to dictate terms to the senate and to the emperor. They tried to fix for themselves

the amount of their pay and their period of service. They even resorted to arms; the sword was drawn; their conviction that they would not be punished came near to breaking out into the worst excesses of arms. All they needed was someone to lead them against the state; there was no lack of followers. (3) But all this disturbance was soon quelled and suppressed by the ripe experience of the veteran commander, who used coercion in many cases, made promises where he could so with dignity, and by the combination of severe punishment of the most guilty with milder chastisement of the others.

(4) In this crisis, while in many respects the conduct of Germanicus was not lacking in rigour, Drusus employed the severity of the Romans of old. Sent by his father into the very midst of the conflagration, when the flames of mutiny were already bursting forth, he preferred to hold to a course which involved danger to himself than one which might prove a ruinous precedent, and used the very swords of those by whom he had been besieged to coerce his besiegers. (5) In this task he had in Junius Bassus no ordinary helper, a man whom one does not know whether to consider more useful in the camp or better in the toga. A few years later, as proconsul in Africa, he earned the ornaments of a triumph, with the title of imperator.

The two provinces of Spain, however, and the army in them were held in peace and tranquillity, since Marcus Lepidus, of whose virtues and distinguished service in Illyricum I have already spoken, was there in command, and since he had in the highest degree the quality of instinctively knowing the best course and the firmness to hold to his views. On the coast of Illyricum his vigilance and fidelity was emulated in detail by Dolabella, a man of noble-minded candour.

CXXVI

Horum sedecim annorum opera quis cum ingerantur oculis animisque omnium, partibus eloquatur? Sacravit parentem suum Caesar non imperio, sed religione, non appellavit eum, sed fecit deum. Revocata in forum fides, summota e foro seditio, ambitio campo, discordia curia, sepultaeque ac situ obsitae iustitia, aequitas, industria civitati redditae; accessit magistratibus auctoritas, senatui maiestas, iudiciis gravitas; compressa theatralis seditio, recte faciendi omnibus aut incussa voluntas aut imposita necessitas: honorantur recta, prava puniuntur, suspicit potentem humilis, non timet, antecedit, non contemnit humiliorem potens. Quando annona moderatior, quando pax laetior? Diffusa in orientis occidentisque tractus et quidquid meridiano aut septentrione finitur, pax augusta omnis terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorum metu servat immunes. Fortuita non civium tantummodo, sed urbium damna principis munificentia vindicat. Restitutae urbes Asiae, vindicatae ab iniuriis magistratuum provinciae: honor dignis paratissimus, poena in malos sera, sed aliqua: superatur aequitate gratia, ambitio virtute; nam facere recte civis suos princeps optimus faciendo docet, cumque sit imperio maximus, exemplo maior est.

[126] (1) Who would undertake to tell in detail the accomplishments of the past sixteen years, since they are borne in upon the eyes and hearts of all? Caesar deified his father, not by exercise of his imperial authority, but by his attitude of reverence; he did not call him a god, but made him one. (2) Credit has been restored in the forum, strife has been banished from the forum, canvassing for office from the Campus Martius, discord from the senate-house; justice, equity, and industry, long buried in oblivion, have been restored to the state; the magistrates have regained their authority, the senate its majesty, the courts their dignity; rioting in the theatre has been suppressed; all citizens have either been impressed with the wish to do right, or have been forced to do so by necessity. (3) Right is now honoured, evil is punished; the humble man respects the great but does not fear him, the great has precedence over the lowly but does not despise him. When was the price of grain more reasonable, or when were the blessings of peace greater? The pax augusta, which has spread to the regions of the east and of the west and to the bounds of the north and of the south, preserves every corner of the world safe from the fear of brigandage. (4)

The munificence of the emperor claims for its province the losses inflicted by fortune not merely on private citizens, but on whole cities. The cities of Asia have been restored, the provinces have been freed from the oppression of their magistrates. Honour ever awaits the worthy; for the wicked punishment is slow but sure; fair play has now precedence over influence, and merit over ambition, for the best of emperors teaches his citizens to do right by doing it, and though he is greatest among us in authority, he is still greater in the example which he sets.

Raro eminentes viri non magnis adiutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usi sunt, ut duo Scipiones duobus Laeliis, quos per omnia aequaverunt sibi, ut divus Augustus M. Agrippa et proxime ab eo Statilio Tauro, quibus novitas familiae haut obstitit quominus ad multiplicis consulatus triumphosque et complura eveherentur sacerdotia. Etenim magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent interestque rei publicae quod usu necessarium est, dignitate eminere utilitatemque auctoritate muniri. Sub his exemplis Ti. Caesar Seianum Aelium, principe equestris ordinis patre natum, materno vero genere clarissimas veteresque et insignes honoribus complexum familias, habentem consularis fratres, consobrinos, avunculum, ipsum vero laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori animi compage corporis, singularem principalium onerum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet, virum severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscoe, actu otiosis simillimum, nihil sibi vindicantem eoque adsequentem omnia, semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem, vultu vitaeque tranquillum, animo exsomnem.

[127] (1) It is but rarely that men of eminence have failed to employ great men to aid them in directing their fortune, as the two Scipios employed the two Laelii, whom in all things they treated as equal to themselves, or as the deified Augustus employed Marcus Agrippa, and after him Statilius Taurus. In the case of these men their lack of lineage was no obstacle to their elevation to successive consulships, triumphs, and numerous priesthoods. For great tasks require great helpers, (2) and it is important to the state that those who are necessary to her service should be given prominence in rank, and that their usefulness should be fortified by official authority. (3) With these examples before him, Tiberius Caesar has had and still has as his incomparable associate in all the burdens of the principate Sejanus Aelius, son of a father who was among the foremost in the equestrian order, but connected, on his mother's side, with old and illustrious families and families distinguished by public honours, while he had brothers, cousins, and an uncle who had reached the consulship. He himself combined with loyalty to his master great capacity for labour, and possessed a well-knit body to match the energy of his mind; (4) stern but yet gay, cheerful but yet strict; busy, yet always seeming to be at leisure. He is one who claims no honours for himself and so acquires all

honours, whose estimate of himself is always below the estimate of others, calm in expression and in his life, though his mind is sleeplessly alert.

In huius virtutum aestimatione iam pridem iudicia civitatis cum iudiciis principis certant; neque novus hic mos senatus populiue Romani est putandi, quod optimum sit, esse nobilissimum. Nam et illi qui ante bellum Punicum abhinc annos trecentos Ti. Coruncanium, hominem novum, cum aliis omnibus honoribus ium pontificatu etiam maximo ad principale extulere fastigium, et qui equestri loco natum Sp. Carvilium et mox M. Catonem, novum etiam Tusculo urbis inquilinum, Mummiūque Achaicum in consulatus, censuras et triumphos provexere, et qui C. Marium ignotae originis usque ad sextum consulatum sine dubitatione Romani nominis habuere principem, et qui M. Tullio tantum tribuere, ut paene adsentatione sua quibus vellet principatus conciliaret, quique nihil Asinio Pollioni negaverunt, quod nobilissimis summo cum sudore consequendum foret, profecto hoc senserunt, in cuiuscumque animo virtus inesset, ei plurimum esse tribuendum. Haec naturalis exempli imitatio ad experiendum Seianum Caesarem, ad iuvanda vero onera principis Seianum propulit senatumque et populum Romanum eo perduxit, ut, quod usu optimum intellegit, id in tutelam securitatis suae libenter advocet.

[128] (1) In the value set upon the character of this man, the judgement of the whole state has long vied with that of the emperor. Nor is it a new fashion on the part of the senate and the Roman people to regard as most noble that which is best. For the Romans who, three centuries ago, in the days before the Punic war, raised Tiberius Coruncanius, a “new man,” to the first position in the state, not only bestowing on him all the other honours but the office of pontifex maximus as well; and those who elevated to consulships, censorships, and triumphs Spurius Carvilius, though born of equestrian rank, (2) and soon afterwards Marcus Cato, though a new man and not a native of the city but from Tusculum, and Mummius, who triumphed over Achaia; (3) and those who regarded Gaius Marius, though of obscure origin, as unquestionably the first man of the Roman name until his sixth consulship; and those who yielded such honours to Marcus Tullius that on his recommendation he could secure positions of importance almost for anyone he chose; and those who refused no honour to Asinius Pollio, honours which could only be earned, even by the noblest, by sweat and toil — all these assuredly felt that the highest honours should be paid to the man of merit. (4) It

was but the natural following of precedent that impelled Caesar to put Sejanus to the test, and that Sejanus was induced to assist the emperor with his burdens, and that brought the senate and the Roman people to the point where they were ready to summon for the preservation of its security the man whom they regarded as the most useful instrument.

Sed proposita quasi universa principatus Ti. Caesaris forma singula recenseamus. Qua ille prudentia Rhascupolim, interemptorem fratris sui filii Cotyis consortisque eiusdem imperii, Romam evocavit. Singulari in eo negotio usus opera Flacci Pomponii consularis viri, nati ad omnia, quae recte facienda sunt, simplicique virtute merentis semper, numquam captantis gloriam. Cum quanta gravitate ut senator et iudex, non ut princeps, causam Drusi Libonis audivit! Quam celeriter ingratum et nova molientem oppressit! Quibus praeceptis instructum Germanicum suum imbuimque rudimentis militiae secum actae domitorem recepit Germaniae! Quibus iuventam eius exaggeravit honoribus, respondente cultu triumphi rerum, quas gesserat, magnitudini! Quotiens populum congiariis honoravit senatorumque censum, cum id senatu auctore facere potuit, quam libenter explevit, ut neque luxuriam invitaret neque honestam paupertatem pateretur dignitate destitui! Quanto cum honore Germanicum suum in transmarinas misit provincias! Qua vi, consiliorum suorum ministro et adiutore usus Druso filio suo, Maroboduum inhaerentem occupati regni finibus, pace maiestatis eius dixerim, velut serpentem abstrusam terrae salubribus medicamentis coegit egredi! Quam illum ut honorate, sic secure continet! Quantae molis bellum principe Galliarum ciente Sacroviro Floroque Iulio mira celeritate ac virtute compressit, ut ante populus Romanus vicisse se quam bellare cognosceret nuntiosque periculi victoriae praecederet nuntius! Magni etiam terroris bellum Africum et cotidiano auctu maius auspiciis consiliisque eius brevi sepultum est.

[129] (1) But having set before the reader a sort of general outline of the principate of Caesar, let us now review some of the details. With what sagacity did he draw to Rome Rhascupolis, the slayer of his brother's son Cotys who shared the throne with him; in this transaction Tiberius employed the rare services of Flaccus Pomponius, a consular, and a man born to carry out tasks requiring accurate discrimination, and who by his straightforward character also deserved glory though he never sought it. (2) With what dignity did he listen to the trial of Drusus Libo, not in the capacity of emperor, but as a senator and a judge! How swiftly did he suppress that ingrate in his plot for revolution! How well had Germanicus been trained under his instructions,

having so thoroughly learned the rudiments of military science under him that he was later to welcome him home as conqueror of Germany! What honours did he heap upon him, young though he was, making the magnificence of his triumph to correspond to the greatness of his deeds! ⁽³⁾ How often did he honour the people with largesses, and how gladly, whenever he could do so with the senate's sanction, did he raise to the required rating the fortunes of senators, but in such a way as not to encourage extravagant living, nor yet to allow senators to lose their rank because of honest poverty! With what honours did he send his beloved Germanicus to the provinces across the seas! With what effective diplomacy, carried out through the help and agency of his son Drusus, did he force Maroboduus, who clung to the limits of the territories he had seized as a serpent to his hole, to come forth like the serpent under the spell of his salutary charms — a simile which I use with no disrespect to Caesar. With what honour does he treat him while at the same time he holds him securely! With what wonderful swiftness and courage did he repress the formidable war, stirred up at the instigation of Sacrovir and Florus Julius, so that the Roman people learned that he had conquered before they knew he was engaged in war, and the news of victory preceded the news of the danger! ⁽⁴⁾ The African war also, which caused great consternation and grew more formidable every day, was soon extinguished under his auspices and in accordance with his plans.

Quanta suo suorumque nomine extruxit opera! Quam pia munificentia superque humanam evecta fidem templum patri molitur! Quam magnifico animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera absumpta igni restituit! Quidquid enim umquam claritudine eminuit, id veluti cognatum censeat tuendum. Qua liberalitate cum alias, tum proxime incenso monte Caelio omnis ordinis hominum iacturae patrimonio succurrit suo! Quanta cum quiete hominum rem perpetui praecipuique timoris, supplementum, sine trepidatione dilectus providet! Si aut natura patitur aut mediocritas recipit hominum, audeo cum deis queri: quid hic meruit, primurn ut scelerata Drusus Libo iniret consilia? Deinde ut Silium Pisonemque tam infestos haberet, quorum alterius dignitatem constituit, auxit alterius? Ut ad maiora transcendam, quamquam et haec ille duxit maxima, quid, ut iuvenes amitteret filios? Quid, ut nepotem ex Druso suo? Dolenda adhuc retulimus: veniendum ad erubescenda est. Quantis hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus laceravit animum eius! Quam diu abstruso, quod miserrimum est, pectus eius flagravat incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolere, indignari, erubescere coactus est. Cuius temporis aegritudinem auxit amissa mater, eminentissima et per omnia deis quam hominibus similior foemina, cuius potentiam nemo sensit nisi aut levatione periculi aut accessione dignitatis.

[130] (1) What public buildings did he construct in his own name or that of his family! With what pious munificence, exceeding human belief, does he now rear the temple to his father! With what a magnificent control of personal feeling did he restore the works of Gnaeus Pompey when destroyed by fire! For a feeling of kinship leads him to protect every famous monument. (2) With what generosity at the time of the recent fire on the Caelian Hill, as well as on other occasions, did he use his private fortune to make good the losses of people of all ranks in life! And the recruiting of the army, a thing ordinarily looked upon with great and constant dread, with what calm on the part of the people does he provide for it, and without any of the usual panic attending conscription! (3) If either nature permits, or man's weak faculties allow, I may dare to make this plaint to the gods: How has this man deserved, in the first place, to have Drusus Libo enter upon a traitorous conspiracy against him, or later to earn the hostility of Silius and Piso, though in the one case he created

his rank, and in the other he increased it? Passing on to greater trials — although he regarded these as great enough — how did he deserve the loss of his sons in their prime or of his grandson, the son of Drusus? Thus far I have told of sorrows only, ⁽⁴⁾ we must now come to the shame. With what pain, Marcus Vinicius, have the past three years rent his heart! With what fire, the more cruel because pent up, was his soul consulted because of the grief, the indignation, and the shame he was forced to suffer through his daughter-in-law and his grandson! His sorrow at this time was crowned by the loss of his mother, ⁽⁵⁾ a woman pre-eminent among women, and who in all things resembled the gods more than mankind, whose power no one felt except for the alleviation of trouble or the promotion of rank.

Voto finiendum volumen est. Iuppiter Capitoline, et auctor ac stator Romani nominis Gradive Mars perpetuorumque custos Vesta ignium et quidquid numinum hanc Romani imperii molem in amplissimum terrarum orbis fastigium extulit, vos publica voce obtestor atque precor custodite, servate, protegit hunc statum, hanc pacem, hunc principem, eique functo longissima statione mortali destinate suceessores quam serissimos, sed eos, quorum cervice tam fortiter sustinendo terrarum orbis imperio sufficiant quam huius suffecisse sensimus, consiliaque omnium civium aut pia fovete aut impia opprimite.

[131] (1) Let me end my volume with a prayer. O Jupiter Capitolinus, and Mars Gradivus, author and stay of the Roman name, Vesta, guardian of the eternal fire, and all other divinities who have exalted this great empire of Rome to the highest point yet reached on earth! On you I call, and to you I pray in the name of this people: guard, preserve, protect the present state of things, the peace which we enjoy, the present emperor, and when he has filled his post of duty — (2) and may it be the longest granted to mortals — grant him successors until the latest time, but successors whose shoulders may be as capable of sustaining bravely the empire of the world as we have found his to be: foster the pious plans of all good citizens and crush the impious designs of the wicked.

The Biography



The Roman Empire in the time of Hadrian (c. 138 AD), showing the imperial provinces of Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior. Pannonia was a province bounded on the north and east by the Danube, coterminous westward with Noricum and upper Italy, and southward with Dalmatia and upper Moesia. — as Praefect of cavalry and legatus, Paterculus served for eight years (from AD 4) in Germany and Pannonia under Tiberius.



Gerulata, a Roman military camp located in ancient Pannonia, modern day Rusovce, Slovakia

Marcus Velleius Paterculus



From '1911 Encyclopædia Britannica', Volume 27

MARCUS VELLEIUS PATERCULUS (c. 19 B.C.-c. A.D. 31), Roman historian. Although his praenomen is given as Marcus by Priscian, some modern scholars identify him with Gaius Velleius Paterculus, whose name occurs in an inscription on a north African milestone (*C.I.L.* viii. 10, 311). He belonged to a distinguished Campanian family, and early entered the army. He served as military tribune in Thrace, Macedonia, Greece and the East, and in A.D. 2 was present at the interview on the Euphrates between Gaius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, and the Parthian king. Afterwards, as praefect of cavalry and legatus, he served for eight years (from A.D. 4) in Germany and Pannonia under Tiberius. For his services he was rewarded with the quaestorship in 7, and, together with his brother, with the praetorship in 15. He was still alive in 30, for history contains many references to the consulship of M. Vinicius in that year. It has been conjectured that he was put to death in 31 as a friend of Sejanus, whose praises he celebrates in a most fulsome manner.

He wrote a compendium of Roman history in two books dedicated to M. Vinicius, from the dispersion of the Greeks after the siege of Troy down to the death of Livia (a.d. 29). The first book brings the history down to the destruction of Carthage, 146 B.C.; portions of it are wanting, including the beginning. The later history, especially the period from the death of Caesar, 44 B.C., to the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, is treated in much greater detail. Brief notices are given of Greek and Roman literature, but it is strange that no mention is made of Plautus, Horace and Propertius. The author is a vain and shallow courtier, and destitute of real historical insight, although generally trustworthy in his statements of individual facts. He may be regarded as a courtly annalist rather than an historian. His knowledge is superficial, his blunders numerous, his chronology inconsistent. He labours at portrait-painting, but his portraits are daubs. On Caesar, Augustus and above all on his patron Tiberius, he lavishes praise or flattery. The repetitions, redundancies,

and slovenliness of expression which disfigure the work may be partly due to the haste with which (as the author frequently reminds us) it was written. Some blemishes of style, particularly the clumsy and involved structure of his sentences, may perhaps be ascribed to insufficient literary training. The inflated rhetoric, the straining after effect by means of hyperbole, antithesis and epigram, mark the degenerate taste of the Silver Age, of which Paterculus is the earliest example. He purposed to write a fuller history of the later period, which should include the civil war between Caesar and Pompey and the wars of Tiberius; but there is no evidence that he carried out this intention. His chief authorities were Cato's *Origines*, the *Annales* of Q. Hortensius, Pompeius Trogus, Cornelius Nepos and Livy.

Velleius Paterculus was little known in antiquity. He seems to have been read by Lucan and imitated by Sulpicius Severus, but he is mentioned only by the scholiast on Lucan, and once by Priscian. The text of the work, preserved in a single badly written and mutilated MS. (discovered by Beatus Rhenanus in 1515 in the abbey of Murbach in Alsace and now lost), is very corrupt. Editio princeps, 1520; early editions by the great scholars Justus Lipsius, J. Gruter, N. Heinsius, P. Burmann; modern editions, Ruhnken and Frotscher (1830-39), J. C. Orelli (1835), F. Kritz (1840, ed. min. 1848), F. Haase (1858), C. Halm (1876), R. Ellis (1898) (reviewed by W. Warde Fowler in *Classical Review*, May 1899); on the sources see F. Burmeister, "De Fontibus Vellei Paterculi," in *Berliner Studien für classische Philologie* (1894), xv. English translation by J. S. Watson in Bohn's Classical Library.

Introduction to Velleius Paterculus by Frederick W. Shipley



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INTRODUCTION

“Dicere enim solebat nullum esse librum tam malum ut non aliqua parte prodesset.” Pliny, *Ep.* III.5.10, quoting a saying of his uncle.

Velleius Paterculus does not rank among the great Olympians of classical literature either as stylist or as historian. But, as Pliny the elder says, no book is so poor that one cannot get some good out of it, and there is much in this comparatively neglected author that is worth reading once, at least in translation. In its aim to include all that is of value and interest in Greek and Latin literature from the days of Homer to the Fall of Constantinople the Loeb Library is performing what is perhaps its most valuable service in making more generally available the content of those comparatively unknown authors who, for stylistic or other reasons, are not to be reckoned among the great classics or do not deserve a careful study in the original.

A compendium of Roman history, hastily compiled by an army officer as a memorial volume to commemorate the elevation to the consulship for the year A.D. 30 of his friend and fellow-Campanian, Marcus Vinicius, could hardly be expected to rise to the level either of great history or great literature. And yet, taken for what it is, a rapid sketch of some ten centuries of history, it is, in spite of its many defects, which will duly be pointed out, the most successful and most readable of all the abridgements of Roman history which have come down to us. Abridgements are usually little more than skeletons; but Velleius has succeeded, in spite of the brief compass of his work, in clothing the bare bones with real flesh, and in endowing his compendium with more than a mere shadow of vitality, thanks to his own enthusiastic interest in the human side of the great characters of history. The work, after the large lacuna in the first book, covers uninterruptedly the period from the battle of Pydna to A.D. 30, a period which practically coincides with that covered by the final 97 books of Livy for which no manuscript has come down to us, and one which is but partially treated in the extant portions of the works of other Roman historians of first rank. It is therefore valuable, if for nothing else, in that it furnishes us with a connected account of this period which is at any rate much more readable than the bare epitomes of Livy. Besides, it has certain excellences of its own in the treatment of special subjects, especially the chapters on literary history, in which the author has a genuine if not very

critical interest, the chapters on the Roman colonies, and those on the history of the organization of the Roman provinces, and in some of the character portraits of the great figures of Roman history. Even in the treatment of Tiberius, in spite of its tone of adulation which historians have so generally condemned, we have a document which must be considered along with the famous delineation by Tacitus, as representing the psychological attitude toward the new empire of the group of administrative officers of the equestrian order who ardently supported it without any of the yearnings felt by the senatorial class for the old regime as it existed in the days before the empire had shorn them of their former governmental powers.

As has already been said, the work is a commemorative volume as well as an historical abridgement, and under this pardonable pretext the author feels free to depart from historical objectivity and give his work a personal note. Thus he honours Vinicius not merely by the dedication, but by addressing him frequently in the vocative case, by bringing the more important dates into chronological relation with his consulship, and by bringing into prominence the ancestors of Vinicius who had played any historical role worthy of consideration. Vinicius, who like the author himself was an official of the administration, would also lend sympathetic ears to his rhapsodic eulogy of his old commander, now the emperor Tiberius, and of his prime minister Sejanus, then in the heyday of his power and the virtual head of the government. In doing the honours, in this commemorative volume, he also takes occasion to mention, as something in which his friend would be interested, the participation of the author's own ancestors in the events which he is narrating, and, when he reaches his own times, like the painters of the Renaissance he sees no harm in introducing himself into the canvas as one of the minor participants in the historical pageant.

To this naïve and innocent egotism we owe all our information in regard to the author and his family, since the sparse references in later literature contribute nothing to our knowledge of either. We thus learn that he reckoned among his ancestors on his mother's side Decius Magius, a distinguished citizen of Capua who remained loyal to the Romans when Capua went over to Hannibal, and Minatius Magius, who raised a legion and fought on the Roman side in the Social War, for which service he received Roman citizenship; that his father served in Germany as prefect of horse; that his father's brother

Capito supported Agrippa in his indictment of Cassius for the murder of Caesar; that his paternal grandfather C. Velleius Paterculus served as praefectus fabrum under Pompey, Marcus Brutus, and Tiberius Nero, the father of the emperor; that he was chosen as one of the judges by Pompey in 55 B.C., and that in 41 B.C. he killed himself because he was physically unable to follow Nero in his flight from Naples. The historian himself, C. Velleius Paterculus, also played the role of loyal officer, seeing service as military tribune in Thrace and Macedonia, and accompanying Caius Caesar in A.D. 1 on his visit to the eastern provinces. While there he was an eyewitness of the conference between Caius and the son of the Parthian king on an island in the Euphrates. Later he served under Tiberius for eight consecutive years, first as prefect of horse and then as legatus, participating in his German and Pannonian campaigns. In A.D. 6 he was elected quaestor, and while still quaestor designate he led a body of troops to reinforce Tiberius in Pannonia on the occasion of the great mutiny. As quaestor, in A.D. 7, he gave up the privilege of a provincial appointment to become a legatus under Tiberius in Pannonia. In the winter of A.D. 7-8 he was one of the legati in charge of winter quarters. His brother, Magius Celer Velleianus, was also a legatus of Tiberius and distinguished himself in the Dalmatian campaign. Both were decorated with military honours at the triumph of Tiberius in A.D. 13. Both were praetors for the year A.D. 15 and were proud of the distinction of having been the last to be nominated to the praetorship by Augustus and the first to be named by Tiberius. Here the chapter of his military career apparently closes. He does not seem to have risen higher than the praetorship in the fifteen years which intervened between the holding of that office and the consulship of Vinicius, though he may have held provincial appointments. He must have enjoyed some leisure in these years, since he hints at having in preparation a more comprehensive historical work, and his genuine enthusiasm for literature, and his familiarity with the rhetorical studies then so much in vogue, must postulate some time for their development, even though his literary work still shows many marks of the novice.

His compendium is divided into two chronologically unequal parts. The first book, preserved in a fragmentary condition, began with the times immediately preceding the fall of Troy, dealt rapidly with the early history of Greece in the first seven chapters, reached the founding of Rome in chapter

viii, and ended with the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C. The second book covers the period from the time of the Gracchi to the consulship of Vinicius in A.D. 30, and is on a much fuller and more comprehensive scale, especially from the consulship of Caesar to the end. This greater fulness as he approaches his own times is to be explained partly as a traditional proceeding, and partly because, as he himself says, he had in preparation a more comprehensive work covering the period from the beginning of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey down to his own day, and in consequence he had larger amount of material to assimilate. Here and there he checks the rapidity of his narrative to dwell at greater length upon topics in which he had a personal interest, as for example the references to literary history, the two digressions upon the colonies and provinces of Rome, the participation of members of his own family in historical events, and his own share in the events of the last fifteen years of the reign of Augustus.

Both the virtues and defects of Velleius as an historical writer can be best explained on the supposition that until the year A.D. 15, when he was about thirty-five years of age, all his time had been absorbed in his military duties, and that it was only in the period of comparative leisure which followed that he discovered a new hobby in literary and biographical studies. These he approached with all the fresh interest and naïve enthusiasm of the amateur. His outlook is still the uncritical attitude of the dilettante. Nil admirari had not become his motto. He is still, at the time of writing what is apparently his maiden book, in the stage of appreciation and admiration, and, while his critical faculties are still untrained he has at any rate not become cynical or *blasé*. He can still find romance in the history about which more mature writers had ceased to wonder. In the new rhetorical tendencies of Silver Latin he found a medium well adapted to give expression to his enthusiasm and admiration. As an historian he has not learned to weigh evidence; he has made no close study of the sources; in giving his chronological references he unwittingly mixes up the dates of the Catonian and the Varronian eras; in his haste he overlooks events and is obliged to insert them out of their proper order. In fact his attitude is rather that of the journalist than of the historian. There is little evidence, however, of deliberate falsification. Even his extravagant eulogy of Tiberius for which he has been so severely censured may be explained at least in part as an example of the soldier's uncritical, but

loyal and enthusiastic devotion to his old commander, which reflects the attitude toward the emperor of the military and official, as opposed to that of the senatorial class and of the sympathisers with the old republic. At the worst it is an interesting example of court history. His interest in history is biographical rather than strictly historical. He is particularly fond of making portraits of the personages of history, which he does with a considerable degree of success. The second book, in particular, is one long gallery of such portraits which are brought into relation to each other by a slender band of historical data. In fact the book is a sort of illustrated *Who's Who* of Roman history. Nor does he confine himself to the great figures such as the Gracchi, Marius, Sulla, Cicero, Pompey, and Caesar; he is equally fond of portraying the characters of deuteragonists like Clodius, Curio, Lepidus, and Plancus. Some of these portraits are among his best. While these characterizations tend to destroy historical proportion they add greatly to the human interest.

We have said that Velleius gives the impression of having been an amateur who took to historical writing as a new hobby somewhat late in life. Signs of this are not wanting in his style. It has all the pretentiousness of the novice. He desires to soar before he has completely learned to fly. Writing in an age when rhetoric was the vogue, and contaminated poetical as well as prose writing, he cannot refrain from bringing in all the rhetorical figures and producing all the rhetorical effects. All the colours of the poet and the rhetorician are applied with lavish hand where he aspires to fine writing; rhetorical questions, exclamations, and even apostrophe; rhetorical rhythm, laboured antitheses, glittering epigrams, sometimes far-fetched, and excessive hyperbole. For this reason his use of superlatives in his praise of Tiberius has perhaps been taken too seriously. The superlative is used with almost as much frequency in eulogizing other historical personages including Pompey, in spite of author's ardent imperialism. In fact the superlative had already suffered so much rhetorical abuse that it had come to have little more value than a positive. Furthermore his style is lacking in the clarity, the ease, and the poise of the experienced writer. This is especially the case in the interminable periods which crowd his work. Some of them are veritable labyrinths. The periods of Cicero, no matter what their length, are architectural units; in Velleius the nucleus of the period is often so overloaded with phrases, clauses, and incidental parentheses that the period bears much more resemblance to a

stone almost completely hidden by parasitic barnacles than to a structure developed on a logical and artistic plan. This is partly due to the attempt to condense into a single sentence the content of whole chapters which he finds in his sources. In consequence these periods are the despair of the translator, and there is frequently nothing for it but to break them up into smaller units which can be more readily handled in an uninflected language. And yet, with all his faults, Velleius is an author whom, as Norden has said in his *Antike Kunst-Prosa*, one reads with interest from beginning to end; and if readability is the real test this quality carries with it its own apology. Were it not for the difficulty of his intricate periods, his work, by reason of its content, its biographical trend, and its human interest, would be the ideal first reading-book for beginners of Latin. Macaulay, who does not admire his style and condemns his flattery, says: "Velleius seems to me a remarkably good epitomist. I hardly know of any work of which the scale is so small and the subject so extensive," a historian's testimony to the measure of success which he has achieved in the task which he undertook, namely, that of writing a multum in parvo of historical condensation.

THE TEXT

The text of Velleius depends upon a single manuscript found by Beatus Rhenanus in the Benedictine monastery of Murbach, in Alsace, in the year 1515. This manuscript has long since disappeared. Rhenanus in describing it testifies to the almost hopeless state of corruption of the text: "so monstrously corrupt that no human ingenuity could restore all of it"; "I am ready to swear that the scribe who copied it did not understand a word"; "there is no portion of it that is not corrupt." Not satisfied with a copy hastily made by a friend, he resolved to delay publication until he should have a chance to consult a better manuscript said to have been found in Milan by Georgius Merula. Disappointed in this hope, he brought out the ed. princeps at Basle in 1520. The edition while still in proof was compared with the Murbach manuscript by Burer, one of the secretaries of Rhenanus, who also noted many of its variant readings in an appendix to the edition. The editio princeps, with Burer's readings appended, was the sole source of our knowledge of the text until 1834 when Orelli brought to light in the library of the Academy at Basle an independent copy of the Murbach MS. made in 1516 by Bonifacius Amberbach. From this copy is missing the first fragment of Bk. I beginning at *tempestate distractus* ch. 1 and ending with *raptus virginum Sabinarum* ch. 8. The absence of this fragment would seem to indicate either that in 1516 it had not yet been found or at any rate that it had not yet been recognized as part of the text of Velleius. Amberbach's copy is of great importance, in conjunction with the readings of Burer, in enabling the critic to restore the original readings of the Murbach MS. But while modern scholarship has made progress in solving the enigmas, the text of Velleius, unless some long-hidden manuscript shall unexpectedly come to light, will always continue to be one of the most corrupt among the surviving texts of classical authors.

The text of the present volume is a composite. While chiefly indebted to the editions of Halm and Ellis, I have frequently followed older editors, particularly in the most corrupt passages, where the interpretations of these scholars seem to be nearer to the tradition of the Murbach manuscript or to the sense demanded by the context. The critical nomenclature given in the sigla is that of Ellis. I have occasionally altered the punctuation, and, for the convenience of the reader, have made more frequent use of the paragraph.

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SIGLA

A = Amberbach's copy of the lost Codex Murbachensis completed in August 1516, now in the library of the Academy at Basle, A.N. ii.8.

P = Editio Princeps, printed in 1520.

B = Burer's readings from the Murbach Codex, which are printed at the end of the Ed. Princeps. Halm indicates these readings by the letter M.

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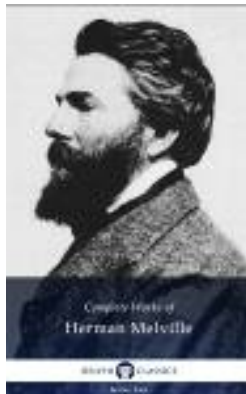
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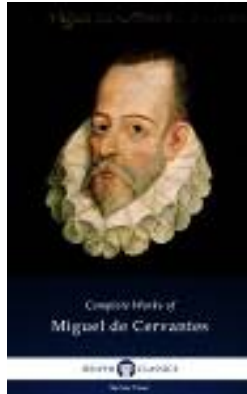
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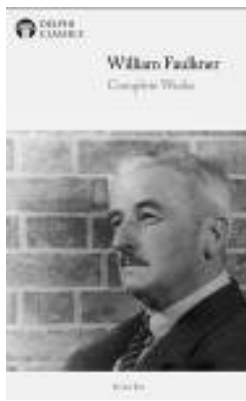
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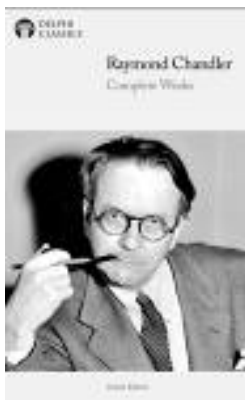
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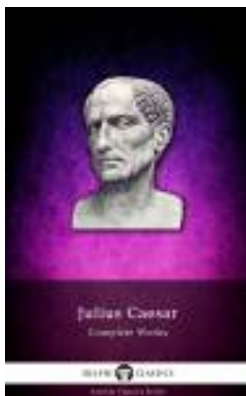
Sabine Baring-Gould

Sarah Orne Jewett

Thomas Aquinas

Thomas Browne

William Wycherley



Ancient Classics

Achilles Tatius
Aeschines
Aeschylus
Ammianus Marcellinus
Apollodorus
Appian
Apuleius
Apollonius of Rhodes
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arrian
Athenaeus
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Bede
Callimachus
Cassius Dio
Cato
Catullus
Cicero
Claudian
Clement of Alexandria
Cornelius Nepos
Demosthenes
Dio Chrysostom
Diodorus Siculus
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Diogenes Laërtius
Ennius

Epictetus
Euclid
Euripides
Eusebius
Eutropius
Florus
Frontius
Fronto
Gregory I
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hippocrates
Homer
Horace
Isocrates
Josephus
Julian
Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Livy
Longus
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Marcus Aurelius
Manetho
Martial
Nonnus
Origen
Ovid
Pausanias
Petronius
Pindar
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius

Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
Sallust
Sappho
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sidonius
Sophocles
Statius
Strabo
Suetonius
Tacitus
Terence
Tertullian
Theocritus
Theophrastus
Thucydides
Tibullus
Varro
Virgil
Vitruvius
Xenophon



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Andrew Marvell

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Michael Drayton
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Robert Burns
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Sanskrit Epics
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Thomas Gray
Thomas Hardy (poetry)
Thomas Hood
Thomas Moore
Torquato Tasso
T. S. Eliot
W. B. Yeats
Walter Savage Landor
Walt Whitman
Wilfred Owen
William Blake
William Congreve
William Cowper



Masters of Art

Albrecht Dürer

Amedeo Modigliani

Anthony van Dyck

Artemisia Gentileschi

Berthe Morisot

Camille Pissarro

Canaletto

Caravaggio

Caspar David Friedrich

Claude Lorrain

Claude Monet

Correggio

Dante Gabriel Rossetti

Diego Velázquez

Donatello

Edgar Degas

Édouard Manet

Edvard Munch

El Greco

Eugène Delacroix

Francisco Goya

Georges Seurat

Giotto

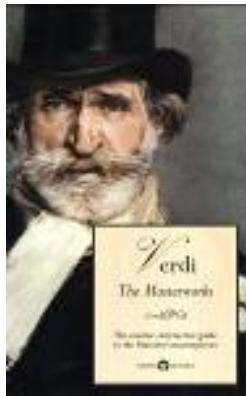
Giovanni Bellini

Gustave Courbet

Gustav Klimt

Hieronymus Bosch

Hokusai
Jacques-Louis David
James Abbott McNeill Whistler
Jan van Eyck
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
J. M. W. Turner
Johannes Vermeer
John Constable
Leonardo da Vinci
Masaccio
Michelangelo
Paul Cézanne
Paul Gauguin
Paul Klee
Peter Paul Rubens
Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Piet Mondrian
Sandro Botticelli
Raphael
Rembrandt van Rijn
Thomas Gainsborough
Tintoretto
Titian
Vincent van Gogh
Wassily Kandinsky
William Hogarth



Great Composers

Antonio Vivaldi

Antonín Dvořák
Franz Schubert
Frédéric Chopin
Giuseppe Verdi
Johann Sebastian Bach
Joseph Haydn
Ludwig van Beethoven
Piotr Illitch Tchaikovsky
Richard Wagner
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Alphabetical List of Titles



A. E. Housman
A. E. W. Mason
A. Merritt
Abraham Lincoln
Achilles Tatius
Adam Mickiewicz
Adam Smith
Aeschines
Aeschylus
Albrecht Dürer
Aldous Huxley
Alexander Pope
Alexander Pushkin
Alexandre Dumas (English)
Alfred, Lord Tennyson
Algernon Blackwood
Algernon Charles Swinburne
Ambrose Bierce
Amedeo Modigliani
Ammianus Marcellinus
Anatole France
Andrew Lang
Andrew Marvell
Ann Radcliffe
Anna Katharine Green

Anthony Hope
Anthony Trollope
Anthony van Dyck
Anton Chekhov
Antonín Dvořák
Antonio Vivaldi
Aphra Behn
Apollodorus
Apollonius of Rhodes
Appian
Apuleius
Aristophanes
Aristotle
Arnold Bennett
Arrian
Artemisia Gentileschi
Arthur Machen
Arthur Morrison
Arthur Schopenhauer
Athenaeus
August Strindberg
Augustine
Aulus Gellius
Baroness Emma Orczy
Baruch Spinoza
Beatrix Potter
Beaumont and Fletcher
Bede
Ben Jonson
Benjamin Disraeli
Beowulf
Berthe Morisot
Blaise Pascal
Booth Tarkington
Bram Stoker
Bret Harte
C. S. Forester
C. S. Lewis
Callimachus
Camille Pissarro
Canaletto
Captain Frederick Marryat
Captain Mayne Reid
Caravaggio
Carolyn Wells
Caspar David Friedrich
Cassius Dio

Cato
Catullus
Charles and Mary Lamb
Charles Brockden Brown
Charles Darwin
Charles Dickens
Charles Kingsley
Charles Lever
Charles Reade
Charles W. Chesnutt
Charlotte M. Yonge
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
Charlotte Smith
Christina Rossetti
Christopher Marlowe
Cicero
Claude Lorrain
Claude Monet
Claudian
Clement of Alexandria
Confederation Poets
Confucius
Cornelius Nepos
Correggio
D. H Lawrence (poetry)
D.H. Lawrence
Daniel Defoe
Dante Alighieri (English)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti (art)
Dante Gabriel Rossetti (poetry)
Dashiell Hammett
David Hume
Delphi Poetry Anthology
Demosthenes
Dickensiana Volume I
Diego Velázquez
Dinah Craik
Dio Chrysostom
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laërtius
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Donatello
E. F. Benson
E. M. Delafield
E. M. Forster
E. Nesbit
E. Phillips Oppenheim

E. W. Hornung
Earl Derr Biggers
Edgar Allan Poe
Edgar Allan Poe (poetry)
Edgar Degas
Edgar Rice Burroughs
Edgar Wallace
Edith Wharton
Edmund Burke
Edmund Spenser
Edmund Waller
Édouard Manet
Edvard Munch
Edward Bulwer-Lytton
Edward Gibbon
Edward Lear
Edward Thomas
Edwin Arlington Robinson
El Greco
Elizabeth Barrett Browning
Elizabeth Gaskell
Elizabeth Inchbald
Elizabeth von Arnim
Ella Wheeler Wilcox
Ellen Wood
Émile Zola
Emily Dickinson
Ennius
Epic of Gilgamesh
Epictetus
Erasmus
Ernest Bramah
Ernest Hemingway
Euclid
Eugène Delacroix
Eugene Sue
Euripides
Eusebius
Eutropius
Evelyn Waugh
Ezra Pound
F. Marion Crawford
F. Scott Fitzgerald
Fergus Hume
Florus
Ford Madox Ford
Frances Burney

Frances Hodgson Burnett
Frances Trollope
Francis Bacon
Francisco Goya
François Rabelais
Frank Norris
Frank R. Stockton
Franz Schubert
Fred M. White
Frédéric Chopin
Frederick Douglass
Friedrich Nietzsche
Friedrich Schiller (English)
Frontius
Fronto
Fyodor Dostoyevsky
G. A. Henty
G. K. Chesterton
Galileo Galilei
Gaston Leroux
Geoffrey Chaucer
Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel
George Berkeley
George Bernard Shaw
George Chapman
George du Maurier
George Eliot
George Gissing
George Griffith
George Herbert
George MacDonald
George Meredith
George Moore
George Orwell
Georges Seurat
Gerard Manley Hopkins
Gertrude Stein
Giacomo Leopardi
Gilbert and Sullivan
Giotto
Giovanni Bellini
Giovanni Boccaccio
Giuseppe Verdi
Grant Allen
Gregory I
Gustav Klimt
Gustave Courbet

Gustave Flaubert (English)
Guy Boothby
Guy de Maupassant
H. G. Wells
H. P. Lovecraft
H. Rider Haggard
Hafez
Hall Caine
Hamlin Garland
Hans Christian Andersen
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Heinrich Heine
Henrik Ibsen
Henry David Thoreau
Henry Fielding
Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
Henry James
Henry Lawson
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Henryk Sienkiewicz
Herman Melville
Herodotus
Hesiod
Hieronymus Bosch
Hilaire Belloc
Hippocrates
Hokusai
Homer
Honoré de Balzac (English)
Horace
Horace Walpole
Howard Pyle
Hugh Lofting
Hugh Walpole
Ian Fleming
Immanuel Kant
Isaac Rosenberg
Isocrates
Ivan Turgenev
Izaak Walton
J. M. Barrie
J. M. Synge
J. M. W. Turner
J. S. Fletcher
J. W. von Goethe (English)
Jack London
Jacques-Louis David

James Abbott McNeill Whistler
James Fenimore Cooper
James Joyce
James Russell Lowell
Jan van Eyck
Jane Austen
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
Jean-Jacques Rousseau
Jerome K. Jerome
Joel Chandler Harris
Johan Ludvig Runeberg
Johann Sebastian Bach
Johanna Spyri
Johannes Vermeer
John Buchan
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John Calvin
John Clare
John Constable
John Donne
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John Galsworthy
John Galt
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Jonathan Swift
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Joseph Addison
Joseph Conrad
Joseph Haydn
Josephus
Jules Verne
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Julius Caesar
Juvenal
Kahlil Gibran

Karl Marx
Kate Chopin
Katherine Mansfield
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L. Frank Baum
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Lafcadio Hearn
Laurence Sterne
Leigh Hunt
Leo Tolstoy
Leonardo da Vinci
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Longus
Lord Byron
Lord Dunsany
Louisa May Alcott
Lucan
Lucian
Lucretius
Ludovico Ariosto
Ludwig van Beethoven
Luís de Camões
Lytton Strachey
M. E. Braddon
M. P. Shiel
M. R. James
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Marcus Aurelius
Margaret Oliphant
Maria Edgeworth
Marie Corelli
Mark Twain
Martial
Martin Luther
Mary Robinson
Mary Shelley
Mary Wollstonecraft
Masaccio
Matthew Arnold
Matthew Lewis
Matthew Prior
Maurice Leblanc
Max Brand
Maxim Gorky
Michael Drayton

Michel de Montaigne
Michelangelo
Miguel de Cervantes
Molière
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Nevil Shute
Niccolò Machiavelli
Nikolai Gogol
Nikolai Nekrasov
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Ouida
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Paul Gauguin
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Paul Laurence Dunbar
Pausanias
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Peter Paul Rubens
Petrarch
Petronius
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Piet Mondrian
Pieter Bruegel the Elder
Pindar
Piotr Illitch Tchaïkovsky
Plato
Plautus
Pliny the Elder
Pliny the Younger
Plotinus
Plutarch
Polybius
Procopius
Propertius
Quintus Curtius Rufus
Quintus Smyrnaeus
R. Austin Freeman

R. D. Blackmore
R. M. Ballantyne
R. S. Surtees
Rabindranath Tagore
Radclyffe Hall
Rafael Sabatini
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Raphael
Raymond Chandler
Rembrandt van Rijn
René Descartes
Richard Brinsley Sheridan
Richard Marsh
Richard Wagner
Robert Browning
Robert Burns
Robert E. Howard
Robert Frost
Robert Louis Stevenson
Robert Southey
Robert W. Chambers
Romain Rolland
Rudyard Kipling
Rumi
Rupert Brooke
Saadi
Sabine Baring-Gould
Saki
Sallust
Samuel Butler
Samuel Johnson
Samuel Pepys
Samuel Richardson
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
Sandro Botticelli
Sanskrit Epics
Sappho
Sara Teasdale
Sarah Orne Jewett
Sax Rohmer
Seneca the Younger
Septuagint
Sheridan Le Fanu
Sherwood Anderson
Sidonius
Sigmund Freud
Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

Sir Issac Newton
Sir Philip Sidney
Sir Richard Burton
Sir Thomas Malory
Sir Thomas More
Sir Thomas Wyatt
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Walter Scott
Sophocles
Stanley J. Weyman
Statius
Stendhal
Stephen Crane
Stephen Leacock
Strabo
Suetonius
T. S. Eliot
Tacitus
Talbot Mundy
Terence
Tertullian
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Thomas Hardy
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Thomas Hood
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Thomas Love Peacock
Thomas Middleton
Thomas Moore
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Thucydides
Tibullus

Tintoretto
Titian
Tobias Smollett
Torquato Tasso
Varro
Victor Hugo
Vincent van Gogh
Virgil
Virginia Woolf
Vitruvius
Voltaire
W. B. Yeats
W. Somerset Maugham
W. W. Jacobs
Walt Whitman
Walter Pater
Walter Savage Landor
Washington Irving
Wassily Kandinsky
Wilfred Owen
Wilkie Collins
Willa Cather
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William Congreve
William Cowper
William Dean Howells
William Faulkner
William Harrison Ainsworth
William Hazlitt
William Hogarth
William Hope Hodgson
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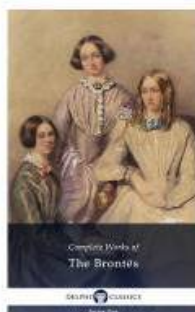
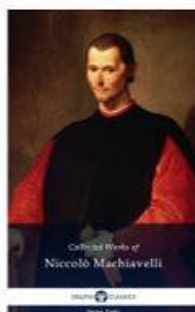
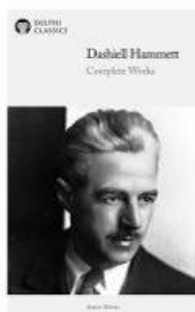
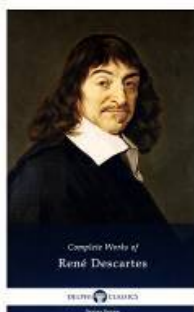
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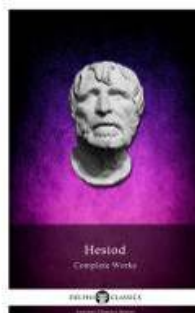
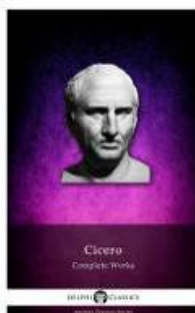
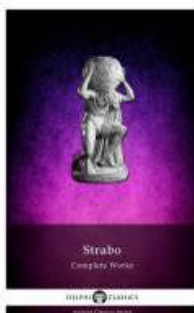
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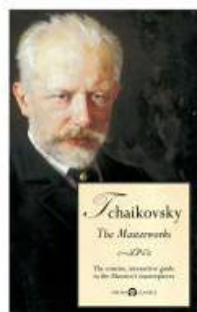
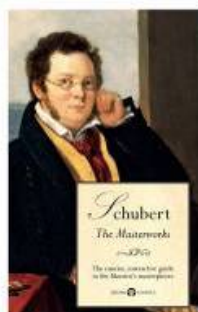
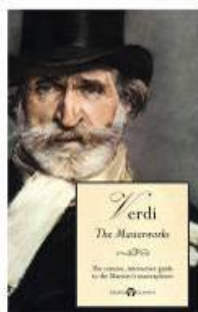
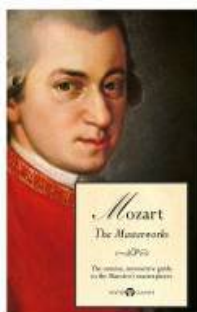
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